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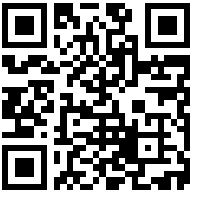

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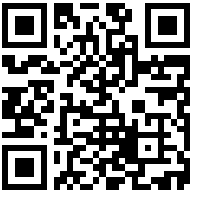

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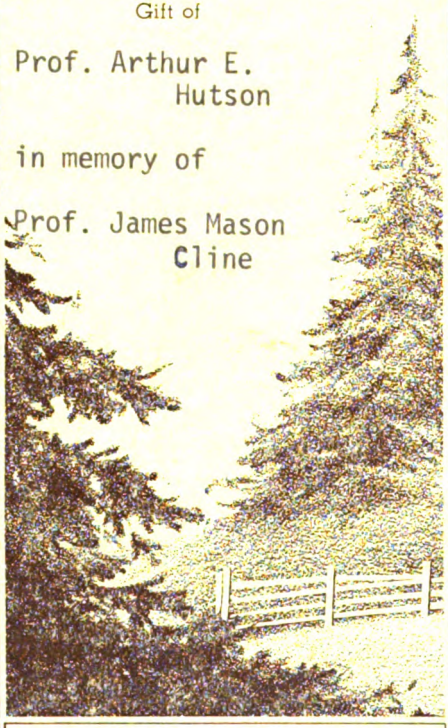

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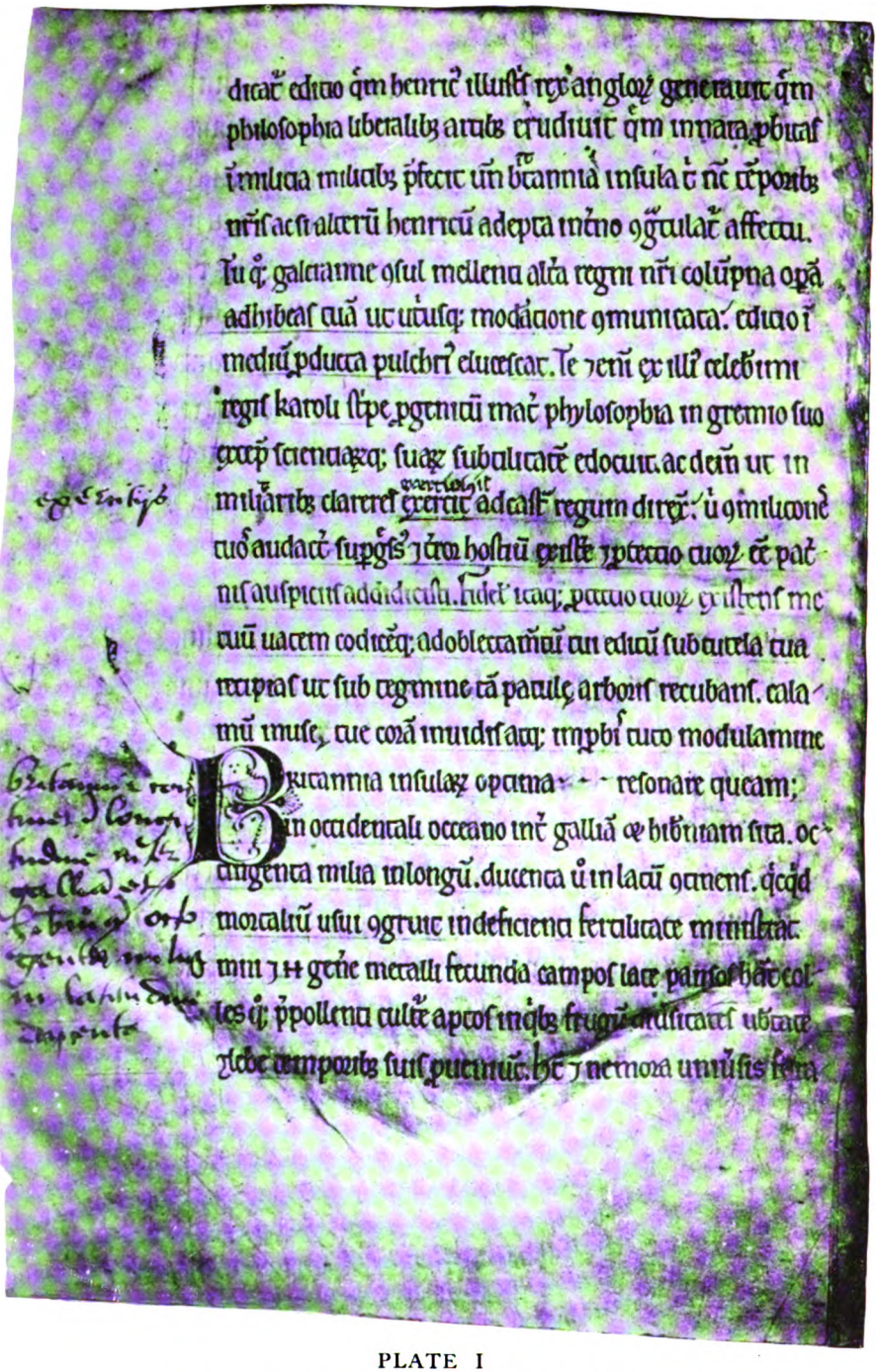

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The Historia Regum Britanniæ of Geoffrey of Monmouth

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF ITS PLACE IN EARLY BRITISH HISTORY

BY

ACTON GRISCOM, M.A.

TOGETHER WITH A LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE WELSH MANUSCRIPT N° LXI OF JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD

BY

ROBERT ELLIS JONES, S.T.D.

CANON OF THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE, NEW YORK
SOMETIME PRESIDENT OF HOBART COLLEGE

With 16 *photographs of manuscripts*

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
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1929

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TO MY FATHER

THESE FIRST-FRUITS IN LOVING GRATITUDE

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PREFACE

THIS volume offers (1) the first accurate Latin text made from manuscripts of the most important source of early British history and legend; (2) the first literal translation of one of the surviving Welsh Manuscript Chronicles, dealing with the same early history; and (3) a discussion of Geoffrey's claim to have had and translated an ancient British book.

The survival of native written records of early British history, such as a British account of Cæsar's invasion, or of King Arthur's wars, either in Geoffrey's compilation or in similar yet varying Welsh Chronicles, has been denied by the majority of scholars for generations. The incorporation of fragments of *oral* tradition — usually insignificant — has been admitted, but no more. It has been said that the *Historia* is "romance"; that the kings are "inventions"; that the stories are "fictions" proving nothing but the fertility of Geoffrey's imagination; and that the only bases for any facts beneath his literary superstructure are to be found in earlier and accredited British writers such as Gildas, "Nennius," and Bede, in well-known classic authors, and in Welsh genealogies. Geoffrey himself has been considered "*facile princeps* in the art of historical lying" — a point of view which in my opinion has for too long held the field, since it has prevented the consideration of a multitude of historic details of real importance.

Such an attitude of contempt and denial seems often to have followed the effort of any historical writer to gather together the traditional history of bygone days. Herodotus himself, the "Father of History," was openly accused by Lucian (*Philopseudes*, 2) of "making use of falsehood," and by Diodorus Siculus (Book I, Cap. vi) of "wilfully pursuing and preferring prodigious stories before Truth, and relating a quantity of fictions merely for sport and diversion's sake." This may be a necessary corrective

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to that blind reliance on the written word which most assuredly characterized mediæval times, and characterizes also our present-day newspaper-reading public, but it is neither wise nor scientific. Truth may be sought under many disguises; and eleven years of persistent work have convinced me that Geoffrey's *Historia* provides a fruitful field for historical, as well as literary, research, if approached with due caution.

To attempt to review the whole controversy that still centres around Geoffrey, to provide adequate texts and also to advance our knowledge of early British history, would obviously require more than a single volume. I have had to confine myself here, therefore, to the presentation of the Latin texts; to a survey of the almost untouched field of Welsh MS. Chronicles, with the careful translation of one of them; and to the discussion of those outstanding criticisms which have resulted in the rejection of the *Historia* together with the Welsh Chronicles as romance. Few positive contributions could be made until this preliminary work had been accomplished. The study of Geoffrey's text alone, in comparison with the various Welsh MS. Chronicles, took the better part of five years, and Canon Jones, who most kindly co-operated from the inception of the work in reading and translating the Welsh MSS., spent ten years and took infinite pains in perfecting his translation from the Welsh. In this he has had the assistance, for the past two years, of Professor John J. Parry, who not only made many valuable suggestions, but also contributed several of the Notes to the Welsh text, and revised the galley proofs. Canon Jones and I wish to express our indebtedness to Professor Parry for all his voluntary labours, and our appreciation of the contribution he has made to our joint efforts.

It should be clearly understood that the Welsh MS. chosen for the translation is not the *vetustissimus liber* which Geoffrey states that he translated, nor can any of the Welsh MS. Chronicles known to me, and which I have listed in Appendix II, be so identified. However, many of these Welsh Chronicles vary so extensively from the *Historia* that they cannot be mere translations of

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it, and they unquestionably require comparative study. Furthermore, they embody, here and there, material not only not in Geoffrey, but not in any known sources. They therefore either preserve independent traditional history, or we must credit their authors with a genius for imaginative fiction second only to that once ascribed to Herodotus and still attributed to Geoffrey. When this unidentifiable material is piece by piece extracted and put together, its mass becomes too impressive to be ignored. Isolated statements contained in no other source have already received positive corroboration in recent archæological discoveries, such as the Vortigern Ogham stones in Ireland and the Walbrook skulls. The case for the survival of written native records, therefore, passes from the possible or even the probable, to the assured, at least under these heads. Add to this the fact, brought out in the concluding chapters of this volume, that the most damaging criticisms of Geoffrey's veracity and of the Welsh Chronicles are found, on analysis and comparison with the texts, to lack manuscript support and often to reveal inexplicable errors, and it becomes abundantly clear that the whole question of Geoffrey's sources, and of Walter the Archdeacon's *vetustissimus liber*, needs to be reopened and studied afresh.

The aim of this volume, therefore, is to provide scholars with a reliable equipment of certain necessary texts, and to point out, first, that many criticisms of Geoffrey have been inadequate and misleading, and second, that the *Historia* and the Welsh Chronicles will well repay the careful study of historians. More than this has not been attempted here.

No such undertaking could be carried out without the assistance of many kind friends and collaborators. My debt to Canon Jones can neither be told nor repaid. His command of mediæval Welsh, and his ability to force the Welsh idiom into a readable yet literal English equivalent, can only be appreciated by those who have seriously attempted the task. I also wish to express my deep gratitude to Professor W. W. Lawrence of Columbia University. The inspiration and stimulus which he first gave me as a student

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in his courses did not cease with the termination of our official relation, and for fifteen years he has generously continued his friendly interest and encouragement, and my work has been steadily aided by his criticism and advice. Dr. Jacob Hammer, who has since received a Guggenheim Fellowship to work on all the XII century MSS. of the *Historia*, read the Latin proofs with me, and was most devoted in helping with the arduous task of seeing the texts through the press. Every facility has been afforded by Mr. Roger Howson, Librarian of Columbia University, whose understanding assistance has made many tasks much easier; and a score of librarians and scholars, both here and abroad, rendered valuable help by examining MSS. for me, or copying passages to make comparison possible. These services are severally acknowledged throughout the volume.

Finally, I could have done nothing without the help of life-long friends whose practical and literary assistance it would be impossible to acknowledge with sufficient gratitude.

Despite every precaution, it is hardly possible that a work of this kind should prove free from errors. My hope is, however, that my book may prompt other scholars to examine the whole field for themselves, and to carry forward the task of reconstructing early British history in the light of Geoffrey's *Historia* and of the Welsh Chronicles. My contribution will have served its purpose if it stimulate and lighten their labours.

NEW YORK,
May, 1929

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PART I

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GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S CHRONICLE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE IMPORTANCE to literature of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniæ* is too well known to students of mediæval and especially of Arthurian Romance to need special emphasis. They have devoted years of patient labour to solving, with its aid, many complicated and baffling problems. To their attention this book is in large measure directed, in the confident hope that the accurate texts, here for the first time presented, may be of service to them. But what is scarcely appreciated as yet is that the *Historia* is also of importance for the actual history of pre-Roman and Arthurian Britain, and deserves a greater consideration by historians than it has received. It is too commonly overlooked, as it should not be, that Geoffrey has preserved for us many native Welsh and Breton traditions, which he gathered together at a time when they were still familiar, and before Saxon, Danish, and Norman invaders had destroyed the written native records. He claimed to have for the basis of his work a "most ancient book" written in the British, i.e., the Welsh language; and though this *vetustissimus liber* has never been discovered, the existence of some such native groundwork is unmistakably indicated by the very obvious way in which his *Historia* interweaves unknown source material with what can be identified as drawn from the accredited histories of his day, and by the mass of detail, not to be found elsewhere, but which has been corroborated in many striking instances by recent archæological discoveries. This con-

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clusion is further confirmed by a study of the manuscripts. But because his aim was, in part at least, to make literature out of history, with an obvious affectation of literary style, and also because many of the stories which he included are extravagant (what Celtic stories are not?), and his errors are both manifest and crude, Geoffrey has suffered severely in the past at the hands of critics. "It is idle to look for history in any guise," writes a recent Welsh historian, Professor John Edward Lloyd, "from a writer who allowed himself such freedom and whose first and last thought was for literary effect." [1] But like so many judicious scholars whose caution has led them to discard Geoffrey, even Professor Lloyd admits that: "Occasionally, it is true, he makes use of a genuine local tradition, as when, in opposition to Nennius, he links the death of Vortigern with the stronghold on the Little Howard, near his own home at Monmouth." [2] It is precisely the comparative study of numerous details of this nature which has convinced me that scholarship must approach the study of the *Historia* anew, making due and careful allowance for literary embellishment or history "faking," but seeking to discover the evidence for early British history that has been preserved in its pages. Fortunately, a fresh appraisal of Geoffrey's work is becoming recognized as necessary, even by those who hope for little from its results, and is already being undertaken.

One difficulty, however, has always confronted the scholar. No critical, or even reasonably accurate, text of the *Historia Regum Britanniæ* has hitherto been published. The several printed texts, which are in many libraries today, and which will be described in detail below, are not the accurate reproductions of manuscripts they claim to be; for even the later, nineteenth century, imprints are no more than copies of a sixteenth century edition, itself full of errors and prepared with an almost total lack of critical judgment. This has been a serious hindrance to

[1] *A History of Wales*, 2nd ed., Longmans, 1912, Vol. II, pp. 527–28.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 526.

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scholarship, and has misled many who have perforce relied upon the ignorant vagaries of ill-equipped editors. "It is deplorable," writes Professor R. W. Chambers, "that we should still be depending for our text of Geoffrey upon the whim of a sixteenth-century printer." [1] In modern literary studies the evidence of printed texts is quoted to illustrate the arguments, though the passages cited are not always supported by the early manuscripts. Anthropologists such as Professor H. J. Fleure and Miss L. Winstanley, who are publishing most striking and interesting corroboration from the printed text of Geoffrey's *Historia* for their independent discoveries about the migrations from ancient Troy, would find his evidence still more favourable by consulting the manuscripts.[2] Recently, also, no less an historian and archæologist than Professor Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie analyzed portions of Geoffrey's text in connection with one of the Welsh Chronicles dealing with the same material, the only one that had been translated. As a result, he found hitherto unsuspected evidence that nearly contemporary accounts of early British history,—such as Cæsar's invasion and the campaigns of an historic Arthur,—had survived, and were incorporated by Geoffrey in his *Historia*. But most unfortunately, Professor Petrie was misled in several instances by inaccuracies in the texts he used, both in the Latin and in the translation from the Welsh.[3] Similar textual errors also weaken the argument of an interesting and provocative book by Dr. L. A. Waddell, on the Phœnician origin of the ancient Britons. Some of the evidence assembled to support this thesis has a direct bearing upon Geoffrey's sources.[4]

Such instances make it doubly evident that an accurate text of

[1] *History*, Vol. IV, April, 1919, p. 45.

[2] Cf. *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1915–16, pp. 75 to 164, and *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1916, p. 35. Also Prof. H. J. Fleure, *The Races of England and Wales*, London, 1923, esp. pp. 66 ff. for a brief popular summary.

[3] "Neglected British History," in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1917–1918, pp. 251–278. But cf. *History*, Vol. III, Jan. 1919 and Vol. IV, April, 1919.

[4] *The Phœnician Origin of Britons, Scots, and Anglo-Saxons*, London, Williams and Norgate, 1924.

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Geoffrey's *Historia* is a prime necessity for further research. The materials for a critical text are not, and never have been, lacking. On the contrary, the difficulty is that they are so abundant. Geoffrey's popularity in his own time caused his work to be widely diffused, and probably more manuscript copies of it have survived than of any similar work of the same period. I have listed nearly two hundred manuscripts, scattered all over Europe from Stockholm to the Vatican, including forty-eight of the twelfth century. The time and labour required to collate all these, — as would be necessary for a complete critical text, — have doubtless deterred many scholars who have been well equipped for the task. But the importance of a definitive text, and the assistance it would render to scholarship in many different fields, prompt the hope that related groups of manuscripts easily accessible in the libraries of Cambridge and Oxford, in the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Vatican, may before long receive critical treatment and publication.

In the meantime, I offer the following text of three selected Latin manuscripts, together with an English translation of one of the Welsh Chronicles, or *Bruts*, whose actual relation to Geoffrey's work presents a problem which can only be solved by further critical study of all the texts themselves.

The four manuscripts thus presented — the three in Latin carefully collated, and the Welsh translated as literally as possible — have been selected with a view to three basic questions:

1) What was the original text, as Geoffrey himself wrote it?
2) What modifications were introduced, as his work passed through later editions or "recensions," to use Ward's term;[1] and how far have the scribes made alterations from the original drafts?
3) From what sources did Geoffrey draw?

There is strong evidence that the first two manuscripts here collated from rotographs — MS. 1706 (old number II.i.14) the

[1] H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, Vol. I, pp. 203 ff.; cf. esp. p. 205.

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University Library, Cambridge, and Codex 568 (fol. 18a–79b) the Stadtbibliothek, Bern — fairly represent the earliest versions, or writing, of Geoffrey's work. My reasons for this belief are given in Chapter V below.

The third manuscript, collated throughout with these two — the XIII century Harlech manuscript, most kindly lent to me by Lord Harlech for the purpose — is typical of the stereotyped form which the *Historia* had taken after a century of copying and scribal editing.[1] An otherwise inaccessible manuscript is here made available for scholars.

The Welsh *Brut*, or Chronicle, — MS. LXI, XV century, Jesus College, Oxford, literally translated and placed parallel with the Latin to facilitate ready comparison, — is representative of the almost unexplored group of Welsh and Irish manuscripts, where lies our best hope of discovering evidence that the "*vetustissimus liber*," which Geoffrey asserts that he translated from the British tongue, was not his own invention — the "figment of an heated Celtic imagination."

Though the publication of three Latin texts — accurately reproducing the chosen originals — cannot take the place of a complete critical treatment of all the known manuscripts, it may nevertheless enable the student to obtain a clearer and more unified view of three important manuscripts than would be possible in a more extended collation. For that reason the variant readings of the Harlech manuscript have been placed separately below those of the Bern, rather than commingled with the latter in the usual way, so that a more accurate survey of each manuscript as a whole, in its relation to the other two, and to the Welsh in translation, may be gained. Mr. Egerton Phillimore, commenting on the composites furnished in various editions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, has aptly remarked that "it is absolutely impossible for anyone to take a bird's-eye view, far less

[1] This fine manuscript once formed part of the Porkington Collection, and descended to the Ormsby-Gore family. It is now in Lord Harlech's private library at Brogyntyn, Oswestry, Shropshire. Cf. Appendix I, and Chapter V, section 3.

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form a comparative and critical estimate" of an individual manuscript collated with others, by means of any of the recognized methods of variant readings and footnotes. And he adds: "The process of forming one text out of such discordant materials may be compared to that of making an elaborate knot with threads of various colours. The trouble of making the knot is vast, but the trouble of undoing it when once made is so much vaster, that there is little likelihood of its ever being undone to any purpose. The only adequate plan in such a case is to print the various texts in parallel columns." [1]

Such an undertaking would be out of the question with the *Historia*, where so many manuscripts are involved; but at least the reading of the three manuscripts here reproduced is made as easy as possible.

The presentation of accurate Latin texts placed parallel with a literal translation of a representative Welsh Chronicle necessarily reopens the vexed question of Geoffrey's sources, especially of the relation of the surviving Welsh Chronicles to Geoffrey's Latin compilation, on the one hand, and on the other, to his claim to have translated a *vetustissimus liber*. These Welsh Chronicles, almost all unpublished, have not received the attention they deserve. No study of Geoffrey's sources is complete without them; and to dismiss them all as late translations and adaptations of the *Historia* itself, as has been done for several generations of scholarship, is proof that many of the Welsh have not been critically examined. As the standard reference books uniformly treat the Welsh Chronicles in this way, and recognized critics have unfortunately committed themselves to positive statements which the manuscripts do not support, an examination of previous discussions occupies the later chapters of the book.

In the present early and necessarily incomplete stage of investigation, few final conclusions have been possible. The problems involved are very complex and require detailed study of the most minute sort in many fields of scholarship. I have

[1] "The Publication of Welsh Historical Records," in *Y Cymmrodor* for 1890, p. 142.

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tried, while indicating the need for further inquiry, to indicate also the directions in which it may proceed. I shall be content if I have succeeded in throwing open doors through which others may advance and carry forward the work of disentangling the historical from the imaginative elements in Geoffrey's work.

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CHAPTER II

THE PRINTED TEXTS OF GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S *HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIÆ*

THERE are five previously printed editions of Geoffrey's *Historia*. It will be seen that it is seventy-five years since the last text of Geoffrey has been printed, while all of the editions have long been out of print and are very hard to obtain. These five are:

1) Jodocus Badius Ascensius, *Britannie utriusque regum et principum origo et gesta insignia ab Galfrido Monemutensi* . . . Paris, 1508.
2) ——; second edition, revised, 1517.
3) Jerome Commelin, *Historiæ Regum Britanniæ*, in *Rerum Britannicarum, id est Angliæ, Scotiæ, vicinarumque insularum ac regionum Scriptores Vetustiores ac Præcipvi*, Heidelberg,[1] 1587.
4) Rev. J. A. Giles, LL.D., *Galfridi Monumetensis Historia Britonum*, published in *Scriptores Monastici*, David Nutt, London, 1844.
5) San-Marte (A. Schulz), *Gottfried's von Monmouth Historia Regum Britanniæ* . . . *und Brut Tysylio*, Halle, 1854.

As these editions are all faulty, and the later ones do not reproduce the MSS. they claim to do, a brief analysis will be in order.

(1) The first printed edition of Geoffrey's *Historia* was issued by Josse Bade (Badius Ascensius), of Asche, not far from Brussels, at his press in Paris in 1508. The title, over the famous Ascensius wood-cut device, reads: Britanie utriusq; // regū & pricipū Ori // go & gesta insignia // ab Galfrido Monemutensi ex antiquissi // mis Britannici sermonis monumentis in // latinū sermonē tra-

[1] Also *Lugdunum* — an hitherto unrecorded printing in the same year.

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ducta: & ab Ascensio cu // ra & impedio magistri Iuonis Cauellati in // lucem edita; ꝑstant in eiusdem ædibus. An introductory epistle by the editor Cavellatus is addressed to "herueo [1] Kaerquiffinenno"; — and as Conway in Carnarvonshire "was anciently called Caer Gyffin," [2] the inscription may be to a Welsh friend of Cavellatus. As the latter is addressed as "magister," and the letter is dated, "Ex collegio nostro corisopitēsi ad idus Iulias anni salutiferi. N. [supply M] D.VIII.," we know that Ivo Cavellatus was a Professor at the College of Cornouailles, or Quimper, at Paris,[3] and may well have been a Welshman, if not a Breton, himself. It is natural that the first editing of a native Welsh-Breton history should have emanated from such a source. In the Epistle to his friend Herveus (Hervey), Cavellatus states that "tātus me invasit ardor; atq̄ suscitandi auiditas" whether the common sayings about their native (nostris) history were true, that he searched until he found in the library of his college in Paris a certain booklet — libellū quendā — which gave him what he wanted, but which was "tot mendis atq̄ erratis contaminatus" that he was very dejected, and sought for other copies "per multas hui' gymnasii parrhisiēsis discurrens bibleothecas." He discovered three more; two "in coenobio sancti victoris parrhisiensis," of which one was written in "vetustissimis characteribus"; and the other was a copy for the Abbot himself. The third he found "apud carmelitarum dictæ urbis coenobium; & in eorūdem bibliothecā catena ferrea īter chronica affixū." Then he tells us, confessing to what has been the bane of modern scholarship — "Hos simul inuētos sibiinuicē cōtuli: collatos (utcūq̄) castigaui: castigatos imprimendos curaui."

Cavellatus, then, had *four manuscripts which he "corrected,"*

[1] Not Henrico — cf. René Kerviler, *Repertoire Générale de Bio-Bibliographie Bretonne*, Rennes, 1895, No. 785 under CAVELLAT.

[2] *The Place-Names of Wales*, by Thomas Morgan, 2d ed., 1912, p. 127.

[3] Cf. Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Vol. I, p. 515 — in a "List of Colleges founded [in Paris] before 1500" — "C. de Cornouailles (*or* Quimper) 1321 — Founder, Galerannus Nicolaus, clerk." Corisopitum was the mediæval name for Quimper — "aussi désigné par le nom de Cornouailles" — *Dic. Latin-Français des Noms Propres des Lieux*, par M. l'Abbé Chevin.

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and as "corrected" he had them printed. The manuscripts he used have so far not been identified; but his editorial changes, compared with available manuscript evidence, appear in most cases to be downright error, or bold attempts at Latinization, proving that the printer could make nothing of Geoffrey's Welsh names, but stumbled blindly into crude mistakes. The harm this has done to scholarship is greater than many realize, because each of the four subsequent editions appears to be based largely upon the Ascensius text of Cavellatus, and many of the editorial blunders of this pioneer survive in Giles's and San-Marte's texts.

The Ascensius edition of the *Historia* occupies one hundred and one numbered folio pages, and is divided into nine numbered books,[1] instead of the twelve of later editions, introduced by large woodcut initial letters; and into chapters, also numbered, introduced by small woodcut initials.[2]

[1] San-Marte (A. Schulz), in his edition of the *Historia*, though he quotes extensively from this Ascensius edition, nevertheless states that the latter is divided "in acht Büchern" (p. xlii). In this he seems to echo Tanner — *vide infra*. He worked from a transcript; cf. p. 27 below.

[2] Book I, composed of xxvi chapters, extends to the end of folio xxxii$^{vo.}$ — and corresponds with the first three Books of Giles's text, together with the first eighteen chapters of Book IV. Book II in Ascensius, beginning with Lucius, first British king to embrace Christianity, and comprising vi chapters, extends from folio xxxiii$^{rec.}$ to folio xlv$^{vo.}$. This covers Book IV, cap. xix to Book VI, cap. ix, in Giles. Book III extends from folio xlvi$^{rec.}$ to folio li$^{vo.}$, though a misprint gives the caption "Liber IIII." to the last folio of this third Book (the error is corrected in the second edition). This takes us exactly to the end of Book VI in Giles. There are only three chapters in this third Book of the Ascensius text. Book IIII, as it is printed, has no chapters, but Geoffrey's Prologus and letter to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, appear, separately paragraphed. It extends from folio lii$^{rec.}$ to folio lvii$^{vo.}$, and corresponds with Giles, Book VII, all four chapters, and Book VIII, cap. i, stopping short of the last sentence. There are verbal differences throughout. The Ascensius text has separate paragraphs and small initials, which often correspond with the chapter divisions of Giles, as also for the opening of Book VIII.

Book V, comprising six chapters, extends from folio lviii$^{rec.}$ to folio lxiiii$^{rec.}$, corresponding with Book VIII, last sentence of cap. i, through cap. xiv of Giles. Book VI, with three chapters, extends from folio lxiiii$^{vo.}$ to folio lxix, line 7, which takes us exactly to the end of Book VIII of Giles. Book VII, with vii chapters, and numerous additional paragraphs and captions, extends from line 8 of folio lxix$^{vo.}$ to line 13 of xci$^{vo.}$, covering the whole of Books IX and X of Giles, and the first two chapters of Book XI — i.e., the strictly Arthurian material. Book VIII of Ascensius, with iii chapters, extends from the middle of folio xci$^{vo.}$ to folio xciii$^{rec.}$; — in Giles, to the end of Book XI. Book IX, with vi chapters, corresponds with Book XII, twenty chapters, in Giles. In addition, there are frequent introductory paragraphs, summarizing the chapters or Books that follow; but as there is no regularity of arrangement in these, they were probably the interpolations of the editor.

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(2) Josse Bade brought out a second edition of the same work in 1517, with a slightly changed title, "rursus maiore accuratione impressa." He reset the eighth preliminary leaf, adding the accents to the few Greek terms, suppressed the double caption to fol. iii$^{rec.}$, and reset occasional folios throughout, so that references to the one volume do not always apply exactly to the other. He also employed capital rather than small letters almost uniformly for personal and place names, which were very varied and inconsistent in the original edition; and altered the spelling of names — not always to the improvement of the text — though undoubtedly so intended. The divisions into nine Books, with chapters, remain the same. He retained, in substantially the same form also, the marginal summaries which appeared in the first edition, and which, like the Book and chapter headings, were almost certainly editorial additions and attempts to elucidate the text.

These minor points are noticed, not merely to distinguish textual variations between the two editions, but because they may prove to be of service in identifying the manuscripts which Cavellatus "edited."

(3) In the first collected edition of British chronicles, also printed outside Great Britain, Geoffrey's *Historia*, here first called in print the *Historiæ Regum Britanniæ*, takes foremost place. Jerome Commelin, printer and humanist, embracing Protestantism, was forced to leave Douai, his birthplace, and flee first to Geneva, in 1560, and later, in 1587, to Heidelberg, where he died ten years later. Highly esteemed by Scaliger, Casaubon, and de Thou for his editions of the Greek and Latin classics, he cannot today, as a reproducer of texts, be commended for his editing of this collection of chronicles, which he brought out the first year of his residence in Heidelberg, 1587, under the title *Rerum Britannicarum, id est Angliæ, Scotiæ, vicinarumque insularum ac regionum Scriptores Vetustiores ac Præcipvi.* In the "Typographus Lectori" he says that the *Historia*, first printed by Ascensius of Paris and "multis in locis pro illius arbitrio absque causa mutatum"(!) he now prints "*γνήσιον*" — by pure

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descent or correctly — collated with a manuscript of one Paul Knibbe — "cum ms. Clarissimi viri & de litteris optime meriti D. Pauli Knibij collatum." This is all that he tells us of his sources, and unfortunately nothing is known of the MS. of his learned friend, Knibbe.[1]

Here first appear the divisions into twelve Books, with a new alignment of chapters. Commelin in this may have followed the MS. of Knibbe, or have determined them for himself. As the next editor, Giles, copied Commelin, and San-Marte copied Giles, these divisions have become the standard; and since all references to Geoffrey employ them, they are placed in the margin of the present text for ready reference. It should be noted, however, that I have found no early MSS. divided into twelve Books (cf. Chapter IV). Commelin suppressed the Book and chapter headings or summaries which appeared in Ascensius, and also the marginal elucidations. His text has many minor differences from that of the earlier editions, both as to spelling and (more important) the tenses of verbs, and he corrects certain manifest errors. He did a better and clearer piece of printing than either of the editions of Bade, but he had no critical knowledge or equipment in the modern sense, and his text is full of obvious misreadings and errors. Illustrations of this will appear in abundance in subsequent discussion.

(4) Two hundred and fifty-seven years were to pass before

[1] According to Bishop Stubbs in his edition of *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis de Gestis Regum Anglorum* for the *Rolls Series*, London, 1887, Vol. I, pp. xcix–c: "Paul Knibbe was a learned Fleming, born at Rousselaere or Roulers, in Western Flanders; a counsellor of the prince of Orange, and in 1578 a pensionary of Ghent. He was son-in-law of Adolf van Meetkerke, President of Flanders; and was employed as envoy from the king of Denmark to the English Court in the year 1592. Whilst engaged in this business he died at London in the house of his mother-in-law, 'ædibus Meetkerchianis,' on the 8th of October, and was buried, on the 10th, near the tomb of his father-in-law, apparently in the English capital. Christian IV. describes him as a Doctor of Laws, 'nobilis et clarissimus'; and Commelin calls him 'clarissimus vir et de litteris optime meritus.' There can, I think, be no doubt of the identity of the Danish Ambassador with the Flemish scholar. He had preserved the manuscript in question from the terrible devastation of the Belgian Libraries, and for that reason, if for nothing else, deserves grateful commemoration. Of the particular manuscript nothing further is known."

Of course, Stubbs is referring here to a Malmesbury manuscript which Commelin published, and which was probably given him at the same time as the above *Historia* manuscript by his friend Knibbe.

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another Latin text appeared. This time it fell to a Briton in England, the Rev. J. A. Giles, LL.D. to bring out the *Historia* in the *Scriptores Monastici*, published, 1844, by David Nutt in London. The title, with something of a flourish, reads: *GALFREDI MONUMETENSIS HISTORIA BRITONUM Nunc Primum In Anglia, Novem Codd. MSStis. Collatis, Edidit.* There are many surprizes in this volume, which, since it is regarded as the "standard text," must be laid under some scrutiny.

In the Introduction we are told (p. viii) that Commelin's edition "is much superior to the former, by Ascensius . . . which abounds with abbreviations, that sometimes throw ambiguity over the meaning, and divides the work into *seven* books only" (italics mine). As the Ascensius volume has the nine Book headings clearly printed in the captions and also at the top of every recto leaf in *both editions*, it is strange that each of the latest editors should mistake the number — San-Marte giving eight. Giles continues: "The manuscripts of this author are very numerous, and the work is consequently preserved to us more correct than is generally the case with such old writers. . . . A large number of manuscripts have been either wholly or in part collated for this edition; and a list of them will be found at the end of the volume; but, except in two or three instances, where a whole sentence has been replaced, and in others where the corrections are so decided as to leave no doubt which reading ought to be preferred, the variations are so trifling that it has been deemed superfluous to notice them" (pp. ix–x).

Turning to a brief note in small type placed after the Index on page 240, we find the list of the "Novem Codd. MSStis. Collatis" — or "large number of manuscripts" (i.e., nine) "either wholly or in part collated for this edition." The first "manuscript" is the *printed* text of Commelin. The next is the marginal notes of one Petreius, "vir doctus, nuper defunctus," to his copy of Commelin. A third is the *printed* text of the Merlin *Prophecies*, edited by Michel and Wright.[1] Eliminating two printed texts

[1] Paris, 1837, appendix, pp. 63–76

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from the nine "manuscripts" claimed on the title page, and one marginal commentary, which can hardly be classed as a Geoffrey manuscript, however learned and helpful to Giles, we find that of the remaining six manuscripts listed, the only one which Giles claims to have verbally collated throughout — "omnes ad verbum contuli" — presumably with the printed texts, is a *fourteenth* century manuscript — "olim Farmerii, nunc Jacobi Bohn." Not having as yet located this manuscript, I can only assume that, late as it is, it conformed with surprising verbal consistency to the printed text of Commelin. Bohn was an antiquarian book and manuscript dealer in London, and Giles may have seen one of his manuscripts, now in other hands. He says that it contained "three books," so it may have been no more than a fragment; but no other description is given. In fact, on his own statement, only one manuscript in addition to the above was listed by Giles as having been inspected entire — "MS. in Bibliotheca Bononiensi."[1] The remaining four, namely, Harl. 225, Reg. 13 D.II, Reg. 15 C.XVI, and "14 C.I" — which last may have been intended for another Royal manuscript, though the number is faulty, and does not agree with any number I know, were read only through the sixth or eighth Book. By no legitimate stretch of the imagination can this represent a collation of "nine" or of "a large number," of manuscripts. Moreover, the manuscripts listed, where they differ from the text of Commelin, were not used by Giles, no corrections of value appear, and no variant readings are given. For instance, the end of Book I in Commelin reads (p. 10): "Regnabat in Italia Siluius Æneas, Æneæ filius, auōculus Bruti, Latinorum tertius."[2] Giles follows Commelin

[1] In the Bibliothèque de la Ville of Boulogne-sur-Mer there is today a thirteenth century manuscript, not listed by Hardy, i.e., No. 180, which Giles may have seen — or perhaps heard of. Giles, apparently, tries to disarm criticism somewhat by writing: "Prætor istos codices plerosque alios inspexi, id quidem levius, sed satis accurate ut certior fierem nihil fere in istis libris inesse quod in mea deesset." Cf. p. 240.

[2] As in our two MSS. *viz.*, Univ. Lib., Cambridge, 1706, fol. 13r; Bern, fol. 24r; also, Brit. Mus. Royal 13 D.II, fol. 128vo; 13 D. V, fol. 4vo; Stowe, 56, fol. 118vo; Lansdowne, 732, fol. 9r; Arundel, 237, fol. 6vo; Nero D.VIII, fol. 8vo; Univ. Lib., Cambridge, 1801, fol. 66r; Univ. Lib., Cambridge, 2295, fol. 8vo (except that *tertius* is written *urtius*); Univ. Lib., Cambridge, 2434, fol. 30r, where *auunculus* has been erased and

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exactly, except that he corrects auōculus to avunculus. Ascensius underlies Commelin, merely omitting some of the capital letters, etc. Now Harleian MS. 225, fol. 11, said by both Ward and Professor Chambers to be twelfth century, and which Giles claims to have collated, reads: "Regnabat in Italia Silvius Eneas, filius Enee, filius avunculi Bruti, Latinorum tercius." Anyone who has read the arguments of Zarncke and ten Brink against the priority of the *Tysilio*, based in large part on this sentence,[1] will realize how carefully all manuscript readings must be scrutinized. Yet Giles, entirely unfamiliar with such problems, considered such "variations" so "trifling" that he deemed it "superfluous to notice them."

When it comes to Giles's own corrections of errors, "so decided as to leave no doubt which reading ought to be preferred," I offer as an example his editing of a sentence in Book IX, cap. xiv, describing the games and tournament without the walls of Caerleon, after Arthur's coronation. The Ascensius text reads, corruptly enough (fol. lxxvii^{vo}): "Alii telis; alii: hasta alii ponderosorum lapidum iactu: alii saxis: alii aleis: cæterorumque iocorum diuersitate contendentes quod diei restabat postposita lite prætereunt." Commelin follows this exactly, except that he corrects the punctuation (IX, xiiii, p. 70). Now our manuscripts have an interesting and significant variation for this sentence. The Cambridge manuscript, fol. 98^{rec}, l. 11 (cf. p. 240) reads: "Alii cū celtib3. alii cū hasta," etc., obviously referring to the well-known implement or weapon, a *celt*, which, together with spears and heavy weights, were being used in the games for amusement. Giles, however, departs from Ascensius and Commelin in that he adds the "cum" throughout, which does not appear in

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Patea inserted by another hand. Bodleian 514, XIII century, with Robert-Waleran dedication, fol. 4vo., col. a, is like the above group, and printed texts.

Griscom E.17 reads, fol. 5r: *Regnabat in italia silvius enee filius auunculus bruti latinorum tercius*, as also does the Harlech MS., fol. 8r. For discussion, cf. Chap. X.

[1] "Über das Verhältniss des Brut y Tysilio zu Gottfried's Historia regum Britanniæ" in *Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur*, V, Leipzig, 1864, p. 249 ff.; and Bernhard ten Brink's "Nachschrift" to his article, "Wace und Galfrid" etc. in Vol. IX, 1869, pp. 262–270.

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the two early printed texts — showing that he must have made use of some manuscript source — but he changes *celtibus*, a celt or celts into *Celtibus*, the Celts, confounding the instrument with the people: — "Alii cum Celtibus, alii cum hasta," etc.,[1] and makes nonsense of the passage. The Bern manuscript (fol. 64vo, l. 18) reads: "Alii cū cestib3. alii cum celtib3. alii cū hasta," etc., not merely strengthening the reading for celts, but in the first word, perhaps referring to a cestus or cæstus, a boxing glove — which the scribe did not recognize, and hence abbreviated incorrectly.[2]

(5) The only remaining Latin text of the *Historia*, that by San-Marte (i.e., A. Schulz), Halle, 1854, long since out of print and scarce, avowedly reproduced Giles's text, with variant readings in the notes from Commelin and from an often faulty transcript made from Ascensius — so that this text gives us no more than the choice of readings from those already printed.[3]

[1] p. 173. In his translation for the Bohn Library, Giles skips blithely over this difficulty raised by his own text, and omits the phrase entirely: "Others spent the remainder of the day in other diversions, such as shooting with bows and arrows, tossing the pike, casting of heavy stones and rocks, playing at dice and the like, and all these inoffensively and without quarrelling" (p. 245). Dr. Sebastian Evans follows Giles's lead exactly, merely smoothing out the phrases (p. 171 in *Everyman's Library*). As Giles agrees verbally in this passage with Aaron Thompson (1717) who made the first English translation, it does not suggest that his "corrections" of even the earlier translator were very thorough; while Dr. Evans, in his turn, by not concentrating on the Latin, missed an opportunity to add a delightful touch to the mediæval flavour of his rendering, by the fine literary style of which he has undoubtedly increased the romantic glamour of Geoffrey's historical romance.

[2] The Harlech MS., fol. 61ro, follows the Cambridge, rather than the Bern MS., merely spelling *celtibus* with an *s* — i.e., *seltibus*. The scribes of the Harlech MS. wrote from dictation. The Griscom MS. E.17, fol. 29vo, b., follows the Bern form, spelling it correctly, i.e., "*alii cū celtib3. alii cū hasta*," etc.

[3] "Bei der gegenwärtigen Ausgabe ist der Text der Ausgabe der Historia von Giles (G) zum Grunde gelegt, und sowohl mit dem fast durchweg damit übereinstimmenden Druck in der Heidelberger Scriptorensammlung (H), als auch mit dem Druck von Cavellatus und Ascensius (Asc), nach einer Abschrift, welche ich der Güte des Herrn Bibliothekar *Grässe* zu Dresden verdanke." Pp. xlvi-vii, *Gotfried's von Monmouth Historia Regum Britanniæ . . . und Brut Tysylio.*

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CHAPTER III

THE LATIN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *HISTORIA*

I HAVE listed in an appendix one hundred and ninety manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniæ*, distributed in more than forty-nine different libraries or private collections,[1] in eleven countries. Six of these are small fragments, but they represent all that survive of what appear to have been once complete manuscripts, so they have been included. It is highly probable that there are other important manuscripts in private collections and in Continental monastic libraries, not yet catalogued. Of the known manuscripts, forty-eight are unquestionably of the twelfth century (with two additional fragments), and a dozen more are of the early thirteenth. Nine named in Hardy's list of one hundred and seventy-three,[2] but not described by him, have not been traced, and no information about them can be given. Two more were sold recently at auction in London, and no records were kept of the purchasers. Hardy's list has many unconscious duplications; and, as much of his descriptive detail was taken from very early catalogues or printed summaries, many of his entries need radical revision, while his dating of manuscripts is often mistaken by two centuries.[3] As a result, I have added forty-three manuscripts, though

[1] The whereabouts of four of these manuscripts is at present unknown. Cf. App. I, Section D.

[2] *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, by Thomas Duffus Hardy, *Rolls Series*, v. 26, 1862, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 341 ff.

[3] To illustrate Hardy's method, and his lack of any effort to trace the manuscripts he listed, I might cite the following. Paul Petau (*b.* 1568, *d.* 1614) had a famous library which contained, among others, the following three Geoffrey manuscripts: — Nos. 235, 292 and 315. On his death, his son, "Conseiller au Parlement de Paris," inherited both his father's library and his taste for books and manuscripts. On the son's death, the library was sold, many of his manuscripts going to what is now the Library of the Rijks-Universiteit at Leyden, including one very fine Geoffrey, now No. *B.P.L.* 20. The three whose numbers are given above were bought by the celebrated Christina, Queen of Sweden, and appear among her manuscripts with the numbers 692, 825 and 871, respectively.

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some of these may include the above missing manuscripts, reappearing without any history by means of which to identify them. Twenty-six have not before received any description in print; twelve being hitherto unrecorded, and fourteen being known by name only. No pains have been spared to make my new list as complete and accurate as possible, and to this end I have corresponded for the past six years with many librarians in Europe, from whom I have received generous assistance, and the benefit of their expert opinion. I am also deeply indebted to Mr. Stanley V. LaDow, M.A., for examining the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale for me, and to Dr. Joseph Martini for long and careful descriptions of the two in Florence, while Mr. T. FitzRoy Fenwick was kind enough to send descriptions of his four Phillipps manuscripts at Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham.

Several detailed lists will be found in Appendix I, which contains a double classification, and special groupings. In the first list, for the greater convenience of students, all the manuscripts are grouped by their present locations, so that one may see at a glance just what manuscripts may be found at any one place; and, in the second, the XII century manuscripts are given, though without my having been able, except in a most tentative way, to grade them according to age.

Two further lists contain, first, the manuscripts not in Hardy's enumeration, or not to be identified with any in his list; and, second, the manuscripts named by Hardy which I have either not

Upon her death, these manuscripts were bought by Pope Innocent XI, and are now in the Vatican Library, still retaining their Queen Christina numbers, as given above. Hardy, however, lists three Petau manuscripts, three Queen Christina manuscripts and three Vatican manuscripts; and he fails entirely to list the Petau manuscript which went to Leyden. Hence we see three manuscripts of Paul Petau turned into nine in Hardy's list, and a fourth manuscript lost. Details about Petau's library may be found in Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*, 2nd ed., Paris (1880), Vol. XXXII, p. 571, and the Queen Christina manuscripts with the purchase made by Pope Innocent XI, may be found in *Christina, Queen of Sweden*, by F. W. Bain, London, 1890, p. 352. In addition *Vatican MS.* 871, retaining the number of *Queen Christina's MS.* 871 which, in its turn, was *Petau MS.* 315, turns out to be a French translation of the *Historia*, and not a Latin manuscript. Nothing could illustrate better the difficulties of compiling a list of the *Historia* manuscripts, as it took me many months, and correspondence with Mgr. Mercati, Vatican Librarian, and Dr. Büchner, the obliging Keeper of Manuscripts of the Leyden Library, to unravel the *provenance* of this group of manuscripts.

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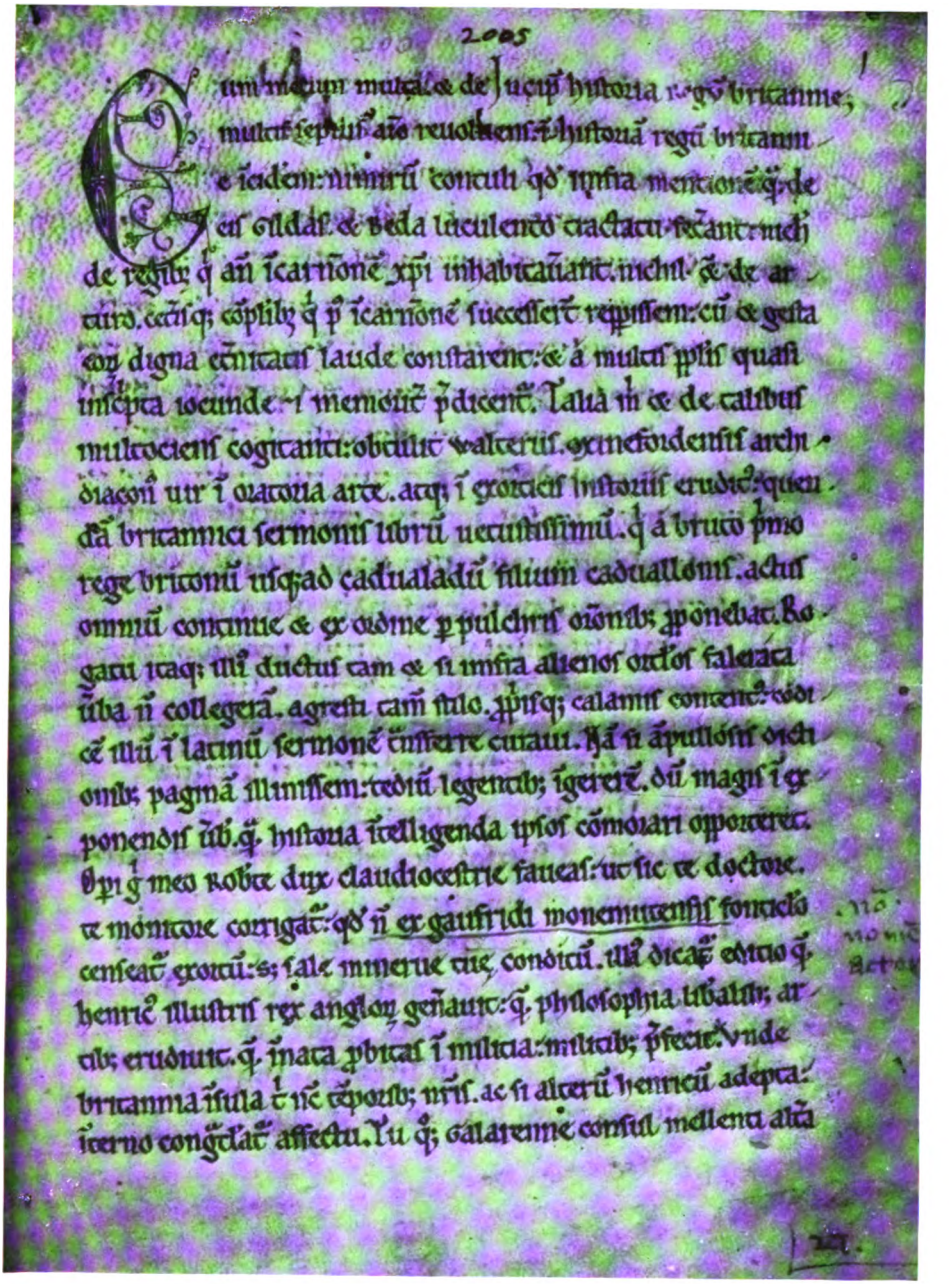

PLATE II

Vatican Latin 2005
Folio 1 *Recto, actual size*

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been able to place or identify, or those which are duplications, or miscalled *Historia* manuscripts. The libraries or private collections are also separately given, for ready reference. The titles of the latest descriptive catalogues are in the General Bibliography.

The forty-eight unquestionably XII century manuscripts provide one of the most interesting groups of material in all mediæval literature, and properly collated would yield a definitive text of the *Historia*. Unfortunately, this would involve visiting twenty-five different Libraries in seven different countries. By the time this labour had been accomplished, new manuscripts would probably have been discovered! For instance, it is hardly credible that no single *Historia* manuscript exists in the great German, Austrian, or Spanish collections, both public and private, but so far none has been recorded in any of these countries. It is to be hoped that new manuscripts will speedily come to light.

Of these XII century MSS., my own library contains one, unfortunately imperfect. I have complete rotographs of the two selected for the text — the Cambridge MS. 1706, and the Bern MS. Test photographs from twelve others have also been made for me; and, though neither these nor my own MS. have been collated for the text, I have been able to use them in the discussion of special passages. Every known XII century manuscript has been carefully re-examined for me by the several librarians in whose custody they are, and the age of the handwriting re-established, as also, where possible, the version to which each belonged. Geoffrey undoubtedly altered his book in minor details as it became popular and demands for additional copies arose. The changed relations of his patrons compelled him to rewrite his dedicatory epistle, and criticism apparently led him to warn rival historians not to talk or write of things about which they were ignorant. Internal evidence of this nature, as well as the presence of manifestly interpolated sentences (such as the famous "*Væ tibi Neustria*"), enable us to determine approximately to which edition or version, an earlier or a later, any given manuscript should be assigned. Confusion sometimes exists between the age

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of manuscripts, and the editions of a text which underwent revision, and which may appear in manuscripts of varying ages. There is the actual date of handwriting, which, within the margins always necessary to remember, fixes with precision the date of a manuscript. But an early edition may, and often does, appear in a late manuscript copy. A clear distinction, therefore, must be made between the edition or version to which any one manuscript belongs, and its actual age, determined by its handwriting. When we find an early version — especially the earliest — surviving in an indisputably early manuscript, we feel doubly confident of our resulting conclusion. This distinction between the earliness of the version and the age of the MS. that records it, is of even greater importance when we come to examine the Welsh manuscripts, as it is by no means certain that early versions may not be found to have survived only in late manuscripts.

The first two versions of Geoffrey's *Historia*, as we shall see, can be identified almost conclusively by means of an analysis of the relations between a series of patrons addressed by Geoffrey at different times, and each of these versions has come down to us in a MS. (the Cambridge 1706 and the Bern) that is undoubtedly as old in point of handwriting as any that we have. In comparison with later versions (such as my XII century MS. or the Harlech MS.) they possess one very significant characteristic: the spellings of personal and place names approach far more nearly (when not exactly) their Welsh equivalents than in the later editions. Since Geoffrey repeatedly asserted that he translated "a certain most ancient book in the British language," it is of the greatest interest to find that the earliest manuscripts in point of handwriting, and the earliest edition as established by internal historical evidence, also most closely suggest a Welsh [1] original. The spelling and pronunciation of Welsh names are

[1] Welsh and Breton, as dialects, were so nearly alike in the early XII century as to render a distinction virtually superfluous. Contemporary writers did not make a distinction until late in the century. I incline to accept the Breton origin of Walter's Book, geographically speaking, rather than the Welsh. Spellings of names show Continental influence.

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notoriously almost impossible in Anglo-Saxon or Latin. Latin scribes could make nothing of these strange Welsh spellings of the names of early British characters or places, and it is obvious that they were modified to accommodate Latin modes of speech. As the scribes often worked in pairs, one dictating and the other writing, we can almost hear the ludicrous efforts, reproduced phonetically in the text, of some Anglo-Saxon or French scribe, vainly trying to cope with a word he could by no means pronounce, whose obvious meaning in Welsh was completely lost to him. Add to this confusion that caused by a French scribe who supplied or dropped his *h*'s, and that which in Welsh (and the earliest Latin manuscripts) is sense, becomes in the later Latin copies (and printed editions) pure nonsense. The Harlech manuscript supplies numerous instances of this French accent, while one of the Cambridge manuscripts actually opens with "*Heneas post troyanum bellum*" — the *H* beautifully large and ornamented with scroll-work. As a result, Geoffrey's own reputation has suffered, since the printers, such as Ascensius and Commelin, could make no more of these names than could the scribes. Both these printers were inclined to force the names into some Latin equivalent, or at least make them yield to some declinable ending. Geoffrey has been taxed with "inventing" a host of names — in fact, whole dynasties of pre-Roman, British kings — which with far greater probability stand for actual, once-living men, whose names and notable achievements survived in written records, and who will some day be rescued from the world of make-believe, much as the ancient kings of Egypt and Palestine have reassumed their rightful place in history.

One illustration from the text will make clear the extent of this scribal and editorial corruption, and serve at the same time to show how necessary is comparison with the Welsh manuscript versions, before the question of Geoffrey's native British source can be rightly apprehended.

Geoffrey mentions a certain pre-Roman British king, a son of Beli, whose sufficiently barbarous name appears in the texts of

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Giles and San-Marte as *Gurgiunt Brabtruc* (cf. Bk. III, cap. xi). Commelin has precisely the same form. Ascensius has in the first edition *gurguītus brabtrucus* (fol. xxi^{vo}), and in the second *Gurguintus Brabtrucus*. Now the Welsh original, appearing in all the Welsh manuscripts we have seen, is *gorgant garyftorch* (cf. the two earliest MSS., viz., Peniarth 44, p. 39, l. 29, early XIII century, and Dingestow Court, p. 48, line 16; very early XIII or late XII century) which means "Gurgant of the cut (or shorn) beard," or Gurgant Cutbeard: *barf* meaning beard, and *trwch* meaning cut, or mutilated. Geoffrey obviously knew better than his later editors, for in the Cambridge manuscript we find, not brab, but *barbtruc*, exactly reproducing the Welsh, and not turning barb into brab. The spelling is identical, also, in the Bern manuscript. With the Griscom E. 17 manuscript, however, we already find corruption, the scribe writing each time *Gurguint batruc* (fol. 9vo, col. a); while in the XIII century Harlech MS. the name is written *Bartruhc* (fol. 16vo). The earlier we go in manuscripts, the more this name approximates the Welsh, which because of its obvious meaning proves to be correct in that language. In ancient British times a man's dignity, and especially a king's, was greatly concerned with his beard. If a wife insulted her lord [1] by mutilating his beard, she gave one of the three grounds for divorce; and a captive king frequently had his beard cut off to brand him with his defeat. The legendary King Arthur had a mantle made out of the beards of defeated kings. The nickname, therefore, of *Baryftruch*, cut or mutilated beard, would be a natural and thoroughly Welsh one, and there is no reason to suppose that Geoffrey invented it.[2]

[1] Cf. the passage from *The Lady of the Fountain*, in Lady Charlotte Guest's Welsh text of *The Mabinogion*, 1st. ed. Vol. I, p. 26, which literally translated, reads: "And she went into Owein's presence, and took the ring that was on Owein's hand, and said: 'Thus will the deceiving, lying traitor do, in insult to thy beard.'" Also, *The Ancient Laws of Cambria*, W. Probert, London, 1823, p. 136.

[2] The struggles of later writers to make anything of *Barbtruc* or its variants are somewhat ludicrous. One manuscript of Wace has *Gurgint Heltruc*, another *Gurgin Bertuc*. Milton in his *History of England* writes *Gurguntius Barbirus;* while the XIII century *Gesta Regum Britanniæ*, published by Francisque Michel from three manuscripts, gives it up and has *Goruhaudus Barbe-Rubée*, as also does Polydore Virgil, who calls him *Gurguntius secundus!*

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Internal evidence of this nature will go far towards re-establishing the fact of Geoffrey's dependence upon native, written records. When his romantic embellishments are sufficiently discounted, there will remain a body of material upon which the historian, the anthropologist, the archæologist, and the student of linguistics, in collaboration, may yet reconstruct for us the all but forgotten ancient history of the British Isles.

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CHAPTER IV

DID GEOFFREY DIVIDE HIS WORK INTO BOOKS?

THE fact that the first printed edition of Geoffrey's *Historia*, which must have been based on manuscripts, divides the work into nine Books, against the twelve of the later editions, raises the question as to whether there is manuscript evidence that Geoffrey himself used Book divisions, or whether arbitrary divisions were introduced by scribes or editors for the convenience of readers. Of the MSS. now in Paris, there is only one (Fonds Latin 17569, XII century) with divisions into nine Books. This, however, could not have been one of the four originals used by Cavellatus, since his divisions and that of this MS. do not coincide — the MS. merely failing to indicate Books VIII, IX, and XII of the later printed texts. In only three other XII century MSS. does division into nine Books appear, viz., Corpus Christi, Cambridge, 281, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Rouen, MS. 1177, once No. 20 at Jumièges, and Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, II, 1020. These four MSS. out of so many are clearly insufficient manuscript evidence to justify the belief that division into nine Books represents Geoffrey's own work. Therefore, if the first printed text does not represent the divisions, if any, made by Geoffrey, we must turn to the MSS. themselves for evidence under this head.

Before doing so, we may notice that the later printed texts — giving twelve Book divisions — have even less MS. support than that of the first edition into nine. Jerome Commelin introduced the division into twelve Books; and, as he used Cavellatus, together with the MS. of Paul Knibbe, the inference may be drawn that the latter MS. had twelve divisions, and Commelin preferred this number to nine. No single known XII century MS. is

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divided into twelve Books, so we may feel that there is certain proof that this division also was not original with Geoffrey. Knibbe's MS., as we have seen, has not been identified; and only one MS. out of about 175 where divisions are discernible, viz., Christ Church, Oxford, XCIX, XIV century, is clearly divided into twelve Books.[1] The divisions of the printed texts, therefore, are not supported by manuscript evidence, and are the editorial work either of scribes, or of Cavellatus and Commelin respectively, if they did not follow their MSS.

As they survive today, a clear majority of the earliest manuscripts, as well as the largest number of later ones, have no divisions of any kind into Books, and the chapters, or rather paragraphs, vary endlessly, and are marked, as usual, by more or less elaborate initial letters. Division into Books, therefore, seems not to have formed any part of Geoffrey's original composition.

This, however, did not prevent various "authorities" from making dogmatic statements. Thus Thomas Tanner, in 1748, wrote to the effect that the work was originally only in four Books, and was afterwards distributed into eight, and then into twelve Books, which undoubtedly seems to have been a generalization based on no better inference than that four is a simpler number than either eight, nine or twelve (cf. Pitts, "*prima et simplex versio*"). Tanner later took account of the Ascensius editions, but he certainly had an inadequate knowledge of even the English MSS. As a result of his statement, however, a Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. (No. 292), was "supposed to represent the work in its earliest form" because it was said to have four Book divisions.[2] Many authorities had long assigned this manuscript to the XII century, but in the most recent *Catalogue of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College* by Dr. Montague Rhodes James, it is described not only as XIII century, but as having "no book divisions," and Dr. James

[1] *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, Thomas Tanner, London, 1748, p. 306 and note. Cf. Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 343, note **. The two manuscripts are both at Magdalen College, Oxford, and are No. CLXX, XII century, and No. CLXXI, end of the XII century.

[2] Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 342; cf. Tanner, *op. cit.*, note to p. 306.

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adds: "Hardy, I, 342, says, 'This manuscript is supposed to represent the work in its earliest form, and is divided into four books.' But the division into books is not indicated in the rubrics. Hardy's account is otherwise confused" (p. 68). There is one manuscript in St. John's College, Cambridge, (G. 16.2) also of the XIII century (and therefore comparatively late as a manuscript), divided into four Books, and two in the British Museum (one of the early XIII, Cotton, Titus A, XXVII, and the other of the early XIV century, Cotton, Galba, E,XI) also divided into four Books; but such late manuscript evidence is obviously insufficient to justify the inference that four Books represent an original division made by Geoffrey.

Out of 48 complete, or nearly complete, XII century MSS., 27, or more than half, have no Book divisions whatever. These include all the MSS. with double dedications, and all the oldest MSS. in point of handwriting. Of the balance, 8 have eleven Book divisions, 4 have nine, 2 have eight, 1 has seven and another three, while 5 are so confused as to be indistinguishable. In other words, those XII century MSS. having Book divisions, show wide diversity both as to the number of Book divisions, and the places where these divisions occur. Out of the total of 184 described MSS., 115 have no Book divisions, several are confused, and about 60 are distributed between 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 Books. Six are undescribed. The evidence would seem to be conclusive in favour of the belief that division into Books formed no part of Geoffrey's original composition.

Only one group of XII century MS. enumerated above — that with eleven Books — shows sufficient consistency to challenge what seems to be the overwhelming evidence against Book divisions, so this group should, perhaps, be analyzed.

There are eight of these XII century MSS. in all, besides nine of later date. One of the earliest is in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence, No. IV.506.6 ("olim S. Crucis"), which Dr. Joseph Martini most kindly examined in detail for me, and which he writes was "executed in England in the second half of

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the XII century (probably third quarter)."[1] However, the numerical Book divisions of this MS. are not part of the original text, but are given in the margins "by a different, but contemporary hand, in black ink." This marginal writer clearly knew of (or invented?) eleven Book divisions, which the actual scribe of the MS. did not, so eleven divisions are implied. The eleventh and twelfth Books are not distinguished, making one Book. It is highly probable that such marginal indications of divisions would later work their way into the body of any MS. copied from it. The very early Leyden MS. 20 has eleven Book divisions, the eleventh and twelfth Books also being made into one Book. But the colophon has *Explicit liber decimus*, showing confusion even here.[2] The Lille MS. 533, having eleven divisions, is incomplete, and is not an early or important MS. The remaining five MSS. are all described as late XII century, viz., British Museum, Royal 13. D. ii; Douai MSS. 880 and 882, "end of the XII century"; Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, 2113, and Cotton, Nero D, VIII,[3] both late XII or early XIII century. These are followed by Harley 6358, early XIII century, Cotton, Vespasian A, XXVIII, XIII or XIV century, Arundel 326, early XIV century, and Cotton, Cleopatra D, VIII, end of the XIV century, etc. With two exceptions this is a group of comparatively late manu-

[1] The present shelf number of this interesting manuscript is XVII dextr. 6. Dr. Martini writes in part: "Miscellaneous manuscript on vellum written partly in Gothic Caroline, and partly in Caroline characters, by two hands . . . 4to. 137 leaves, preceded by two fly-leaves. . . . Leaf 56r: *Incipit prologus Gaufridi Monimutensis ad Robertum comitem claudiocestrie. in historiam de regibus maioris Britannie. que nunc Anglie dicitur. Quam hystoriam idem Gaufridus nuper transtulit de britannico in latinum.* (Written in red semiuncials)." After long extracts, Dr. Martini concludes: "The writing is by two hands, both same period. The manuscript looks as if executed at Canterbury, but in this I may be mistaken; however, not about the date. I put it not later than 1175 . . . We have here an important codex, which is undoubtedly contemporary with Geoffrey. The words in the *incipit: 'Quam hystoriam idem Gaufridus nuper transtulit'* would indicate it."

[2] The fly-leaf of this MS. has a table of contents, which calls for *twelve* Books for the *Historia*, as also does the Catalogue of Robert of Torigni (cf. *Bibl. de L'École des Chartes*, Vol. LXXI, 1910, pp. 510–11), proving an early appearance of twelve divisions even where the MSS. do not follow the rubric. Fol. 101vo. also has: "quam *nuper* de britannico in latinum transtulit Gaufridus Monemutensis."

[3] Also has "*Quam historiam idem Gaufridus nuper transtulit de britannico in latinum*" in the general prologue, and again in the Explicit: "*quem nuper de britannico in latinum transtulit Gaufridus monemutensis.*" Cf. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, p. 230.

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scripts, and from internal evidence they give no proof of being copies of the earliest form of Geoffrey's work. They do represent, however, an early and consistent effort to divide the *Historia* into eleven Books, which agree with the modern divisions closely up to the twelfth Book, and follow a natural division of the subject-matter.

It would seem conclusive, therefore, that on the basis both of number and of age, the first edition or recension of Geoffrey's *Historia* had no Book divisions. Later on in the XII century, as copies of his work were multiplied, it was more or less arbitrarily divided into three, seven, eight, nine or eleven Books, — and perhaps even twelve — with no definite indication yet available as to which came first. The earliest printed edition used nine Books, and Commelin in 1587 first employed twelve, which subsequently became standardized by the popular translation of Aaron Thompson into English in 1718, and by the nineteenth century texts of Giles and San-Marte, which followed Commelin, as we have seen.

It is of importance in this connection to point out that none of the Welsh MSS. have divisions into Books. If they are without exception translations of Geoffrey's *Historia*, as most English and German scholars have maintained for fifty years, it is curious that Welsh scribes, from the early XIII to the XVII centuries, worked uniformly from MSS. of the *Historia* which had no Book divisions, and that no Welsh translator ever saw or reproduced a Geoffrey MS. which had Book divisions.

In the present edition, as all three of the MSS. used are without division into Books, and as they differ in the paragraph division, the paragraphing of the Cambridge MS. is followed, while the standard Book and chapter divisions of Commelin, Giles and San-Marte, which have served generations of scholars, are placed in the margin for ready reference. Details as to Book divisions of each MS., where existing, will be found in Appendix I.

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CHAPTER V

REASONS FOR SELECTING THE CAMBRIDGE AND BERN MANUSCRIPTS: A NEWLY DISCOVERED DOUBLE DEDICATION: THE HARLECH AND GRISCOM MANUSCRIPTS DESCRIBED

1. *The Cambridge Manuscript*

SINCE it was impossible to collate the whole group of forty-eight XII century manuscripts, the question presented itself as to which two or three representative manuscripts should be selected for publication. The answer was not hard to find. A diligent comparison of test passages from various manuscripts with some of the existing *Welsh* versions convinced me that Geoffrey's work had appeared in various editions, or "recensions." On sending to Cambridge to have one typical manuscript rotographed entire, I unexpectedly found confirmation of this. The manuscript had a double dedication, different from any previously known, to Robert of Gloucester, and Waleran, Count of Mellent, addressed as joint patrons of the work. That the existence of such a dedication should have remained hitherto unknown and unnoticed is the more remarkable in that the manuscript was put at the head of Hardy's list, and has been designated as "early" in the *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the University Library*, Cambridge, published 1856–1867.[1] The presence of this

[1] Vol. III, pp. 327–328, describing this manuscript — No. 1706, (II.i.14) — was published in 1858, or four years before Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue* appeared. Cf. the writer's article in *Speculum*, Vol. I, No. 2, April, 1926 — where this discovery was first announced. The full Catalogue description is as follows: — "A small quarto, on parchment, written in the XII century. There are twenty-two lines in a page, and 128 leaves. The initials are alternately green and red. Galfridi Monumetensis Historia Britonum. This copy must have been made before the author's death, and apparently also before the author's last recension, as it wants the last chapter and the last sentence of the preceding chapter. It ends thus: . . . sub duce Adletano qui primus inter eos diadema portavit. Explicit. A late hand (one Mark Broughton) has written marginal headings through much of the volume, and has scribbled moral sayings on the fly-leaf at the end." I might add that there are certainly two handwritings, possibly five, all very clear and uniform. One obvious break in the hands occurs on fol. 39 *rec.* In March, 1924, Mr. A. F.

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double dedication affords the strongest evidence, as we shall see below, that the manuscript represents the first version or edition of Geoffrey's work. Moreover, this dedication is not confined to one manuscript only, as is the other double dedication (to King Stephen and Robert) in the Bern manuscript. In Cambridge itself two other manuscripts have the same double dedication. One of them, No. 1125, in the Trinity College Library, Cambridge, has been carefully described by Dr. Montague Rhodes James in *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, Vol. III, p. 113, and Dr. James has even noted its last words. This longer dedication, of course, differs from the shorter and commoner printed form, and would be instantly recognized as a variant by any student of Geoffrey's text. There are, in addition, at least four more manuscripts, making seven in all, which have this double dedication to Waleran and Robert. These seven manuscripts are: (1) University Library, Cambridge, No. 1706 (II.i.14), XII century, (2) the same, No. 1801 (II.iv. 4), XII century; (3) Trinity College, Cambridge, No. 1125, XIII century; (4) Bodleian No. 514, XIII century; (5) Bodleian Add. A. 61, XIII century; (6) Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Latin No. 6040, XII Century; and, (7) Vatican Latin No. 2005, end of the XII Century. One hundred and eighty MSS. out of the one hundred and ninety that I have been able to place, have been reëxamined for me with this special point in view, which means that there remain only ten with the dedication in doubt.

The failure to have observed this significant and interesting double dedication is one of the surprizes of modern scholarship, and is almost incredible in view of the widespread interest in Geoffrey's text and the accessibility of these particular manuscripts to English scholars. Moreover, the dedication not only enables us to place the manuscripts containing it as representative of the earliest edition of Geoffrey's *Historia*, but also fixes the

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Scholfield was kind enough to write me that the above Catalogue description is still official, no later one having superseded it. There are, he wrote, two brief notes "at each end" in "apparently a Welsh hand of the XVII century." These are of trifling import.

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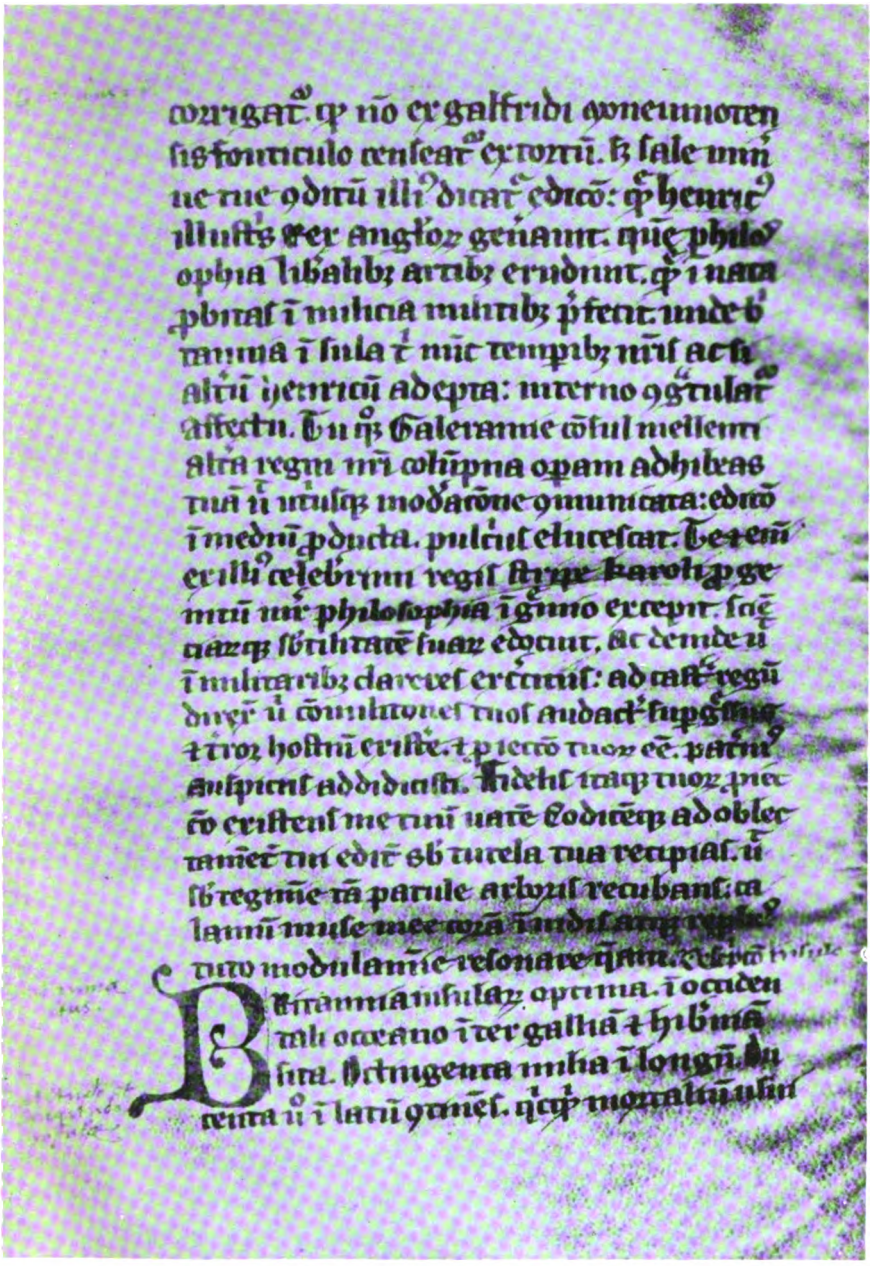

PLATE III

Trinity College, Cambridge, No. 1125
Folio 5 *Verso, actual size*

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date of first publication as definitely before June, 1138, and almost certainly as in April, 1136 (cf. Chapter VI below). It was obvious therefore, that one of the manuscripts having this dedication should be the basis of our text. As our Cambridge 1706 manuscript did not contain the concluding epilogue to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, and gave every appearance of being complete without it, the inference was clear that all the remaining six manuscripts which did contain this additional paragraph were later, even though four were of the twelfth century. Therefore, since no other manuscript has appeared older or better, this Cambridge manuscript was definitely selected for the text.

2. *The Bern Manuscript*

One manuscript, and only one, had heretofore been known to have a double dedication in the introductory Prologue, — all other manuscripts being supposed to agree with the printed texts in having but a single dedication to Robert of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I, and well known patron of arts and letters. In 1857, Sir Frederick Madden, while perusing an old catalogue of manuscripts in the Stadtbibliothek at Bern,[1] discovered listed there this one manuscript with a double dedication, not to Robert and Waleran, but to King Stephen and Robert, and at that time he wrote: "One would have supposed that so remarkable a fact as is here pointed out, namely, the dedication of Geoffrey's celebrated work to *King Stephen*, — whereas in all the other extant copies, it is addressed to *Robert, Earl of Gloucester*, natural son of Henry I, . . . would have attracted immediate attention to the manuscript."[2] Madden, however, obviously had not examined the Oxford and Cambridge manuscripts, very near at hand, nor those in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Vatican. In fact, the splendid collection of thirty-eight *Historia* manuscripts in the British Museum, so readily available, but all having merely the usual

[1] J. R. Sinner, *Catalogus Codicum MSS. Bibliothecæ Bernensis*, Bern, II, 242, (1760–1770): the MS. in question is No. 568 (pp. 241–242). Cf. Plate IX

[2] *The Archæological Journal*, December, 1858, Vol. XV, p. 299.

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single dedication to Robert, seems to have diverted the attention of scholars from the thirty in the several libraries in Cambridge (nine XII century), the twenty-seven similarly preserved at Oxford (six XII century), the twenty-seven in the Bibliothèque Nationale (four XII century), and the seven in the Vatican Library (two XII century), not to mention the nine XII century manuscripts in various public libraries in France, and others in England not in the above collections.

From considerations developed in Chapter VI, it becomes clear that the Bern manuscript — the only one known containing this dedication to King Stephen and Robert of Gloucester — is, if not a unique presentation copy to King Stephen, representative of an edition immediately following the first, which was dedicated to Robert and Waleran, and preceding the later recensions addressed to Robert alone.

The Bern manuscript must therefore be ranked next in importance to the Cambridge group, and its choice as the second manuscript for the collation was clearly indicated.

3. *The Harlech Manuscript*

With the first and second recensions of Geoffrey's work thus determined, it remained only to contrast them with a fitting example of the later and more stereotyped form which the *Historia* assumed. For this purpose Lord Harlech was so exceedingly generous and kind as to lend me a MS. from his private collection, sending it across the Atlantic through the courtesy of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, who personally assumed responsibility for it, and deposited it in his library in New York. I cannot adequately express my indebtedness for the assistance this rendered me, nor my appreciation of the generous consideration for scholarship which prompted it. I can only trust it may meet its reward in the grateful recognition of scholars, to whom otherwise the MS. would not have been available.

Lord Harlech's MS., known once as "MS. Porkington 17," which formed not long since part of the Ormsby-Gore Collection,

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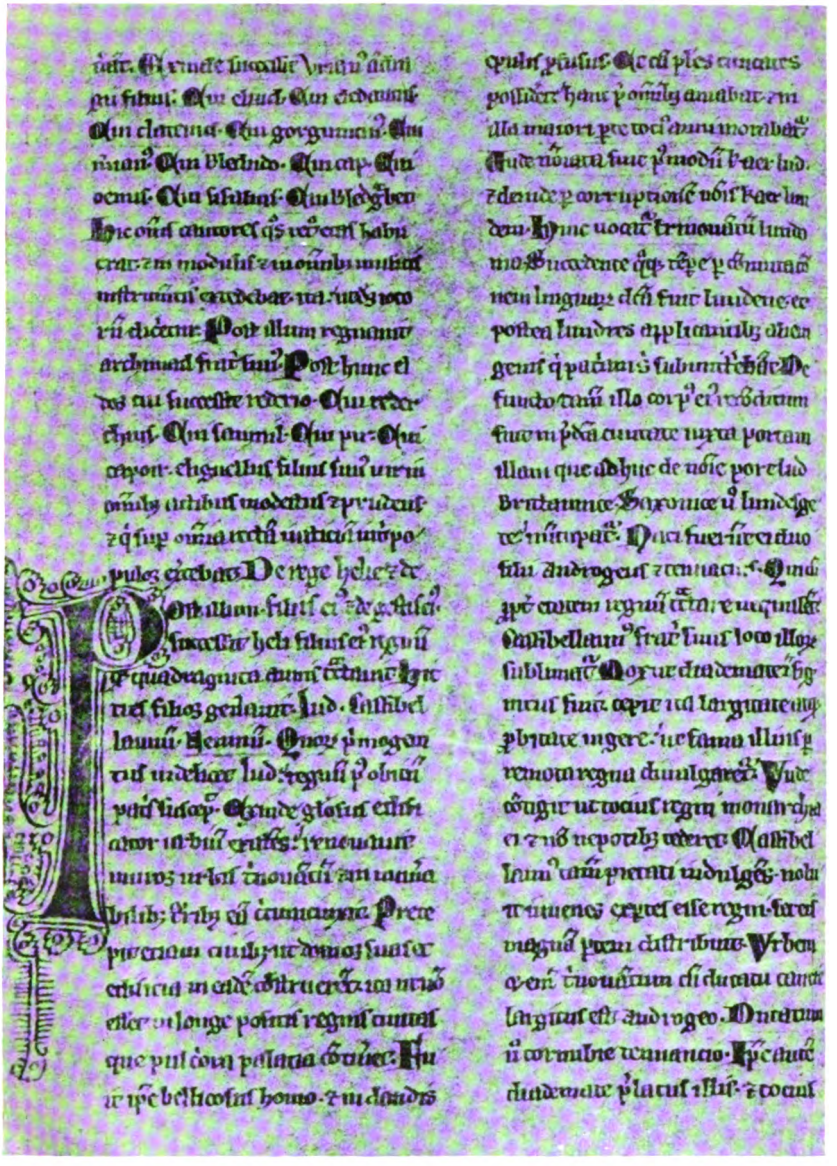

PLATE IV

Harlech No. 17
Folio 18 *Verso, actual size*

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is listed by Hardy on page 345 of his *Descriptive Catalogue*, but no more is said than that it is "vell. 8*vo*., XIV*th* century." The Historical Manuscripts Commission, *2nd Report*, Appendix, p. 84, col. b, gives the following description: — "No. 17 — A 4*to* volume, vellum, 13th century, Latin, double columns. Geoffrey of Monmouth's British History, not divided into books. On fly-leaves at the end of the volume are seven columns of French verse of the 14th century, headed 'Co est la chartre au diable fet al Cuveitus.'" I quote the opening and closing lines, since these are given incorrectly in the *Reports*.

Begins: 'Beau mester le me diez,.
La tenure sicum entendez.
Volunters le vus dirrai,
A la manere ke io sai.
Sachent trestuz ceu ke ou mettunt.

Ends: 'De quor.e de dreit amur
Vers son prome [sic: supply prince] e vers nostre seingnur.'

This description is signed by Alfred J. Horwood. The following particulars, since they have not before been printed, may also be of interest. The manuscript is well written in three, perhaps four, interchanging hands of about the middle to the third quarter of the XIII century, on 90 leaves of vellum, measuring $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; in double columns; rubricated throughout; and with large initial letters painted in red and blue to mark the chapter divisions, having green and red scroll work and ornamentation running half the page with nearly every initial; margins shaved at top, middle, and sides, cutting into decorations, but not interfering with text; bound in early XIX century brown, blind-tooled calf, with two paper fly-leaves of a much earlier binding, bound in. There are no Book divisions, but there are occasional chapter rubrics, summarizing the contents.

The *Historia* proper begins, without title or heading, on the recto of the first vellum leaf, and extends to the middle of column *b*. on folio 86. The rest of the column, after an ornamental tail-

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piece, is left blank. The text ends as ordinarily printed — "*in latinū sermonē transferre curaui.*" "*Explicit*" follows in red, inserted by the rubricator in abbreviated form to complete the line. On the next line, the scribe has written "*Explicit liber Bruti.*" The rubricator has also inserted at the foot of column *a* on the first page, with a paragraph mark (though there is no break at this point in the text), "*Incipit libr Bruti.*" Between the columns below the text on this first leaf, in a late hand (c. mid-XV cent.), appear "*FFr̄is johnes*" — with a third name, obliterated by much thumbing of the manuscript.

On folio 86$^{vo.}$, in a hand of the XIV century, in French, is a poem entitled "Co est La chartre au diable fet as Cuueitus," which is continued in double columns on both sides of folio 87 in another hand, and breaks off suddenly at the bottom of col. *a* on fol. 88$^{rec.}$. Two blank pages follow; fol. 89$^{vo.}$, and 90$^{rec.}$ contain some notes in French in a XV century French hand; and Fol. 90$^{vo.}$ — which formed the outside leaf — has the faint remains of three red wax seals. The last binder has added three paper leaves for protection, in both front and rear. These, together with the old paper leaves referred to above, are not included in the count of vellum folios, which constitute the manuscript proper.

The first of these old paper fly-leaves, in an early XVII century hand, has: "*In hoc libro continentr — 1 primo Walterus Calenus* [struck out, and written over it: "*Monemutensis quem ad regnis*"] *Oxoniensis / Archidiaconus de Regibus antiquis Britanniarū ex Wallia lingua in Latinum* [struck out: written above: "*redegit*"] — *floriunt A° Dm.*"

1120.

The numbers 2 and 3 appear in their places to complete the table of contents, but the entries have been scratched out, leaving large holes in the paper. The top third of the second fly-leaf has been torn away — the one word "*satis*" remaining; and below are two notes in late, different hands, the latter stating that the history of "*Galfridus Monumetensis*" ends with the year "*A° dm̄* 688." The entry recorded above that it was Walter (miscalled

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"Calenus") Archdeacon of Oxford, rather than Geoffrey of Monmouth, who translated the history from Welsh into Latin, is especially worth noting in view of similar statements made by several of the Welsh manuscript versions.

The first vellum leaf opens as usual: "*Cum mecum multa*" etc., and is both faded and rubbed. Several words and letters have been inked over, the later black ink standing in marked contrast with the far older brown. A few lines have been underscored through the manuscript; and a figure of Merlin has been crudely drawn in red in the margin of fol. 39$^{rec.}$ where that worthy mage's *Prophecies* commence. Otherwise, the manuscript seems to be almost as fresh as when it left the hands of the original scribes. The ẏ's are uniformly dotted, and there are the usual abbreviations.

Taken as a whole, Lord Harlech's manuscript represents a form of Geoffrey's *Historia* which had become more or less stereotyped. There is the usual single dedication to Robert of Gloucester, which appears in more than one hundred and fifty manuscripts, with the dropping of the second paragraph. There are frequent corrupt spellings, showing the effort of scribes to Latinize the Welsh names. The "*Ue tibi Neustria*" interpolation in the *Prophecies of Merlin* appears (fol. 41$^{rec.}$), and also the usual concluding paragraph. Lord Harlech's manuscript, therefore, acts in many ways as a foil for the earlier two, standing mid-way as it were, between them and the printed texts, which it more nearly approaches in spellings, and shows the divergence from the original forms in high relief.

4. *The Griscom E.17 Manuscript*

This manuscript has not before been described, and was unknown to Hardy. I was able to acquire it through the consideration of Colonel William E. Moss, who responded to my desire to possess a MS. of the *Historia*, and generously parted with his copy. Though it reached me too late to be collated with the three selected for the text, I have made free use of it

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in this study as a basis for comparison, and as typical of the transition stage between the earliest versions represented in the Cambridge and Bern MSS., and the more stereotyped form of the Harlech MS.

The MS. once belonged to Alexander Boswell, afterwards Lord Auchinleck, the famous Biographer's father; and his signature, with date in another contemporary hand and ink, appears on the first fly-leaf:

Alex^r Boswel
Auchinleck, 1732.

The binding, old brown calf over boards, is of this period, and in fine condition. Messrs J. & J. Leighton, the London book-dealers, purchased the MS. privately about 1907, and it appeared in their 1912 Catalogue as Item No. 107. Colonel Moss purchased it from Messrs Leighton.

There are two parts to the volume; the first, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniæ;* and the second, William of Malmesbury's *De Gestis Regum Anglorum.*

1. The *Historia* begins, without title or heading, on the recto of the first vellum leaf, and breaks off in the middle of cap. xvi of Book XII, the last words being, *facile ille subdendam si in illam* . . . (cf. p. 532). There are two fine contemporaneous hands in narrow, angular Gothic letters, to be dated between 1165–1200. The first hand, (fols. 1–16) agrees so closely with that reproduced by Sir E. M. Thompson, Facsimile No. 180, p. 442, in his *Greek and Latin Paleography*, as to suggest the same scribe, and indicates that the MS. was written in the north of England about 1165. The folios measure $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and have been cut down by the binder — not, however, interfering with the text. The double columns have from fifty to fifty-eight lines per page; the second scribe varying from fifty to fifty-six; the first from fifty-four to fifty-eight. There are no Book divisions, nor rubrication of any kind. Ornamental initial letters, in alternate red and blue, and a few green, mark the paragraph

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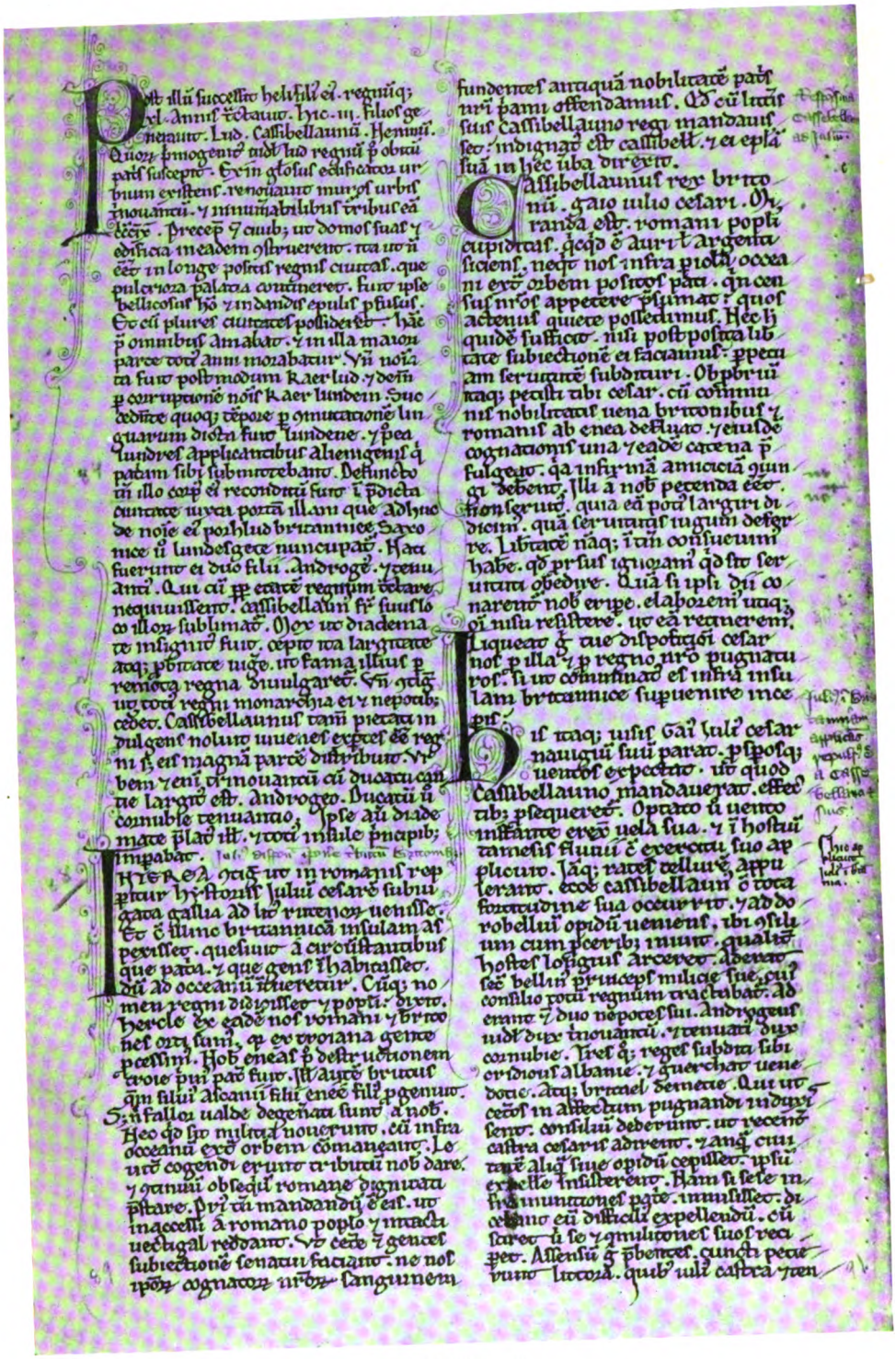

PLATE V

Griscom E, 17

Folio 16 *Verso, greatly reduced*

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divisions, but the illuminator was often careless, omitting letters in certain places (some of which were supplied later in brown ink) and inserting the wrong letter on fol. $3^{rec.}$, col. *b*. Four later hands, one of the XIII century and the others of the XV and XVI have written neat marginal elucidations or paragraph summaries. Some of these have been cut by the binder.

Unfortunately, the *Historia* is imperfect. Several preliminary vellum leaves (the stubs of two quires are discernible) were cut out from the binding, not affecting the *Historia;* but, five leaves of the *Historia* in different places are also cut out, the stubs remaining; and the last leaf is missing. The third quire is also missing, comprising another eight leaves; and this appears, from the sewing, to have been absent when the MS. was bound early in the XVIII century. Twenty-five folios remain, which have been numbered, not in sequence as they now are, but as if the missing folios were present. The exact collation is as follows: —

I in 4's, fol. 8, cut out (Bk. III, ii, end to III, ix, 15 lines).
II in 4's, complete; ends: "*carebat, ulgus irrationabi . . .*"
III in 4's, missing.
IV in 4's, fols. 1, 2, 3, 4, cut out. { Bk. V, xvi, 16 lines from end, to Bk. IX, xi, 23 lines from end.
V in 3's, complete; begins: "*mortiferum ulnus forsitan induxisset.*"
VI in ?, last leaf of *Historia* missing, balance missing.

There is the usual single dedication to Robert, "*dux Claudiocestrie.*" The *Prophecies of Merlin* are missing; also the ending, with concluding paragraph.

2. Bound with the above is an imperfect MS. of the first three Books of William of Malmesbury's *De Gestis Regum Anglorum.* The two hands are both characteristically XII century, and the first, a rougher, heavier writing than any of the others, appears to be in a somewhat older style. Eight leaves and seven ornamented initial letters have been wantonly cut out; two more leaves, the first and last of the seventh quire, have disappeared, and at least four quires were missing when the MS. was bound in the XVIII century. The collation, as nearly as it can be estimated

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on the basis of the necessary leaves required to complete the text, is as follows: —

I in 4's — complete.
II in 3's — 4, 5, 6, cut out.
III in 4's? — missing.
IV in 4's? — missing.
V in 4's? — missing.
VI in 4's — 1, 3, cut out.
VII in 4's — 1 and 8 missing, 6, 7 cut out.
VIII in 2's? — missing (text calls for 4 leaves, not more).
IX in 5's — 1, cut out.
X in 2's? — missing (text to end of Bk. III requires not more than 4 leaves).

Thirty leaves survive.

Spirited sketches, and comments or elucidations by the same hands as in the preceding number are on all the margins which have not been cut away. Despite this vandalism, the text of these leaves, except where the seven initials have been removed, is intact. There are rubrics for the "*Epistola Wilielmi ad Robertum Comitem*," the "*Prologus in Liber I*," and "*Liber primus*"; but not elsewhere, nor for the third Book. The leaf for the opening of the second Book is wanting.

Alternate ornamented red, blue, and green initials mark the chapter and paragraph divisions (as in Saville's text), but the former are not distinguished from the latter. Small ¶ marks indicate the breaks which are numbered as sections by Stubbs in his edition for the *Rolls Series*. It belongs to the "B" recension of Stubbs's classification, and is, apparently, the only XII century MS. of this recension recorded. A comparison of this text with the "C," or so-called latest recension, convinces me that Stubbs is mistaken in assigning "C" to the later position, as the "B" corrections give almost certain evidence of being later than "C."

The Griscom MS. of the *Historia*, standing in age between the Cambridge-Bern and the XIII century Harlech MS., acts as an

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additional step to mark the transition or transformation of Welsh names from their original forms into meaningless Latinized derivatives. Corruption already appears, showing that a thorough and systematic study of this degeneration of Welsh names through the sequence of the XII century MSS. would be a fruitful undertaking.

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CHAPTER VI

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF GEOFFREY'S DOUBLE DEDICATIONS: THE DATE OF PUBLICATION OF THE *HISTORIA*

AN ANALYSIS of the three different dedications which our manuscripts contain indicates that Geoffrey's *Historia* was first published in April, 1136. From the dedication to Robert alone, the date could be fixed with certainty as between Henry I's death in December, 1135, and Robert's death in 1147. The fact that Henry of Huntingdon knew of Geoffrey's "great book" in January, 1139, still further narrowed the possible limits to within four years. The double dedication of the Bern MS. to King Stephen and Robert led Madden rightly to conclude that if this double dedication were genuine, it could only have been written between April, 1136, and May, 1138, because after that Robert was the open and active enemy of Stephen. The discovery of the double dedication of the Cambridge and other MSS. to Robert and Waleran removes the chief reason for suspecting the genuineness of the Bern dedication, and independently fixes the same two dates, viz., April, 1136 and May, 1138, as the extremes of the interval in which Geoffrey could have addressed Robert and Waleran together, since Waleran sided with Stephen against Robert when the latter espoused his sister Matilda's claims against Stephen. More than this, however, can be deduced, when the phrases of the two double dedications are set side by side, and the wording analyzed in the light of what is known of the patrons addressed. From this, supported independently and concurrently by the known relations of the men, and the internal evidence afforded by the revisions of the manuscripts themselves, it is evident that the first edition of the *Historia* was that dedicated to Robert and Waleran, followed almost immediately by that to King Stephen and Robert, which

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was a hasty and special modification of the first; while the dedication to Robert alone was a third form adopted after the break between Robert and the other patrons. Still a fourth edition was issued after Robert's death, without dedication, and with further modifications to be noted in due course.

A thorough knowledge of the historical background brings out in high relief the full significance of Geoffrey's phrases in the dedications, which otherwise is easily missed. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the historical evidence in detail.

Geoffrey opens his *Historia* with a preliminary statement about the old British book which he says he obtained from Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, and translated into Latin. He then continues:

> Unto this little work of mine, therefore, do thou, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, show favour, so that, being corrected by thy instruction and advice, it may be rated to have sprung, not from the poor little fountain of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but, seasoned by the salt of thy wit, may be said to be the work of one whom Henry, illustrious king of the English, begot, whom philosophy nurtured in the liberal arts, and whom an innate competence made superior to warriors in the art of war — wherefore the island of Britain now, in these days, rejoices in thee with heartfelt affection as if possessed of another Henry.[1]

This is the single dedication to be found in all the previously printed texts and contained in the great majority of MSS. — represented here by the Harlech and Griscom MSS. But in the Cambridge MS., and the six others similar to it, listed above, page 32, an additional paragraph appears, the opening sentence of which reads as follows:

> And do thou also, Waleran, Count of Mellent, thou other pillar of our realm, give thy aid, that, through the common patronage of both, when presented to the world, this work may shine forth the more resplendently.

In the Bern MS.[2] this second paragraph is also present; but the MS. is unique in that King Stephen's name appears instead of Robert's in the first paragraph, and Robert's name instead of

[1] For text of the Cambridge MS., *vide infra*, p. 86, col. a, ll. 36–50.

[2] Page 220; cf. Plate IX, and pp. 86 ff., col. b, ll. 50–55 for text.

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Waleran's in the second, so that all that follows is made to apply to Robert. Certain incongruities arise from this which clearly indicate that a hasty substitution was made, and that the Robert-Waleran dedication preceded the Stephen-Robert. This conclusion is strongly reinforced by the personal relations of the three men and the general historic details, which also point to the priority of the Robert-Waleran over the Stephen-Robert dedication. The two lines of argument, from internal and external evidence, may be followed independently, so that when brought together they combine in a most conclusive way. When the priority of the Robert-Waleran over the Stephen-Robert dedication has been established, it remains to determine whether the single dedication to Robert alone preceded the Robert-Waleran, or followed it. Here the historical evidence is not so clear, and if it stood alone would not be definitely conclusive; but the weight of probability which it indicates is so reinforced by the internal evidence afforded by MSS. themselves as to leave little ground for doubt. The internal evidence points unmistakably to the Robert-Waleran dedication as the earlier of the two, and so this double dedication seems clearly to take precedence, and to represent the earliest edition of Geoffrey's work.

Since the long familiar single dedication of Geoffrey's *Historia* is direct and personal, it was certainly written before Robert of Gloucester's death, October 31, 1147. It is, however, often possible, where two or more persons are addressed at the same time, to narrow down the actual date of the time of writing because of some known relationship or special circumstance which either brought together or separated the individuals concerned. This was the special significance of Madden's discovery of the double dedication to King Stephen and Robert, which he pointed out at that time, and which received fuller and somewhat more accurate treatment at the hands of the late Professor W. Lewis Jones.[1] Madden had argued that, once granting the genuine-

[1] In his study "Geoffrey of Monmouth," published in the *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, London, 1898–1899, pp. 52–95.

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ness of the *Bern* dedications, one could date the composition of the *Historia* within the period of months between the death of Henry I, whose death is unmistakably implied, and the final break between King Stephen and Robert in 1138, because no writer would have dedicated a book to Stephen and Robert together after civil war had broken out between them. "The only period during which Stephen and the Earl of Gloucester were on amicable terms, even in appearance, must have been between April, 1136, when Robert came over to England and did homage to the King, and May, 1138, at which time the Earl sent to renounce the fealty he had sworn." [1] After 1138, Robert, supporting Matilda, was in constant enmity with King Stephen until his death in 1147, so that Geoffrey of Monmouth could not have dedicated his history to both men after 1138 without inevitably incurring the wrath of one of them. Since, in fact, the largest number of manuscripts have but the single dedication to Robert, the inference is clear that he took sides with the latter, giving up the attempt to curry favour with the King. Robert, indeed, despite his constant fighting, seems to have been throughout a patron of letters, and the second and third recensions of the *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury are also dedicated to him.

But the existence, as was supposed, of only one known manuscript dedicated to both the King and Robert casts a shade of doubt upon its genuineness, especially when, in 1899, it was made plain to Professor Jones, who worked from a transcript, that the introduction in the Bern manuscript occupies a separate, preliminary leaf and is "in a different hand from that which immediately follows, and cannot be certainly identified with any of the others . . . (probably at least five)." After weighing the evidence, Professor Jones at first expressed himself as follows: "I suspect that the Bern manuscript, certainly as old a manuscript of the History as any we know, is a copy of a very early edition of the full History, and as there is no valid reason for doubting the genuineness of its dedication, it may be inferred

[1] Madden, *The Archæological Journal*, December, 1858, Vol. XV, p. 310 *ad fin.*

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that Geoffrey had completed his first draft of the History before 1138."[1] He had already stated without qualification — just as Madden had done — that "all the known manuscripts," except this one Bern manuscript, had a single dedication to Robert of Gloucester. Apparently, like so many scholars, he had examined no manuscript of Geoffrey's work outside the British Museum.

However, in a letter written to the late Professor R. H. Fletcher, Professor Jones appears to have altered radically his original opinion. Professor Fletcher, summarizing this letter, stated that Professor Jones was "inclined to modify his views about the MS. as expressed in his article," especially as "it includes in the prophecies the '*Væ tibi, Neustria,*' sentence, which Ward shows to be a late interpolation."[2] Briefly put, the argument is that this sentence from the *Prophecies of Merlin*, which were introduced by Geoffrey himself into the text of his *Historia*, and which apparently he had previously published, does not appear in a quotation made from these *Prophecies* by Ordericus Vitalis about 1136, nor does it appear in seventeen manuscript copies of the *Historia* read by Ward in the British Museum. Therefore, it is a clear deduction that the original *Prophecies* did not contain this sentence. Since, however, it does appear in some XII century manuscripts, "the interpolation was [according to Ward] an early one," but no manuscript containing it would be representative of the original form or first edition.

Now the fact is that the Bern manuscript does *not* contain this sentence, '*Væ tibi Neustria,*' and Professor Jones must have been misled by a faulty transcript, since he himself did not work from the manuscript. Neither does our Cambridge manuscript contain this sentence, and, consequently, it is the earlier, and not the later form of the *Prophecies* that appears in these manuscripts. The major argument for setting aside the Bern manuscript as late and interpolated, therefore, disappears; and the further

[1] *Art. cit., supra*, pp. 66, 67.

[2] "Two Notes on the *Historia Regum Britanniæ* of Geoffrey of Monmouth," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XVI (1901), pp. 461–474. H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances . . . in the British Museum*, I (1883), 208 ff.

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doubt that the double dedication in this manuscript must be suspected because of its 'uniqueness' also loses weight when we realize that there are at least seven other manuscripts, four of the XII century, having, it is true, not the same double dedication, but another that is significantly related to it.

The Bern manuscript and our chosen Cambridge manuscript require at this point a word of special description. They run together in a striking parallelism in so far as the orthography of personal names and place-names, the "less polished Latinity," and other minor textual matters are concerned. The names, as said, approximate far more nearly the Welsh originals than they do in the printed texts and in some of the later manuscripts. Minute comparison bears out the conclusion to be drawn from the double dedications, that they belong to the same early period in the history of the text, still largely uncorrupted by later scribal "corrections." The Bern manuscript appears to have been hastily, and sometimes carelessly, written by five different scribes; while the double dedication, occupying, with the *Description of Britain*, an initial and independent leaf, is certainly in a hand which nowhere else occurs in the manuscript; indeed, the first line may even be in a different hand from the subsequent portion. All the hands are contemporaneous and closely resemble those appearing in facsimiles of handwriting definitely dated as before the middle of the XII century. The Cambridge manuscript, however, is in one uniform style of writing, very large, clear, and regular, which may be dated with still greater certainty before 1150. There are, certainly, two hands, with perhaps three more, somewhat resembling each other, and little scribal variation occurs in abbreviations, and in the spelling of personal names and place-names. There are several copyist's errors or omissions in both manuscripts. This has special significance when the relation of the Bern MS. to those with the other dedications is considered. It has been claimed [1] that the Bern MS. represents the first edition

[1] By Professor Edmond Faral, *Romania*, Tome LIII; Jan.–Av., 1927, pp. 18 ff. Cf. full discussion below, pp. 87–89, and note.

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of the *Historia;* but if so, it cannot be the original MS., but only a contemporaneous copy of the first edition. However, since it has the special features of a separate leaf for the dedications, a multiplicity of hands and clear evidence of hasty workmanship, all of which are hard to explain if it were merely an ordinary copy of another MS., the evidence points to the fact that this Bern MS. is the unique original with a Stephen-Robert dedication, but copied from an earlier edition with another dedication. Hence the combination of unique features, original authorship, and copyist's errors.

The textual evidence all points to the Cambridge manuscript being the earlier of the two editions. Two significant illustrations will serve to establish this fact almost beyond question. First, the verses in Book I, namely, Brutus's invocation of Diana and the goddess's reply (fol. $8^{rec.}$ and $8^{vo.}$) appear uniformly and substantially the same in the later manuscripts (allowing for obvious scribal blunders), and in the printed texts. But in the Cambridge MS. there are differences, and the lines are much less polished. The initial six lines of Brutus's prayer have insignificant variations; but the second line of Diana's reply disappears from the Cambridge MS. (and also from the Bern MS.),[1] while the fifth line in the Cambridge is entirely different from the Bern and from all but one out of more than one hundred and thirty manuscripts I have seen or had examined, and reads:

'*Illa tibi fietque tuis locus aptus in æuum.*'

This last variation is of great importance for the establishing of the first edition of Geoffrey's work, and has been overlooked hitherto. It is obvious that Geoffrey would not have corrected a

[1] This line also disappears from Bodleian MS. 514, one with a Robert-Waleran dedication, XIII century, fol. $3^{rec.}$ and from many others with the usual single dedication to Robert. Out of more than one hundred and thirty MSS. examined, very few have all the lines even reasonably free from scribal misreadings and omissions. The Bodleian MS. has, however, the later form of the fifth line. (Cf. p. 49 below.) The frequent omission of the second line is probably an example of haplography, as both the second and third lines begin with the same words, *viz.*, *Insula in occeano est.* The elegiac distich calls for a pentameter in the second line, and since the third line is a hexameter, the omission of the second is an error.

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good line into a bad. It is also self-evident that Geoffrey altered the fifth line of his first draft, without, however, materially changing the meaning, because of the repetition *apta tuis*, which had already occurred in the preceding line. The two lines read in the Cambridge:

4) *Nunc deserta quidem gentibus apta tuis.*
5) *Illa tibi fietque tuis locus aptus in æuum.*

The alteration in the Bern and all subsequent editions, is a distinct improvement, and reads:

4) *Nunc deserta quidem gentibus apta tuis.*
5) *Hanc pete namque tibi sedes erit illa perennis.*

In the more than one hundred and thirty MSS. I have had examined, including all the MSS. in the British Museum, at Oxford, Cambridge, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Vatican, and some others, our Cambridge MS. and one other are the *only* MSS. which have this early uncorrected line. This second MS. is of the XIII century, and *has the double dedication to Robert and Waleran.*[1] I have found no others, which have the lines complete, that do not give the later or corrected reading, *Hanc pete*, etc. Even the remaining MSS. with the Robert-Waleran double dedication, — i.e., those in Cambridge, the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Vatican, copied later in the XII century, — have the second reading. The inference is unescapable that our Cambridge MS. represents the original edition, with one other XIII century transcript of it surviving, while all the rest represent a second, revised edition if not a third and fourth, — for we shall see that Geoffrey did actually issue four editions in the course of eleven or twelve years. Moreover, the new and improved line distinctly echoes Virgil in the Æneid, IV, 381:

'i, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas.'

As Geoffrey repeatedly borrows ideas and phrases from Virgil, beginning with *'Tityre, tu patulæ recubans'* in the closing words

[1] Bodleian MS. Additional A. 61, folios 4vo–$5^{rec.}$

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of his double dedications,[1] there is the further probability that in revising these verses, he modelled his new line on Virgil, and, incidentally, can be complimented for his success in the result.

Henry of Huntingdon, in his letter to Warinus written from Bec in Normandy in January, 1139, while apparently copying these verses, gives the later and better, or Bern, form of this fifth line. He also gives the second line, not in either of these early manuscripts.[2] The conclusion is inevitable that Geoffrey revised this fifth line almost immediately, that Henry did not

[1] Eclogue, I. 1; cf. text, p. 220: '*recipias ut sub tegmine tam patulæ arboris recubans.*'

[2] Univ. Lib. Cambridge, No. 2295 (Mm. I, 34), XII century, fol. 6 *rec.*, drops off the last two lines, an obvious omission. No. 2434 (Mm. V. 29), XII century, fol. 26 *vo.*, and 1801 (Ii. IV. 4), XII century, fol. 62 *vo.* etc., have the usual later form — as also Griscom E. 17, fol. 3 *rec.*, col. b. As stated above, all the MSS. in the British Museum, at Oxford in the Bodleian, and other libraries (with the one exception noted), in the Bibl. Nat., Bibl. Ste. Geneviève, and the Vatican, or more than 130 MSS. in all, have the later reading, or the *Hanc pete* line. The splendid Leyden MS. 20, fol. 62 *vo.*, cf. Plate VI, has the missing second verse, and the fifth verse in its later form, which proves that it does not represent the earliest edition of Geoffrey's *Historia*. Delisle, in an article, "Materiaux pour l'édition de Guillaume de Jumièges," etc., in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Vol. LXXI, 1910, p. 511, writes of this Leyden MS.: "Cette copie de l'ouvrage de Geoffroi de Monmouth est, selon toute apparence, celle que cite Henri, archdiacre de Huntingdon, comme lui ayant été communiquée en 1139 dans l'abbaye du Bec par Robert de Torigni." However, a comparison of Henry's letter to Warinus with the text of this MS., many pages of which I have in admirable rotographs, showing constant variation in the spelling of names, in the details of the Lear story, Brutus's landing and fight with giants in Albion, Arthurian matter, etc., convinces me that Henry could not have made his abstract from this particular MS. Delisle drew a natural inference — "*selon toute apparence*" — from the fact that this MS. was once at Bec, and was known to Robert of Torigni, but actual comparison does not seem to bear out his guess. The MS. is a fine and early one, however, and deserves careful comparison with others of the same edition, and also with the earlier editions to bring out the degree of revision actually made by Geoffrey. Incidentally, Henry's letter to Warinus has not received either the editing or the study it deserves; and it is an open question whether he *found* at Bec a Geoffrey *Historia* (by inference already known to Warinus, who taxed his friend Henry for not writing about the early British kings), or, perhaps in addition to a copy of the *Historia*, some *other source*, covering the same ground, though in a modified way (and similar at certain points to several of the Welsh versions where these differ from the *Historia*), but less expanded than the *Historia*. One wonders whether he saw, perchance, a copy of Walter's own Latin version of the material in the original *vetustissimus liber*, referred to in the colophon of our Jesus LXI MS. (cf. p. 536 of text), which is probably the same as that mentioned by Geoffrey Gaimar — a reference which has puzzled all those who refuse Geoffrey a source, and at the same time ignore the testimony of the Welsh MSS.

Ke li Waleis ourent leisse,
K'il aveit ainz purchase,
U fust a dreit u fust a tort,
Le bon liuere de Oxeford,
Ki fust Walter l'arcediaen.
(*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 829, col. a.)

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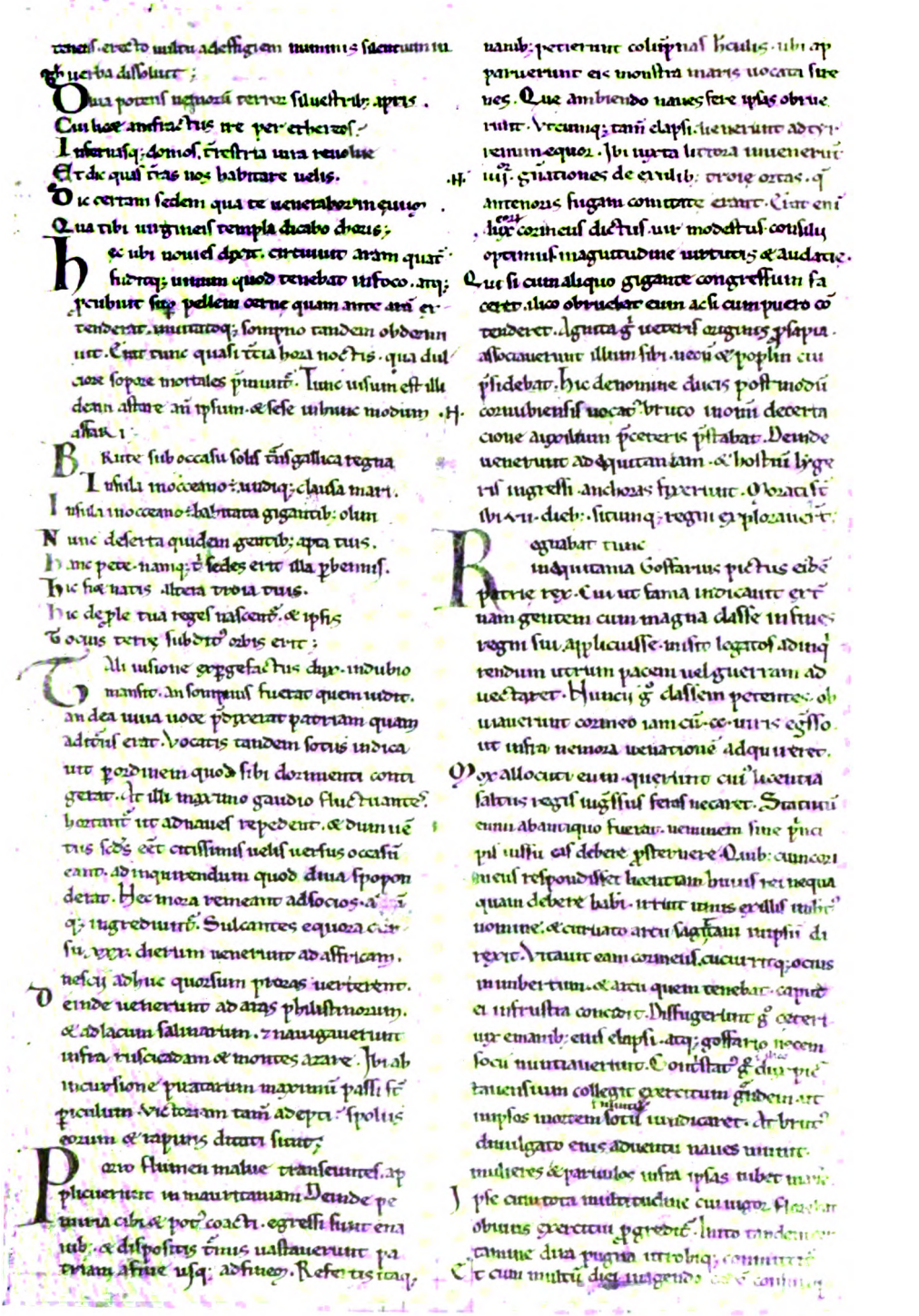

PLATE VI

Leyden B.P.L. 20
Folio 62 Verso, greatly reduced
Showing the later "Hanc pete" line of verse

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see a copy of the first edition of Geoffrey's work,[1] and that even the very early Bern MS. already shows revision, and represents, therefore, the second edition. This is confirmed by much minor textual evidence.

The second illustration is also of significance. The Cambridge manuscript does not give at the conclusion the usual warning to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, with its repetition of the statement that Geoffrey had a Welsh or British book which Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, had given him, which he had taken pains to translate into Latin. The manuscript, however, comes to a full and normal stop in the middle of the page, with the word EXPLICIT written by the same scribe, in capital letters as the first word of a new line (cf. Plate VII). There was plenty of space, therefore, on the page, for the additional concluding paragraph. Out of scores of complete manuscripts where the usual concluding epilogue is given, this, and only one other manuscript,[2] comes to an end without reference to the rival historians. This one MS. ends exactly as does our Cambridge MS., but I have been unable to ascertain whether the appearance of the last leaf offers any explanation for the omission of the usual concluding sentences, or shows any signs of incompleteness. As it is said to have the usual dedication to Robert of Gloucester, it should be carefully examined, in comparison with our Cambridge manuscript. It is described by Hardy from the original Phillipps

Note the word *fust*, made, or wrote, or compiled, not a book which Walter *had*, as some have sought to render it. Cf. my discussion in *The Book of Basingwerk and MS. Cotton Cleopatra B.V.*, pp. 79–80. Henry, for example, departs from Geoffrey's text in making Arthur himself kill Mordred, which also occurs in our Welsh Jesus LXI MS. — and in this Welsh version *only*, which suggests that both relied upon the same source, since the Welsh nowhere else resembles Henry where the latter differs from Geoffrey. The whole question requires careful study. For the Welsh in translation, see p. 501 below of the texts, in comparison with Geoffrey's version.

[1] For discussion of this question, based on the MSS. of the British Museum alone, and therefore incomplete, cf. Ward, *Cat. of Rom.* I, pp. 209–210. Sir E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Brit.*, 1927, pp. 45–48, has examined a few MSS. at Oxford and Cambridge. Ward points out that "Huntingdon was so particularly fond of Latin verse that one can hardly help suspecting that he copied all he found at Bec" (p. 210). Cf. with note 2 above.

[2] *Phillipps MS. No.* 2324, said by Mr. T. FitzRoy Fenwick, who most kindly described his four MSS. for me, to be of the late "XII century, in double columns, on vellum. With capitals in green and red." The dedication is said to be to Robert of Gloucester.

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Catalogue as XIII century, and by Mr. T. FitzRoy Fenwick, the present owner, as late XII century, so its comparative lateness hardly seems to offer such strong evidence as to overthrow the present argument, based on so unmistakably early a document as our Cambridge MS. The omitted paragraph here is far more likely to have been a copyist's error than that this one XII–XIII century MS. should represent a lost original edition dedicated to Robert alone. That a scribal omission is precluded in the Cambridge MS. is proved, as already noted, by the deliberate ending, the EXPLICIT, etc.

Since Warinus demanded of Henry of Huntingdon why he had not told of the early British kings — exactly the field covered by Geoffrey, — which provoked a defensive reply from Henry, it is probable that Geoffrey first published the *Historia* without any reference to other historians, and that not until his published work was challenged did he add in a revised edition a renewed statement about his special source, demanding its recognition, and advising rival historians that they must acknowledge his native source for early British history.[1] To suggest that Geoffrey wrote this with "his tongue in his cheek," and that "his appeal to his *liber* is chiefly a joke" [2] as has been done, is to read modern theories and standards of historical writing back into the XII century. Geoffrey's epilogue is a serious piece of writing, — just as serious as his opening paragraphs and dedications; and since accumulating evidence proves that he had some form of native, written source, it is manifestly simpler and easier to believe his statement that he translated an old book brought him by Walter the Archdeacon, than either to disbelieve or to disprove it. Since the Bern MS. has the longer ending, it must again be classed as a later and probably the second edition. That Henry accepted the *Historia* as valid is witnessed by his use of some, at least, of the "new" material in the later editions of his own work.

To sum up, therefore, both the Cambridge and the Bern

[1] Cf. below, pp. 96 following.

[2] Cf. R. H. Fletcher, *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, p. 56; and also W. Lewis Jones, *King Arthur in History and Legend*, p. 71.

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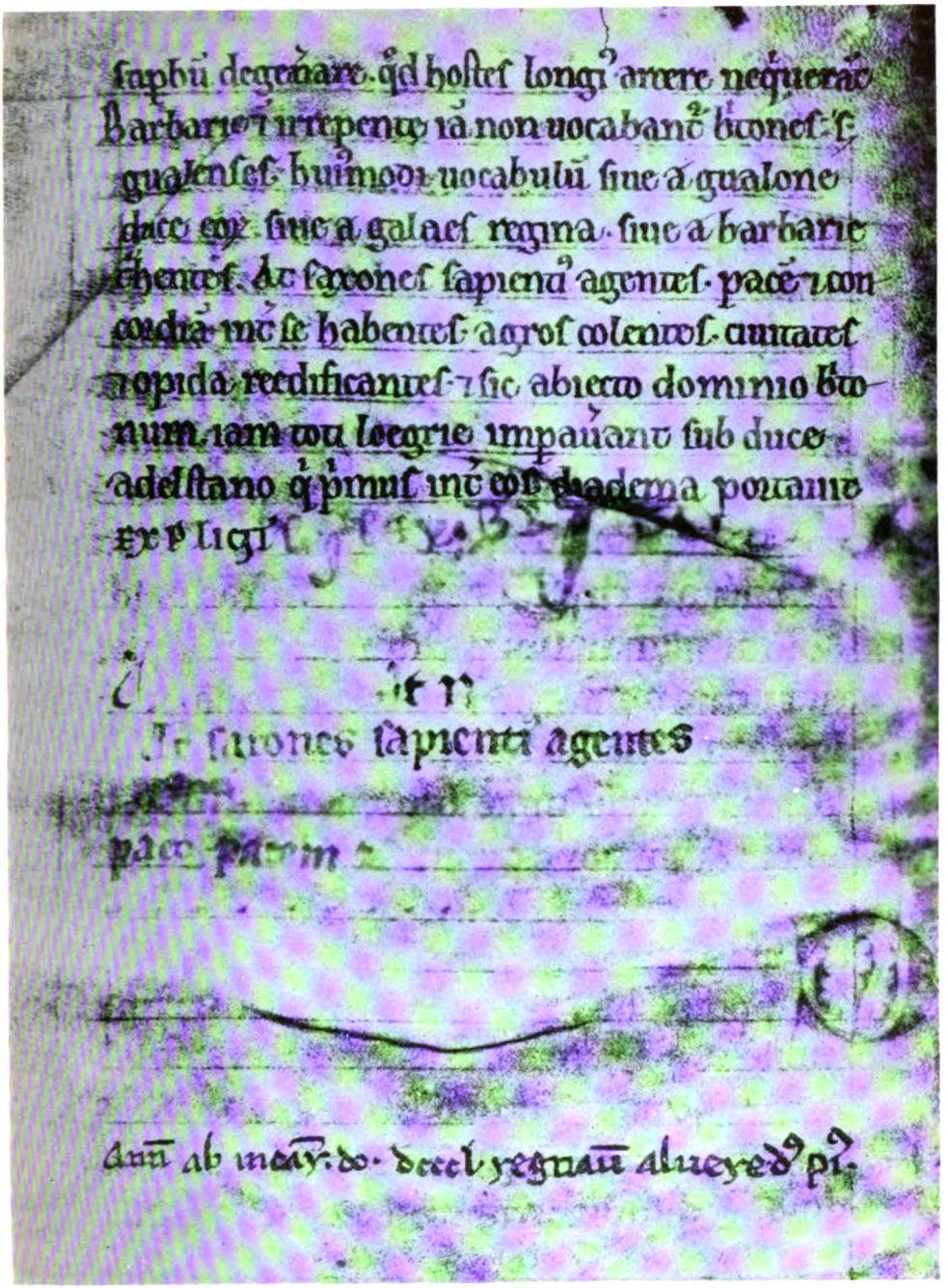

PLATE VII

University Library, Cambridge, No. 1706
Folio 128 *Verso, actual size*
Showing the "Explicit" without later Epilogue

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MSS. show a marked similarity in their lack of polish, their phraseology, and proximity to a Welsh original, and undoubtedly both belong to the very earliest versions of the *Historia*. Internal evidence, both of revision and addition, prove that the Cambridge MS. edition preceded the Bern. Moreover, the Cambridge dedication differs from the Bern, and the nature of this difference, as well as the other internal evidence of the text, demonstrates, as we shall see, that the Cambridge is the earlier of the two.

To establish this fact as well historically as textually, it will be necessary to enter now with some detail into the history and relations of the three men involved: King Stephen, Robert of Gloucester, and Waleran of Mellent; and this, fortunately, the unusually full chronicles and charters of the period enable us to do. The historic setting is of prime importance, for it is only through it that we can determine when the dedications were written. Since the relations between the three patrons varied from apparent friendship to open enmity, a dedication which would be appropriate at one time would have been wholly inappropriate a few years — or even months — earlier or later.

Waleran (or Gualerannus) de Beaumont, sometimes called the Earl of Worcester, but properly the Count of Mellent (or Meulan), was born in 1104 and died in 1166. He was twin brother of Robert, Earl of Leicester, a hunchback, their father being Robert de Beaumont, Count of Mellent, who, until his death in 1118, was a prominent adviser and powerful supporter of Henry I. Waleran and his brother succeeded their father, the former assuming the titles of the French fief of Mellent, and also of Beaumont in Normandy;[1] and both were knighted by Henry him-

[1] The following story is not without interest as an indication of Waleran's youthful character.

[Notification] that after the death of Robert count of Mellent, count Gualeran his son, as yet quite a boy (*puerulus*), gave instructions, by advice of Ralf son of Durand, that the house of St. Germain of the land of Roger Harenc and the land of Fichet should be destroyed. But [when] Gualeran came on the morrow, abbot Richard took him aside into the chapter-house, before his father's tomb and those of his other relatives who lay there, and implored him to allow, for his father's soul, the house of Eudo the smith who shod the packhorses and asses of St. Peter [of Préaux] and the house and grange of William Isoret the tithe-collector (*decimator*), where St. Peter's tithe was gathered together, to

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self.[1] In November 1119, when Pope Calixtus II visited Henry I at Gisors, Waleran and his brother Robert engaged in a public and friendly debate against the cardinals at the behest of the King, and to provide intellectual entertainment for the Pope. The fact that a boy in his sixteenth year should have been selected for such a distinction suggests not merely family influence, but a reputation for unusual literary and rhetorical talents. We are told that the visiting cardinals were surprized and much impressed to find such literary accomplishments in that part of the world.[2]

Waleran was imprisoned for five years (1124–1129) in England (first at Bridgenorth, then at Wallingford) by Henry I, on account of a rebellious outbreak in which he distinguished himself for barbarous cruelty to his own peasants.[3] In 1129, however,

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stand. To whom the count made answer: "I neither can nor ought to give you the land of my knights, but whether other houses fall or not, yet shall not these houses, for which you implore me, be destroyed by orders of mine; and this I grant for my father's soul." Testes: Morinus de Pino; Lucas de Barra; Willelmus Isore.

But not long after this the *prévôts* of Pont Audemer, namely Robert son of Girold and William Comte (*comes*), by order, as they said, of count Gualeran, destroyed, with other houses, those of William Isore and of Geoffrey the smith which [latter] Hugh Fichet had already given to St. Peter. Then the count, called upon by the abbot Richard, summoned the same William Comte and bade him allow these two houses to be rebuilt and to remain undisturbed as alms.

Testes: Willelmo de Pino; Radulfus de Bellomonte. Cf. *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, ed. by J. H. Round, Master of the Rolls, London, 1899; Vol. I, No. 331, pp. 112–113.

[1] Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.*, xii, 33, *sub. an.* 1122; also *Histoire Généalogique de la Maison De Harcourt*, by A. de la Roque, Paris, 1662; I, p. 59 ff.

[2] Augustus Le Prevost is the authority for this incident, which he cites, unfortunately without giving his source, in a note to p. 405 of his ed. of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Ordericus Vitalis, Tom. IV. I have been unable to discover the passage in any of the published letters of Calixtus II; but I find that Ulysse Robert, in his *Histoire du Pape Calixte* II, Paris, 1891, p. 97, refers to this same note of Prevost without casting any doubt upon it. E. Faral, *Romania*, LIII, Jan.–Av., 1927, p. 29, without giving any references, writes: "Lettré distingué, Galeran avait, dès son jeune age, émerveillé par ses talents précoces le pape Calixte II, lorsque celui-ci vint a Gisors. Il conserva toujours le gout de la poesie et, disent ses contemporains, s'y distingua." The paragraph follows, cited from Prevost:

"Et ut nihil cumulatæ pompæ deesset, adolescentulos clarissimi generis: filios comitis de Mellento, ut contra Cardinales de dialectica disputarent, subornavit; quorum sortilibus sophismatibus cum pro vivacitate rationum obsistere nequirent, non puduit Cardinales confiteri majori occiduas plagas florere litterarum peritia, quam ipsi audissent vel putassent in patria. Itaque hæc collocutio hanc finem meruit ut pronunciaret Apostolicus nihil Anglorum regis causa justius, prudentia eminentius, facundia uberius."

[3] Cf. Ord. Vit., *Hist. Eccl.*, ed. of A. Le Prevost, Tom. IV., pp. 441, 455, 456, 457, 458, 463; V. 160; and *Angl.-Sax. Chron.* ed. Benj. Thorpe, *Rolls Ser.* Vol. I, p. 375,

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Henry released him, together with Hugh Fitz-Gervase, imprisoned at the same time; and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells us: "In this year the king sent to England after Count Waleran, and after Hugo Gerueises sunu; and there they gave hostages for them; and Hugo went to his own land in France; and Waleran remained with the king, and the king gave him all his land save only his castle [of Pont Audemer, in Normandy]. Afterwards the king came to England in the autumn, and the count came with him, and they became then as good friends as they had before been foes." [1] He was undoubtedly reinstated in royal favour, for we see him immediately after his release witnessing various documents in company with the King and his following. The first of these, as analyzed by Dr. William Farrer,[2] may be dated between 1129 and 1131, and it is noteworthy that Waleran's signature is directly preceded by that of Robert of Gloucester. The fact that here, as in a number of later documents, Robert's signature immediately precedes Waleran's, implies that from this time until Henry's death, December, 1135, the two had at least such companionship in the King's service as would justify Geoffrey's double dedication, associating them as joint patrons of his work. "The purchases of land, etc., made by Eudo, Abbot of St. Stephen's, Caen, are confirmed by the king. The signatories are: King Henry . . . Robert earl of Gloucester, Waleran count of Meulan," with a number of important names following. Another document [3] to be dated about 1130–31, is similarly signed by both Robert and Waleran, with the same titles and names following. A third, dated Rouen, 1131, is again witnessed by

fr. MS. Bodl. Laud 636. Cf. also the brief entry in *Annales Uticenses, sub. an.* 1123, Bibl. Nat. MS. suppl. Latin 801, attached to a *Nécrologe* of St. Evroul; and the *Chronicle of Robert of Torigni*, ed. Leopold Delisle, Rouen, 1872; Vol. I, p. 166, where Waleran's capture is recorded "VII kalendas Aprilis," 1124, and where he is spoken of as: "*Galerannum, tunc satis juvenem, militem tamen armis fortem.*" Rog. of Hov. *Chronica, Rolls Series*, I, 180, has two brief entries, *sub. an.* 1124 and 1125.

[1] *Op. cit., sub. an.* Millesimo C. XXIX, p. 379.

[2] "An Outline Itinerary of King Henry the First," *English Historical Review*, XXXIV (1919) pp. 303–382, 505–79. Cf. C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, p. 96, ff., from which Dr. Farrer cites his material.

[3] No. 622, Farrer, *art. cit.*, p. 134. Cf. J. H. Round, *Calendar of Doc. in France*, I, No. 123, pp. 41–2.

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both Robert and Waleran. Still a fourth document, dated July–August, 1131, a "Confirmation to the abbey of Bec," contains both signatures once more, and Waleran appears as "Waleran count of Meulan, patron of the abbey."[1] It was from Bec that Henry of Huntingdon indited his famous epistle to Warinus the Briton, already referred to,[2] about Geoffrey's *Historia*, and one wonders if the fact that Henry found just the native materials for which he was searching at Bec, may not have some connection with the fact that Waleran, one of Geoffrey's patrons, and a young man of proved literary talents, was also patron of this abbey? Other documents contain the signature of Robert immediately preceding that of Waleran; and as Robert was a natural son of the King, and so outranked other noblemen, it is not without significance that Waleran's signature should so frequently and regularly follow immediately after Robert's, thereby taking precedence over many other powerful retainers who signed the documents with them. Constant association, therefore, at the court of Henry suggests the probability of a close relation between the two men.

Henry I died in the castle of Lions, about six leagues from Rouen, on the first of December, 1135.[3] Those prominently mentioned as at his bedside were Robert of Gloucester, his natural son but not his heir, and Waleran, Count of Mellent, with the latter's hunchback twin brother, Robert, Earl of Leicester, and two others. Owing to storms, Henry's body did not reach England until after Christmas, and he was buried at Reading, January sixth. Stephen, Henry's nephew, who was probably at Boulogne or Wissant when his uncle died, crossed immediately to England, and, apparently breaking his oath to recognize Matilda, previously

[1] Document No. 648, Farrer, *art. cit.*, p. 138. Cf. Delisle's note 3, p. 185 of his ed. of Robt. of Torigni's *Chronicle*, Vol. I, where a charter, dated at Dieppe, about June, 1131 is quoted, issued while Henry and his court were embarking for England. The signatures of Waleran and his brother follow that of Robert of Gloucester. For additional analysis of the above charter, part of which is printed, cf. Round, *Calendar*, No. 373, p. 125: "*Waleranni comitis Mellenti advocati ecclesie supradicte*," etc.

[2] P. 50, *supra*.

[3] Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* xiii, 19; Robt. of Tor. *Chron.*, *ed. cit.*, I, p. 198.

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made to Henry, was hastily crowned on December twenty-sixth [1] by William de Curboil, Archbishop of Canterbury, who also apparently broke his oath to the dead King. Waleran followed Stephen to England. Stephen's coronation was ill received by his elder brother Theobald, at that time a monk at Bec. The new King also had active enemies, the adherents of Matilda, who was Henry's daughter and chosen heir, and the wife by a second marriage of Geoffrey of Anjou. Stephen needed above all things to establish his position by winning the friendship of as many powerful supporters as possible. One of his first acts, therefore, some time before Easter, 1136, was to betroth his infant daughter to Waleran "*in cunabulis*," [2] though they were never married. Waleran was present at Stephen's great Easter Court in London, March 22nd, and witnessed Stephen's grant to Winchester of the Manor of Sutton, and also witnessed Stephen's grant of the Bishopric of Bath to Robert of Lewes.[3] Early in April Stephen met Robert of Gloucester at Oxford, and issued his famous charter of liberties, but Waleran's name does not appear, because immediately after Easter, as Ordericus tells us, Waleran "hastened to return to Normandy," and with his brother recaptured for the King the fortress of Vaudreil from Roger de Toeni, and later, October third, after continuous fighting, made Roger himself a prisoner.[4] Now, Easter fell on March twenty-second, and, as Robert of Gloucester apparently did not come to England until April to pay homage and to swear fealty to the King, the probability is that the two men did not actually meet at that time.

[1] Ordericus says, the fifteenth; other chroniclers agree on the twenty-sixth; William of Malmesbury says the 22nd. Cf. Kate Norgate, *Eng. Under the Ang. Kings*, I, 279, *n.*

[2] Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* xiii, 22 (*ed. cit.*, V. 58): *Tunc Stephanus rex filiam suam biennum Gualeranno comiti de Mellento in cunabulis dedit.* Waleran later married Agnes de Montfort. In Vol. IV, fol. 110 of a manuscript catalogue once belonging to Lord Calthorpe, is a charter dated 1136. "By it King Stephen gives the manor of Sutton to God and the Church of St. Peter of Winchester in exchange for the manor of Morden which he gave to Waleran, Earl of Mellent, and which the church long possessed." *Second Report* of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, London, 1874, Appendix, p. 39. For Waleran's second marriage, and his children, etc., cf. de la Roque, *Hist. de la Maison De Harcourt*, I, pp. 68, 69. There are several errors of dating in de la Roque's account.

[3] Cf. the lists of signatures in Round, *Geof. de Mand.*, p. 262.

[4] Cf. Robt. of Tor. *Chron.*, *ed. cit.*, I, p. 205.

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But it is in this period, more than in any other, that we find each of the two men playing a part to which the wording of the double dedication exactly conforms, so that the probabilities all point to this as the time when Geoffrey dedicated his *Historia* to the two noblemen. It was while, and only while Robert was in England and gave at least the appearance of supporting Stephen, and while Waleran, betrothed in England to the King's daughter, and a constant companion of Robert's, was actively fighting to support the King, that Geoffrey could have dedicated his *Historia* to Robert, in whom "the island of Britain, now, *in these days*, rejoices with heartfelt affection, as if possessed of another Henry," and to Waleran, that "other pillar of our realm," who, as "a scion of that most illustrious King Charles," [1] is "guided to the camp of kings, where, fearlessly, outstripping thy comrades, thou, under thy father's auspices, didst learn to be at once a terror to the enemy and the defender of thine own." I shall revert to these phrases later.

William of Malmesbury explains Robert's motives and reserves in coming to England, and says that "he dissembled for a time his secret intentions. He did homage to the king, therefore, under a certain condition, namely, so long as he should preserve his rank, and keep his engagements." [2] Stephen, on his part, later took a specific oath recognizing Robert's special claims — which oath he by no means kept. In fact, not long afterwards, he planned a treacherous attack upon Robert, which was foiled only by the latter's prolonged absence from his castle.

During April, 1136, while Robert was in England and Waleran in Normandy, Stephen visited Oxford,[3] where we have every reason to believe Geoffrey was "*magister*"; and, since the earliest Welsh life states that Geoffrey "was the instructor of many

[1] Charlemagne, from whom Waleran was descended through his mother. For text of quotations, see pp. 85–7 *infra*.

[2] *Historia Novella*, I, para. 463 *ad fin.* (ed. Stubbs, *Rolls Ser.*, XC, ii, p. 541): *Itaque homagium regi fecit sub conditione quadam, scilicet, quamdiu ille dignitatem suam integre custodiret et sibi pacta servaret.* Cf. 463, 466.

[3] Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist. Anglorum*, *Rolls Ser.*, VIII, iii, p. 258. Cf. J. H. Round's masterly discussion in his *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, London, 1892, pp. 15–24.

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scholars and chieftains" [1] it would seem that Salter's supposition that he was there a "Canon of St. George's" is highly probable. Geoffrey and Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, both witnessed the foundation-charter of Oseney in 1129, and a charter at St. John's College, Oxford, to be dated between 1125–1135; while Walter was also present at the dedication of the church at Godstow, April 2, 1138,[2] and witnessed a deed in the Godstow Cartulary (fol. 5) in January, 1139. It may well have been at precisely the time of Stephen's visit, therefore, that Geoffrey dedicated another copy of his newly-written book to the King as well as to Robert. I shall return to this later.

In the third week of March, 1137,[3] Stephen crossed to Normandy, joining Waleran, and was followed on Easter Day [4] by Robert of Gloucester,[5] who, as William of Malmesbury suggests, was already wavering in his enforced allegiance to the King and was arranging "what he conceived proper to be done afterwards." In fact, Stephen and Robert quarrelled while in Normandy, though there was a nominal reconciliation. In December,[6] 1137,

[1] *Gwentian Brut* or *Brut y Tywysogion*, compiled from early sources in a careless and unreliable manner about 1550, and printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, 2nd ed., Denbigh, 1870, p. 711 (cf. bottom of col. a and col. b). Cf. H. E. Salter, "Geoffrey of Monmouth and Oxford," *English Historical Review*, XXXIV (1919), 382–85, where no reference is given; W. Lewis Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 58, and also Sir E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain*, 1927, p. 21 ff.

[2] *Carta domini Walteri, Archidiaconi Oxinfordensis, facta conventui de Godestow, in dedicacione ecclesie*, printed by Sir Thomas Phillipps, "Additional Particulars for the Biography of Three Oxfordshire Writers," *Proceedings of the Archæological Institute* (meeting of June, 1850), London, 1854, pp. 95 ff.

[3] Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* xiii, 30 (ed. A. Le Prevost, V. 81); cf. Henry of Huntingdon, VIII, v.

[4] William of Malmesbury, *Hist. Novella*, I, para. 466 (*ed. cit.* p. 543).

[5] Cf. the charter dated at Bayeux, 1136 (old style), a confirmation to the Abbey of Montebourg, signed by "G. comite Mellenti, et R. comite Gloecestrie" etc. *Cartulaire de Montebourg*, pp. 14, 15; charter 30. The two men were still associated, though for once Waleran's signature preceded Robert's. A writ for Bec Abbey issued by Stephen at Pont Audemer, probably in June, 1137, is witnessed by Waleran only. (Haskins, *Norm. Inst.*, p. 127.) Cf. Delisle, *Rec. des Actes de Henry II*, Paris, 1909, p. 118, no. 8, however, for a charter dated 1137, at Pont Audemer, where Waleran again follows Robert amongst the witnesses.

[6] "On the very eve of Christmas" — Henry of Huntingdon, VIII, v; Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.*, xiii, 32 (ed. A. Le Prevost, V. 91): *Unde in adventu Domini festinanter in Angliam transfretavit, et Gualerannum atque Rodbertum comites aliosque proceres pene omnes secum duxit.* Stephen is supposed to have kept his Christmas at Dunstable, according to the Continuator of Florence of Worcester.

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Waleran, who had assisted the King in establishing his position throughout Normandy, returned with him to England, to cope with the rebellion there of several powerful and factious counts, as well as with the rapacity of what were virtually knightly free-booters.

At least one charter of King Stephen, witnessed by Waleran, falls between the date of their return to England, and Waleran's departure once more in May, 1138, for Normandy. It is published by Professor J. H. Round, and was issued at Marlborough. As he suggests, it can probably be assigned to Stephen's trip to Dunstable, where he spent Christmas, 1137, after his landing in Dorset, — on which trip he would naturally pass through Marlborough and Oxford.[1] Robert, Earl of Leicester, Waleran's twin brother, accompanied Stephen to England also, and we now find his name in conjunction with his brother's, witnessing charters in England, as he had before in Normandy.[2] It may well have been during this period that Waleran founded Bordesley Abbey, near Worcester, to which I shall refer presently.

We know from the chronicles of Richard and John Hexham, when combined with the account by the Continuator of Florence of Worcester (John), that throughout the winter of 1138 Waleran was again actively supporting King Stephen, and that he dislodged King David of Scotland from his siege of Wark Castle, or Carram, belonging to Walter de Spec.[3] It is noteworthy that at this time, namely, early in 1138, the Continuator refers to Waleran as *Comite Mellentino*, whereas next year, in 1139, on his return once more to England, he refers to him as *comes civitatis Wigorniam*, or *comes Wigornensis*.[4] Professor Round, in 1892, wrote of "a doubtful earldom of Worcestershire bestowed on the Count of

[1] *Ancient Charters*, in *The Publications of the Pipe Roll Society*, Vol. X, 1888; no. 21, pp. 35–38. Cf. *Chron. John of Worcester*, ed. by J. R. H. Weaver, Oxford, 1908, p. 45.

[2] E.g. in Delisle, nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, and 10, pp. 117, 118, 119, *ed. cit.*

[3] *Chr. John of Wor., ed. cit.*, p. 52: *Rex Scottiae cum reversus fuisset, ut suos confortaret seque consolaretur, castellum quod prius obsederat unde a comite Mellentino fugatus fuerat, quod Werc vel Carram dicitur, et est Walterii de Spec, omnibus viribus et multis ingeniis et variis molitionibus obsedit . . .*

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 57, 60.

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Meulan," [1] having already stated in 1885, for the *Dictionary of National Biography*, that Stephen rewarded Waleran for his active support against the Bishops of Salisbury, Lincoln and Ely "with a grant of Worcester (and, it is said the earldom), towards the close of 1139." [2] The Continuator specifically refers to Waleran as Earl of Worcester when recording his visit to Worcester with King Stephen on November 30, 1139, and also a second time soon after January 31, 1140. There is no hint in either account that the earldom was a reward for the overthrow of Bishop Roger of Salisbury, and "late in 1139" is the latest possible date for the creation of the earldom. Any time between the end of January, 1138, and November 30, 1139, would be possible, since this chronicler changes his title for Waleran at these two extremes, from *comes Mellenti* to *comes Wigornie*. But since Stephen rewarded William le Gros of Aumale and Robert de Ferrers with the earldoms, respectively, of Yorkshire and Derby, because of their services at the Battle of the Standard, August 22, 1138, [3] and Waleran certainly deserved better of the King than any other of his subjects, it is reasonable to suppose that Stephen rewarded Waleran also, at certainly no later date, with the grant of Worcestershire, so that a more probable date is the beginning of 1138, after Waleran's successful encounter with the Scotch King at Wark, and before he went to Normandy in May. Moreover, Stephen made Waleran's youngest brother, Hugh de Beaumont, the Earl of Bedford early in 1138; and again it is hard to suppose that the King overlooked his favourite, Waleran, while promoting not only fellow-nobles, but Waleran's own younger brother.

Waleran confirmed his foundation of Bordesley Abbey, near Worcester, in a notification charter,[4] published by Warner and Ellis, which certainly cannot be ascribed to any earlier period than 1138, because Robert, Earl of Leicester, is one of the wit-

[1] *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 271.

[2] *D. N. B.*, IV, p. 70.

[3] Rich. Hexham, *De Gestis Regis Stephani*, *Rolls Ser.*, p. 165. Cf. *Gesta Stephani*, *Rolls Ser.*, pp. 30–31, no. 1, with *Hist. Eccl.*, *ed. cit.*, V, p. 120.

[4] Brit. Mu. Addl. Ch. 20419; No. 15 in *Facsimiles of Royal and Other Charters in the Brit. Museum*, London, 1903.

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nesses, and the latter did not come to England until December, 1137, as we have seen above. Now this charter has attached a seal which reads on one side [+ SI]GIL[LUM GUALERAN]NI COMITIS WIGORNI[E], and on the reverse: + SIGILLUM GUALE[RANNI COMITIS MELLENTI]. The missing letters are supplied from a similar seal, "apparently from different matrices," attached to Harleian Charter 45. I, 30, a photograph of which lies before me. This earlier charter is addressed to Simon, Bishop of Worcester, who witnessed the later confirmation charter, and is much briefer. Robert is not amongst the witnesses, who are: William the Chaplain, William Debellocampo, styled later as Waleran's son, who witnessed the confirmation; Gilbert de Laci, who distinguished himself at the Battle of the Standard; William de Pinu, whose name occurs in several charters and who witnessed the later one; John Delalunda, who also witnessed the later (there styled "de Lunda"); Ignard Leparler; and Humfrey the Chamberlain. A phrase in this earlier charter places it almost certainly soon after the death of Henry I, and the contrast between the two charters here is very significant. In the earlier, Waleran says that: *Hoc vero facio pro anima henrici regis. parentum meorum. pro salute mea. heredum meorum amicorum. pro incolumitate tocius regni anglie.* In the later, he changes his point of view radically, and states that he has founded the Abbey of Bordesley *in honore beate virginis Marie pro dei amore pro anima patris mei. antecessorum meorum et pro salute mea heredum meorum.* It is evident that a decided interval had elapsed, Henry was no longer remembered, Stephen was firmly established, and the country relatively safe. In view of this wording one would be inclined to accept the date of 1136 for the foundation of the Abbey, between March 25 and April, before Waleran returned to Normandy — the year, moreover, given by the Winchcombe Annals,[1] — if it were not for the seal bearing the legend *comitis Wigornie.* This practically precludes so early a date. It would seem far more likely, therefore, that the actual

[1] Cott. MS. Tib. E. IV, f. 23, margin. Cf. Warner and Ellis, *op. cit.*, no. 15.

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foundation was in the early part of 1138, as given by the Burton Annals,[1] and that some months later, perhaps in 1139, when Waleran visited Worcester with King Stephen, he issued his later notification. It is also interesting that in this second charter he refers to his gift of all rights and privileges to Bordesley as *mihi et heredibus meis pertinentibus*. Another charter to be dated about this same time, issued by Waleran, addresses "*omnibus ballivis et ministris suis de Wyrecestresira, et præpositis et ministris suis de Wyche*";[2] so Waleran unmistakably lays claim to title and authority in Worcestershire. Furthermore, writing in 1894, Professor Round refers to the seals mentioned above, with a drawing of one of them made in the seventeenth century, and states that: "the attribution of the Earldom of Worcester to the Count, on this seal [*sic*], is the sole confirmation known, I believe, of the statement (by the Continuator of Florence of Worcester) that he had the style."[3] But in the Bibliothèque Nationale is a copy of the original *Cartulaire de Beaumont*, with a splendid collection of early documents, probably made, according to M. Philippe Lauer of the Bibliothèque Nationale, by Dom Jacques Jouvelin, a Benedictine who lived at the end of the XVII century. On folio 100 verso occurs a charter issued by Waleran at Bec, the original of which is clearly described as having exactly the same seal attached. The charter reads as follows: *Ego Galerannus, comes Mellenti, iturus ad Sanctum Jacobum, veni in capitulum Becci, et commendans me orationibus fratrum, dedi eidem ecclesie Becci terciam partem aque ante Fraisnosam quam Marches vocant.*[4] This appearance of the seal attached to a document originating not in England, but in Waleran's own Norman fiefs, and at Bec, where he was patron, still, however, employing the title of *comes*

[1] Cott. MS. Vesp. E. III, fol. 5; cf. *Rolls Ser., Ann. Monast.*, I, p. 186.

[2] *Historia et Cartilarium Monastirii S. Petri Gloucestriæ, Rolls Ser.*, ed. by W. H. Hart, London, 1865; Vol. II, p. 71. Cf. p. 129. The precept frees Gloucester Abbey from tolls in Droitwich.

[3] "The Introduction of Armorial Bearings into England"; *Arch. Journal*, Vol. LI, Sec. Ser., Vol. I; pp. 43–48, esp. p. 47, with illustration of the seal.

[4] MS. Lat. 13905, fol. 100 vo. Cf. L. Delisle, *Rec. des Actes de Henry II*, 1909, p. 466. Monsieur Lauer was kind enough to write me, Sept. 8, 1928, describing the MS. and confirming the description of the seal.

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Wigornie, is confirmation of the strongest sort that Waleran consistently styled himself Earl of Worcester, though he evidently considered the title inferior to his hereditary one of Mellent.[1]

The foundation of Bordesley Abbey by Waleran was confirmed by King Stephen himself apparently in 1140–41, before the Battle of Lincoln:[2] *sicut eam dedi. G. Com̄ de Metllenti. . . . Et sicut carta ipsius. G. Com̄. de Metllenti. qui eas eis dedit testatur quod tenere debeant. testibus*, etc. The fact of Waleran's foundation of Bordesley Abbey, therefore, seems hardly open to question. The full significance of these details will appear shortly, because we shall see that Empress Matilda laid claim to have founded Bordesley Abbey herself, and that, strangely enough, Waleran's name appears as a witness on her supposed charter of foundation — still extant. That this has a bearing on the relations of

[1] de la Roque, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 65, refers four times to Waleran's seal, attached to charters which he apparently saw himself sometime before 1662, when his volumes were published in Paris. The descriptions certainly suggest the same seals as those attached to the Bordesley charters; and since no other seal is known as being used by Waleran, the probabilities are that we have here recorded four more of the same seals, used in Normandy, and so further establishing Waleran's claim to the title of Earl of Worcester. The four references are as follows:

1) (p. 64, under the date 1141): Confirmation charter of the Conventual Priory of Saint Nigaise of Mellent, "fondé par ses predecesseurs Comtes & regi par les Religieux de l'Abbaye du Bec. Il reduisit donc les donations mentionnées auxdits titres en une charte fort ample, signée de sa main, & scellée de son grand sceau . . ."

2) (p. 65, par. 2): A charter to Bec, exempting the monks there from all taxes in buying and selling, "ayant luy mesme scellé la charte qu'il leur en fit expedier, de son sceau" etc., and this is witnessed, among others, by "Guillaume son fils," who witnessed both the Bordesley charters, cited above; and "Alain de Neuville," who not only witnessed the second Bordesley Charter, but gave Bordesley a mill near Bere: — "*ex dono Alani de Noua uilla, molendinum unum apud Bere. cum pertinentiis suis.*"

3) (p. 65, par. 3): A charter dated 1141, "scellée en lacs de cuir d'vn sceau de cire blanche auquel est empraint vn homme a cheual . . . ," confirming grants and fiefs to the Priory de Beaumont, founded by his grandfather.

4) (p. 65, par. 4): A charter containing a letter of Waleran to Pope Eugenius III (elected Feb. 15, 1145; d. 1153), "scellé sur double queuë en lacs de cuir sur cire rouge."

The specific reference in No. 3 to "a man on horseback" describes exactly the existing seals in the British Museum, and renders the inference that these four seals were the same, and bore the legend *comitis Wigornie*, highly probable.

[2] Harleian Charter, 43. C. 13; a photograph lies before me. For the date, cf. Round, *Geof. de Mand.*, p. 50, n. 1, and Warner and Ellis, *op. cit.*, no. 15. W. De Gray Birch, who published the charter in a paper "On the Great Seals of King Stephen" in *Transactions of the Royal Soc. of Literature*, Sec. Ser., Vol. XI, London, 1878, pp. 23–24 is certainly wrong in dating it in 1144, after the Battle of Lincoln, as Hugh Bigot, a witness, does not appear as earl, not having as yet received his earldom of Norfolk, therefore, when the charter was issued.

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Waleran and Robert of Gloucester, Matilda's half-brother, will soon become evident.

When Waleran returned to Normandy in May, 1138, he attacked Roger de Conches and plundered the country.[1] Meanwhile Stephen, in England, declared Robert's English and Welsh estates forfeited, and razed some of his castles.[2] In June, Geoffrey of Anjou, husband of Matilda — the daughter and designated heiress of Henry I, and half-sister of Robert — entered Normandy with a body of troops, bent upon establishing Matilda's claims to the English throne, and "by prayers and promises drew Robert, Earl of Gloucester to his side."[3] After Stephen's treatment of him, this should not have been difficult. William of Malmesbury adds that "immediately after Pentecost [June thirteenth], sending some of his men from Normandy to the King, he [Robert] took back, following ancient usage, his friendship and allegiance, and even renounced his homage, giving as a just reason, that the King had illegally aspired to the kingdom."[4]

The break between Robert and King Stephen, therefore, can be assigned precisely, and the period of their friendship set between the most definite limits, that is, April, 1136, and June, 1138. In the same way, Ordericus tells us that Waleran within one month (July, 1138), not merely declared his hostility to Robert, but actually besieged him in his stronghold at Caen. Thus we may also set an absolute limit, for the time being at least, to any friendship between Robert and Waleran.

> In the month of July, Waleran the Count [of Mellent] and William of Ypres grieving that the enemy should prevail through intestine treason . . . resolved to go against the Angevins. But Robert de Courcei hastily sent a messenger to Count Geoffrey [of Anjou] and informed him of their machinations, urging him speedily to withdraw from Normandy and to await another opportunity to aggrandize himself. On hearing this, he immediately retreated with his troops in some fear; so that the enemy, who had mustered

[1] Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.*, xiii, 37 (ed. A. Le Prevost, V, 108).
[2] William of Malmesbury, *Hist. Nov.*, I, para. 467.
[3] *Hist. Eccl.*, xiii, 37 (*ed. cit.*, V. 108).
[4] *Historia Novella*, I, para. 467 (*ed. cit.*, p. 545).

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a large force, were greatly disappointed that the hostile army, by an unexpected retreat, should escape. Indeed, in order that a thousand soldiers should not seem to have been assembled in vain, and lest they should return to their homes without having accomplished anything worthy, they went to Caen, wasting the country thereabouts, and tried to draw the garrison out of the fortress. But Robert the Count, who greatly feared the factions of both sides, for that reason wisely shut himself up with a hundred men-at-arms.[1]

Two knights, who sallied forth with forty men-at-arms, were killed, but the expedition seems to have accomplished little. However, from that time on, Geoffrey of Monmouth would have been ill-advised to dedicate his *Historia* to Robert and Waleran together.

There is no evidence that the two Earls ever became friends again after this break; and, on the contrary, there are indications that they remained apart. This is of importance, because it has been suggested that the double dedication to Robert and Waleran might have been written after 1141, when Waleran is said to have "abandoned Stephen and made terms with the house of Anjou."[2] This will be discussed in detail presently, but for the moment it will be best to review the ordered sequence of events as recorded in chronicles and charters.

In June, 1139,[3] we find Waleran back in England, and at Oxford. He probably returned from Normandy towards the close of 1138.[4] He and his brother were acting throughout this period as Stephen's chief advisers, and in this capacity Waleran headed the opposition to the powerful and worldly Bishop of Salisbury and his nephews, Alexander of Lincoln and Nigel of Ely. At the Council of Oxford, June 24, 1139, matters came to a crisis, and Waleran and his brother, during a riot between the followers of

[1] Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.*, xiii, 37 (*ed. cit.*, V, 108, 109).

[2] Sir E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain*, pp. 42, 43, 44; E. Faral in *Romania*, LIII, Jan.–Av., 1927, pp. 29–30.

[3] Cf. William of Malmesbury, *Hist. Nov.*, II, para. 469, with Ord. Vitalis, xiii, 40 (*ed. cit.*, V, p. 120).

[4] Cf. Ord. Vit., xiii, 38: *Eodem anno* [1138], *concordia inter Rogerium et comites fratres facta est, a quibus etiam ad Stephanum regem in Angliam adductus eique honorifice reconciliatus est.*

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the two parties, captured both Roger of Salisbury and Alexander of Lincoln, Nigel of Ely escaping. On the advice of his favourite, Stephen imprisoned both Bishops, seizing, later, their castles, and this act is said to have stirred Robert and Matilda to undertake civil war.[1]

This incident, be it noted, occurred at Oxford, where, as we have seen, Geoffrey of Monmouth in all probability resided. Now Geoffrey dedicates the *Prophecies of Merlin*, which he later incorporated as Book VII, directly to Bishop Alexander of Lincoln. In view of the open hostility between Waleran and Alexander at this time, it is hardly to be supposed that Geoffrey would have dedicated his *Historia*, not only to Robert (always Alexander's friend), but also to Waleran, after this incident of June, 1139, at Oxford. The greater likelihood is that the double dedication to Robert and Waleran of the whole work, and the special inscription to Alexander of Book VII, were all written before 1139 and not later; and that afterwards Waleran's name as co-patron was dropped so as not to offend either Robert or Alexander.

Waleran's influence at this time was certainly at its height, and a striking evidence of this occurred shortly thereafter when the disgraced Bishop of Salisbury died (Dec. 4),[2] and Waleran's nomination of Philip de Harcourt to the vacant See was accepted (1140) by the King against the wishes of his own brother, Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, who promoted the cause of their nephew, Henry de Sulli.[3]

On September 30, 1139, Matilda and Robert of Gloucester landed at Arundel with only one hundred and forty knights, and civil war began, the first phase of which culminated in the Battle of Lincoln, February 2, 1141. On hearing of Empress Matilda's

[1] *Gesta Stephani*, *Rolls Ser.*, ed. by Richard Howlett, pp. 45–50. Waleran was prompted by envy and what he conceived to be Stephen's best interests; there is no evidence in this that he favoured Robert's or Matilda's cause. Cf. Ord. Vit., xiii, 40 (*ed. cit.*, V, p. 120), and John of Worcester, *ed. cit.*, pp. 54–55; also Stubbs, *Constitutional Hist.*, *5th ed.*, Oxford, I, 353: "the signal for the civil war."

[2] John of Worcester, *ed. cit.*, pp. 57–8; and Wm. of Mal., *Hist. Nov.*, II, xxxii. Stephen and Waleran were at Salisbury shortly thereafter, and Waleran witnessed a charter of Stephen while there. Cf. Round, *Geof. de Mand.*, p. 46, note 4.

[3] Ord. Vit., xiii, 42 (*ed. cit.*, V, p. 123).

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landing, Stephen acted with a chivalry far outrunning modern notions of good sense, for "the King, therefore, placed the Empress under the care of Henry, bishop of Winchester, and Waleran, Earl of Mellent, for safe-conduct; a favour never denied to the most inveterate enemy by honourable soldiers. Waleran, indeed, declined going farther than Calne; but the bishop continued his route," [1] conducting Matilda to Bristol, Robert's stronghold.

In the course of the campaigns which followed, Robert of Gloucester's men attacked, burnt, and ravaged Worcester on the seventh of November. On November thirtieth "the Earl of Worcester came to the city. When he saw the ravages of the flames, he was grieved; and felt as though the blow had been struck to his own injury. Wishing, therefore, to revenge himself for this, he marched with an army to Sudely. . . . If it be asked what the Earl did there, scarcely should the memory be handed down, for he rendered evil for evil. He seized and carried off great booty in men and their goods and cattle, and the next day returned to Worcester." [2] Stephen joined him there, marching from Oxford, and after a brief stay, returned to Oxford, and apparently spent Christmas at Salisbury. Sometime after the thirty-first of January, 1140, the King and Waleran returned to Worcester, after renewed attacks against Sudely and Little Hereford. "During the King's stay in these parts, the Earl [Waleran], remembering the injuries done to his townsmen, invaded Tewkesbury with a large multitude of armed men, and burned with fire the magnificent home of the Earl of Gloucester, and everything in its vicinity, together also with some others within a mile of Gloucester. But at the prayers of the Abbot of Tewkesbury and

[1] Wm. of Mal., *Hist. Nov.*, *Rolls Ser.*, 1889; II, paragraph 478: *Dedit rex porro [ergo] imperatrici Wintoniensis episcopi Henrici et comitis Mellentensis Walleranni conductum; quem cuilibet, quamvis infestissimo inimico, negare laudabilium militum mos non est. Et Wallerannus quidem ultra Calnam tendere supersedit, episcopo in conductu perseverante.*

[2] John of Worcester, *ed. cit.*, p. 57: *Tricesimo die mensis Novembris, comes civitatis Wigorniam venit. Combustionem civitatis ut vidit, indoluit; ad iniuriam sui, id actum fore persensit. Unde vindicare se volens, stipatus manu militum Sudlegiam adiit; audierat enim Iohannem Haroldi filium deserto rege ad Glaocestrensem comitem divertisse. Ubi quid comes egerit, si queritur, vix memoriae tradendum malum pro malo reddidit. In hominibus cum rebus eorum et animalibus predam egit et abduxit, et crastino Wigorniam rediit.*

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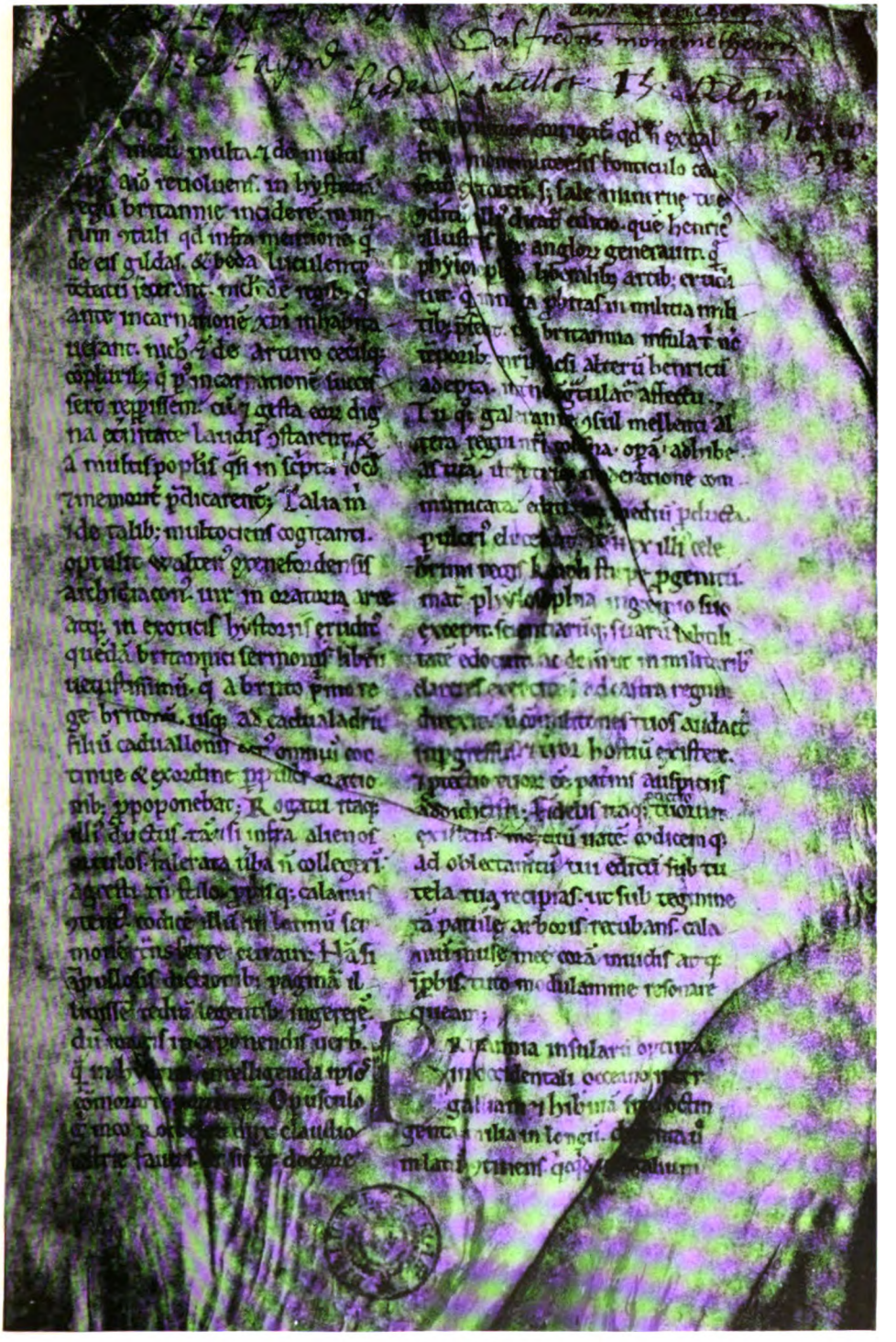

PLATE VIII

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Folio 1 *Recto, slightly reduced*

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the brothers, the conqueror spared their goods. Having taken no small booty, both of men and their apparel and cattle, he mercifully gave order that the captives be speedily released from their chains, and returned to their own homes; and the next day returned to Worcester, protesting to everyone that hardly ever, either in Normandy or in England, had he accomplished such a conflagration." [1]

It is certain that Geoffrey of Monmouth could not have dedicated his *Historia* to Robert and Waleran together after such events as these.

However, it has been suggested that Waleran's later conduct at the Battle of Lincoln in 1141 indicates that he then deserted Stephen for Matilda, and that thereafter he and Robert may have become reconciled, so that the double dedication should be ascribed to some date during 1141–42. Even if we ignore the internal evidence which shows that our Cambridge MS. preceded the Bern, as well as the word-structure of the two double dedications, which points to the same conclusion, the known relations of Robert and Waleran scarcely lend themselves to such an assumption. If the Robert-Waleran dedication were an outcome of a reconciliation in 1141–42 between two powerful nobles who had been bitter enemies, burning and ravaging each other's homes and fiefs, it is hardly thinkable that while reviewing the careers of each of them, it would contain no reference to the happy event which it celebrated. The more we examine the theory, the more untenable it appears; for if so late a date be assigned to the Robert-Waleran dedication, it must have been preceded by both of the others, and this compels us not only to account for the extraordinarily awkward and inappropriate phrases of the

[1] J. of W., *ed. cit.*, p. 60: *Morante itaque rege in illis partibus, comes memor iniuriarum civium suorum, in gravi multitudine armatorum Teodekesberiam invadit, magnificam domum Glaornensis comitis et omnia quae in circumitu eius erant, quorundam etiam aliorum, igne combussit, miliario uno distante a Glaorna. Victus precibus domni abbatis Theodekesberiensis et fratrum, rebus illorum pepercit. Non modica preda capta, tam de hominibus et suppellectili eorum quam de animalibus, respectu mox clementi qui captivi ducebantur a vinculis soluti, ad sua redire iussit, et crastino Wigorniam rediit, contestans omnibus se in Normannia nec in Anglia tantam combustionem vix unquam peregisse.*

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Stephen-Robert dedication, but to assume that after they had been dropped for several years in favour of a single dedication to Robert alone, they should have been revived and originally found to fit Robert and Waleran better than the patrons for whom they were written. Now is it easy to believe that after this dedication to Robert alone, Geoffrey would have been willing to place Waleran on a par with Robert and address him as Robert's equal? The argument for such a late rewriting of the Robert-Waleran double dedication must fall, therefore, unless there be historical proof that Robert and Waleran became so reconciled after the enmity which we have traced, and so united in the service of a common cause, as to be properly considered "twin pillars of our realm," and to justify the repeated emphasis on Waleran's "loyalty." There is nothing in the chronicles and records of the time, which offers any proof of such a reconciliation, and all the indications are to the contrary.

Let us now resume our detailed survey to discover just what occurred between the men involved.

About Christmas, 1140, Stephen laid siege to Lincoln, and on February 2, 1141, Robert "boldly crossed a marsh which was almost impassable, and on the same day arrayed his troops, and offered the king battle." [1] The accounts of the Battle of Lincoln vary somewhat in their colouring, influenced by the sympathies of the writer. All agree, however, that Stephen's chief supporters fled, including Waleran. William of Malmesbury, who sided throughout with Robert and Matilda, wrote merely that: "The royalists began the prelude to the fight, which they called the Joust, as they were skilled in such exercises: but when they saw that the consular party, if they may be so called, did not attack from a distance with lances, but at close quarters with swords, and broke the king's ranks with violent and determined onset, the earls, to a man, for six of them had entered the conflict, together with the king, consulted their safety by flight." [2] Henry

[1] Hen. of Hunt., *Hist. Angl.*, *Rolls Ser.*, VIII, xiii; p. 268.
[2] *Hist. Nov.*, *Rolls Ser.*, III, para. 489.

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of Huntingdon, a very partial adherent of Robert, writing about three years later — 1144–45 — stated that: "At the commencement of the battle, the exiles who were in front fell on the royal army, in which were Earl Alan, the Earl of Mellent, with Hugh, the Earl of East Anglia [Norfolk], and Earl Symon, and the Earl of Warenne, with so much impetuosity, that it was routed in the twinkling of an eye, one part being killed, another captured, and the third put to flight." [1] According to Robert of Torigni, all of Stephen's knights fled, — *Fugerunt igitur omnes equites regis, et Willermus Yprensis*, etc.; [2] while the *Gesta Stephani*, speaking for Stephen's side, wrote that: ". . . *plurimis autem antequam manus consererunt, ut comes Mellonensis et Willelmus ille de Ipra, proh pudor! fugitantibus* . . ." [3] John of Hexham lists the important captives, and adds a phrase about Waleran that reveals the estimation in which he was held: "Many were killed, and all, moreover, were put to flight, even Waleran the count of Mellant." [4] Ordericus Vitalis, a Norman, writing from a Norman point of view, suggests what is in no English chronicler, namely, that "some of the great lords" — unnamed — were guilty of "perfidy," because, while accompanying the King with a few of their retainers, they sent the largest part of them over to the enemy.[5] It has, apparently, been inferred that Waleran was amongst this number — that he even secretly plotted in advance with Robert and Matilda, and openly sided with them at the Battle of Lincoln. However, the precise statements of the chroniclers do not bear out this thesis.[6]

[1] *Ed. cit.*, p. 273.

[2] Delisle, *op. cit.*, I, p. 222.

[3] *Rolls Ser.*, p. 70.

[4] *Simion Dunelmensis Historia Regum a Johanne Hagustaldensi Continuata, Rolls Ser.*, ed. Thomas Arnold, 1885; II, p. 308: *Multi cæsi, dispersi tandem universi, etiam et Waleran comes de Mellant.*

[5] *In illo conflictu perfidia nequiter debacchata est. Nam quidam magnotorum cum paucis suorum regi comitati sunt, suorumque satellitum turmam adversariis ut prævalerent præmiserunt. Sic nimirum domino suo fidem suam mentiti sunt, meritoque perjuri et proditores dijudicari possunt. Hist. Eccl. ed. cit.*, V, pp. 127–128.

[6] E. Faral in *Romania*, LIII, Jan.–Av., 1927, p. 29; "Mais, venu en Angleterre en 1139, il se détacha de la cause du roi et céda au sollicitations de Robert de Gloucester et de sa sœur Mathilde. Au début, ses menées furent secrètes; mais en 1141, au combat de Lincoln, où il figura de côté des royaux, il trahit ouvertement la confiance du prince en prenant le fuite, et Étienne resta prisonnier aux mains de l'ennemi."

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We have seen Waleran savagely burning Robert's own castle about a year before, and the very chronicler, Ordericus, who alone makes the statement about treacherous conduct on the part of certain unnamed nobles, writes directly thereafter, and in contrast with the above statement: "Count Waleran and his brother William de Warenne, with Gilbert de Clare, and other knights of high renown, both Norman and English, as soon as they saw the first rank routed, turned their backs and fled in alarm for their own safety." [1] If any doubt could be raised as to the real motive back of Waleran's flight, it is put to rest by the specific statement a few sentences later: "Gualeranus the Count, and William de Guarenna [his brother], and Simon [de Senlis, Earl of Northhampton] adhered with many others to the Queen, and pledged themselves to fight manfully for the King and his heirs." [2] This occurred after the capture and imprisonment of Stephen, and leaves no doubt whatsoever as to Waleran's loyalty, though he may have been, on this one occasion, a faint-hearted warrior.

Waleran's precise movements are not recorded for the next few months, and we only learn of his whereabouts once before he returned to Normandy, probably about midsummer, to look after his possessions there, which were seriously threatened on all sides, and especially by the Count of Anjou. Stephen's Queen retired to Kent, where she raised such forces as she could, and it is quite possible, from the statement of Ordericus, just quoted, that Waleran was with her, at least part of the time.

Stephen remained in prison at Bristol until November first, 1141, and this left his followers in a sorry predicament. Matilda, intoxicated with the success of her cause, marched to Winchester three weeks after the Battle, and on March 3 she made a triumphal entry into the town and was received in state by Henry, Bishop of Winchester, Stephen's brother. Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, however, refused to recognize Matilda's claims

[1] *Hist. Eccl., ed. cit.*, V, p. 128.

[2] P. 130: *Gualerannus autem comes et Guillelmus de Guarenna et Simon aliique plures reginæ adhæserunt, et pro rege suisque heredibus viriliter pugnaturos se spoponderunt.*

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until he had consulted Stephen himself, and made a trip to Bristol to that end. Most of the leading nobles also held back. On March 30, Easter Sunday, Matilda was at Oxford; on April 7–8 she received the formal title of *Anglorum Domina* at Winchester, and a little before June 24 she was in London, expecting to be crowned queen. Except for a small and loyal personal following, however, who had been with her almost from the start, no important nobles appear as witnesses to the charters issued by Matilda throughout this period. Chief among her supporters were ecclesiastics, and the group of rebel barons, mostly from the west counties.[1] Needless to say, Waleran is not amongst them. Stephen's Queen, in the meantime, whose prayers for her husband were of no avail, raised forces from Kent "and probably from Boulogne," and carried fire, sword, and rapine throughout the countryside around Southwark and London.[2] Waleran is not mentioned as with her, but may well have been. Matilda's haughty conduct and harshness towards Stephen and his Queen turned her followers against her, and a sudden uprising of the citizens of London forced her to flee precipitately, first to Oxford, and then to Gloucester. Her adherents were scattered, — only "the faithful Miles of Gloucester was found, as ever, by her side."[3] While at Oxford (where, be it remembered, we suppose that Geoffrey of Monmouth resided) she issued several charters, the most important granting the earldom of Hereford to Miles. Now fortunately this charter is dated, July 25, 1141; and as many of her scattered followers appear once more as witnesses, they must have rallied about her by this time. Again, we do not find Waleran among them. Another charter, of great significance, also issued at Oxford, and undated, bears many of the same signatures; but since Miles appears as Earl of Hereford, it must have been issued between July 25, and July 27, when Matilda left Oxford, apparently for Winchester.[4] This charter is a grant to William

[1] Cf. the lists, with discussion, in Round, *Geof. de Mand.*, pp. 93, 94, and 95.
[2] *Gest. Steph.*, *Rolls Ser.*, III, p. 76.
[3] Round, *Geof. de Mand.*, p. 123; *Cont. Fl. of Worc.*, ed. Benj. Thorpe, II, p. 132.
[4] Cf. the discussion in Round, *Geof. de Mand.*, pp. 124, 125.

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de Beauchamp of the castle and shrievalty of *Worcester*, and it is a grant made by Matilda "against all men, and *especially against Waleran Count of Mellent.*" [1] This charter is witnessed by Robert of Gloucester; so that in Oxford, where Geoffrey of Monmouth probably lived at the time, after the Battle of Lincoln, and about July 25–27, 1141, Matilda gave her follower William de Beauchamp rights in Worcester in open and specific defiance of Waleran, an act witnessed by Robert of Gloucester. It is hard to accept, in the face of such evidence, any thesis that Geoffrey would have rededicated his *Historia* (already dedicated, as is supposed, first to King Stephen and Robert, and then to Robert alone), to Robert and Waleran, addressing them as "twin pillars of the realm," and Waleran as "loyally fighting for thine own" — i.e., Matilda.

So far, that is, from 1136 to the end of July, 1141, the sequence of events has been clear and simple. Robert and Waleran, associated before Henry's death, were for a period of two years between 1136 and 1138 more or less active supporters of King Stephen, and were much in the public eye as such. Robert was a patron of letters, and Waleran must have had a certain reputation for literary and rhetorical talents. Robert was Henry's son and the most powerful single English earl at the time; Waleran was the most powerful of all the Norman nobles, was affianced to the King's daughter, and was actively supporting the King in England and Normandy. To all outward appearances, therefore, these two men were at that time the most prominent "pillars of the realm." However, after the break between Stephen and Robert in 1138, Waleran sided with Stephen against Robert, and not only

[1] This charter was first published by Professor Round, in Appendix L, in his *Geof. de Mand.*, pp. 313, 314. The important phrases follow:

". . . Sciatis me dedisse et reddidisse Willelmo de Bellocampo hereditario jure Castellum de Wigorn[ia] cum mota sibi et heredibus suis ad tenendum de me in capite et heredibus meis. Dedi aud reddidi vicecomitatum Wigorn[ie] et forestas cum omnibus appendiciis suis in foedo et hereditarie per eandem firmam quam pater eius Walterus de Bellocampo inde reddebat. Et de hoc devenit ipse/ Willelmus meus ligius homo contra omnes mortales et nominatim contra Gualerann[um] Comitem de Mellent et ita quod nec ipse comes Gualeran[us] nec aliquis alius de hiis predictis mecum finem faciet quin semper ipse Willelmus de me in capite, teneat nisi ipse hona voluntate et gratuita concessione de predicto Comite tenere voluerit."

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fought for the King, but openly attacked and injured Robert, burning his home, and ravaging his lands. After the Battle of Lincoln, where he disgraced himself by flight, Waleran nevertheless adhered to Stephen's Queen, pledging himself anew to her; and his rights in Worcester were openly ceded by Matilda to a jealous rival who had deserted the King.

Shortly after this, Waleran returned to Normandy; and apparently just before he left, and almost immediately after his Worcester rights had been ceded by Matilda to William de Beauchamp, he relinquished to Matilda the patronage of Bordesley Abbey. Let us resume the historic narrative, since the setting in which isolated events occur is of primary importance in reconstructing, as best we can, their historic and personal significance.

Matilda left Oxford, July 27th, and arrived at Winchester just before August first, unknown to her brother, Robert. Henry, Bishop of Winchester, hastily left the city; and Matilda, finding that the populace had already revolted against her, took up her abode in the castle.[1] After siege and counter-siege, Henry ordered the city burnt; and on September 12, gave up the siege of the castle. Matilda, with her brother Reginald, immediately rode off, leaving a guard of more than two hundred knights under the command of the faithful Miles, Earl of Hereford. Henry, however, savagely attacked Matilda and her escort, capturing and killing many. Matilda, routed and in a panic, fled to Luggershall *tristis ac dolens;* but for fear of the Bishop, dared not stop there, and, on the advice of her followers, mounted her horse dressed male-fashion — *usu masculino* — and was led to Devizes. "But since not even there could she feel herself safe from her pursuers, she was placed on a litter, already half dead [*pene exanimis*], and wrapped in bandages as if a corpse, was borne upon horses, and carried ignominiously enough to the city of Gloucester."[2] Robert, attempting to cover her retreat, was captured at Stock-

[1] *Cont. Chron. Fl. Wor.*, Benj. Thorpe, London, 1849; II, p. 133; but Wm. of Mal. says that the citizens were for her. Cf. Round, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–135.

[2] *Cont. Fl. Wor., ed. cit.*, p. 134.

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bridge, September 14, and was imprisoned at Rochester by the Queen. After negotiations, Robert and Stephen were exchanged, and the latter left his prison on November first.

Nothing definite is known of Waleran's whereabouts during this time. Almost immediately after the Battle of Lincoln, Geoffrey of Anjou had "hastened to Normandy, and sent messengers to the nobles, requiring them, on their fealty, to surrender their castles to him, and to remain at peace." [1] When Waleran learned of this in England, it must have caused him much uneasiness. First, Rotrou, count of Mortain, made a peace with Geoffrey, breaking the treaty he had already made with King Stephen.[2] About March 9, 1141, the principal lords of Normandy assembled at Mortain, and held a conference about the affairs of state. There Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, offered the crown to Count Theobald [of Blois], who prudently declined it. "Then Robert, earl of Leicester, concluded a treaty with Count Rotrou, and on the advice of the counts who were there, set at liberty Richer de Aquila. He also obtained a truce with the Angevins for himself, and his brother Waleran until he should return from England." [3] This indicates that the two brothers Robert and Waleran were working to protect the latter's Norman estates, threatened by Geoffrey; and that whatever Waleran was doing in England, he already contemplated returning to Normandy to safeguard his own interests. Nor could he have been expected to do otherwise. Stephen was imprisoned "for life," [4] the Queen had but a small following, and whatever the future held in store, it would serve neither Stephen nor himself if he lost his hereditary holdings in Normandy. No doubt his own interests were uppermost in his mind, and the act of Matilda in July, openly bequeathing rights in Worcester to her follower against him, would have turned him still more towards his far larger and more important Norman estates. Robert of Torigni, after recounting the capture

[1] *Hist. Eccl., ed. cit.*, V, p. 130.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 130.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132.
[4] *Gesta Steph., Rolls Ser.*, p. 71.

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of Robert of Gloucester, September 14, 1141 states that: "Waleran, the count of Mellent, who was superior to all the Norman nobility in strongholds, revenues, and family connections, made a compact with Count Geoffrey of Anjou; so that the castle of Montfort was ceded to him, which he had possessed from the time of the death of King Henry."[1] Roger of Wendover is even more precise with the dating: *Per idem tempus* [Sept. 14] *Walerannus, comes de Meslent, qui omnibus Normanniæ præerat proceribus, concordiam fecit cum comite Andegavensi Gaufrido, et dedit ei castellum Montis-fortis et castellum Falesiæ, et sic subdiderunt se ei omnes viri potentes citra flumen Sequanæ usque ad ripam Risle, et fidelitatem ei fecerunt.*[2] It is obvious that Geoffrey was in no position to undertake open hostilities against Waleran, and that the latter was seeking to secure his continental fiefs.

We may infer, therefore, that by September, Waleran had returned to Normandy, and almost certainly had concluded this advantageous treaty before the unexpected release of Stephen on November first.

Waleran's last recorded act before leaving England, as said above, was to relinquish his patronage of Bordesley Abbey to Matilda. The evidence for this is contained in three charters, which have puzzled several generations of scholars. All are undated, but were given at Devizes; and all are witnessed by Robert of Gloucester and Waleran of Mellent together. They provide the single exception, mentioned above, where Robert and Waleran are associated, (and probably met), after the Battle of Lincoln and before Robert's death in 1147. Furthermore, the subject of these charters is most intriguing, because the first claims to be Matilda's *foundation* charter of Bordesley Abbey, and the other two, confirmations of her foundation. We have already seen that Waleran founded Bordesley Abbey (near Worcester) in 1138, and that Stephen confirmed Waleran's foundation in 1140–41. How, then, it has been asked, can Matilda be founding the Abbey a

[1] Ed. of Delisle, I, pp. 224, 225.
[2] *Chronica, sive Flores Hist.*, ed. Henricus O. Coxe, London, 1841; II, p. 230.

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second time; and why should Waleran himself appear as a witness to this second foundation, ignoring his own rights?

The answer is probably relatively simple. Waleran, his King imprisoned apparently for life, his rights at Worcester given to a jealous rival, and his one desire to return as speedily as possible to protect his estates in Normandy, wished to be relieved of the safety and well-fare of his Bordesley monks. Matilda, in her turn, was probably glad to win a foothold in Worcestershire, and perhaps the friendship of Simon, Bishop of Worcester; so that by mutual agreement the patronage of the Abbey was turned over to Matilda, who thereupon assumed that she had founded it. Perhaps there was this much justification, namely, that the Abbey had suffered during the fighting and conflagrations around Worcester between 1138–1141, and virtually needed foundation all over again. In any event, Matilda's *foundation* charter specifies among the holdings of the Abbey several places which did *not* appear in the earlier foundation charter of Waleran, e.g., Terdebigge, etc., but which *do* appear in Waleran's later, notification, charter. Both of Waleran's charters undoubtedly came first, as is proved not only by internal evidence, but by the confirmation charter of King Stephen, which in turn must be dated before the Battle of Lincoln. The wording of Matilda's charter follows closely that of Waleran's later charter also.

Matilda's foundation charter is witnessed by: *Roberto comite Gloecestriæ. et Gualeranno comite Mellenti. et Milone comite Herefordiæ. et Willelmo de Pontearch' Camerario. et Willelmo de Belloc'. et Willelmo diffublato. et Gaufrido de Waltervilla. et Goscelmo de Baillol. et Roberto de frumovill'. Apud divisas.*[1] Her

[1] "A Fasciculus of the Charters of Mathildis, Empress of the Romans, and an Account of Her Great Seal," by Walter de Gray Birch, in *The Journal of the British Archæological Association*, London, 1875, pp. 392–394. Cf. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1825, V, p. 406 ff. — where he follows Nash's supposition that Matilda was the founder, and in a note refers to Waleran's charter, and says: "The reader must reconcile these difficulties for himself." Cf. also *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, Worcester*, Vol. II, p. 151, where Waleran is credited with the original foundation. The reference in note 8 to an inspeximus of Richard II "(Pat. 2 Rich. II, pt. ii, m. 24)," should read "Pat. 11" — the figures for eleven having been taken as a roman II, and further reduced to an arabic 2. Cf. also p. 201.

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second charter, granting or confirming various possessions to Bordesley not included in her foundation charter, but all of which appear in greater detail in Waleran's second charter,[1] was also given at Devizes, and has a longer and more important list of witnesses. These are: *Willelmo Cumino. et Roberto comite Gloecestrie. et Gualeranno comite Meldenti. et Willelmo depontearcha. et Willelmo de Bellocampo. et Milone comite herefordie. et Willelmo de feblato. et Gaufrido de Walteruilla. et Iocelino de Bailiolo. et Willelmo depino. et Roberto de Fremouilla. et Iohanno de Lunda. et Radulpho de Manleuilla. Apud diuisas.*[2]

The third charter, which must have been issued almost simultaneously, is to the same effect as the second, but the witnesses are fewer, and William Cumin, the Chancellor of King David of Scotland, is notably absent.[3] Furthermore, in this document Matilda is styled, as in her foundation charter, *Anglorum Domina*, while in the second, that title is omitted, and she appears merely as *Imperatrix. Henrici regis filia.* The order of signatures varies, Miles, the Earl of Hereford, precedes William de Pontearch, who is styled *camerario*, and three additional witnesses disappear, viz., William de Pinu, John de Lunda and Radolf de Mandeville.

From the witnesses, these charters must lie between July 25, when Miles was made Earl of Hereford, as we have seen, and shortly before Robert's capture on September 14, when William Cumin returned to the north of England, and Waleran was in

[1] For instance, Matilda mentions that she has given "at Wichenesfort. XL. acres with the seat of a mill which was wont to be at three shillings rent" and again, generally, that she has given the listed places "with all their appurtenances in woods and plain ground, in waters and mills, in meadows and pastures, freely" etc. Waleran mentions specifically two mills at Budiford, not listed by Matilda. Again, Waleran mentions the land given by Godrici de Hundesfeld, with a series of gifts: "Ex dono Willelmi de Bello campo. et Stephani. fratris eius. Oxemeresleiam. c. o. p. s. Ex dono Alani de Noua uilla. molendinum unum apud Bere. c. p. s. Ex dono Edrich Estreche uirgatam unam terre. apud Fecheam." (Cf. Warner and Ellis, *Fac. of Roy. and Other Charters in the B. M.*, 1903, no. 15; also 19.) Matilda lists none of these; but in a charter (B. M. Addl. 6039) of Henry II, c. 1157, Matilda his mother is considered the foundress; and an inspeximus of Henry III gives all the charters in full, and the complete list of names, places, donors, etc. appears. (*Chart. Rolls*, Vol. II, 1257–1300; 51 Henry III, membr. 10, Dec. 5, 1266, p. 63).

[2] *Facsimiles of Roy. Chart.*, No. 19; Plate XIII.

[3] Cf. Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.*, *ed. cit.*, V, p. 409.

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Normandy. Turning to the chronicles, we know that Matilda went from Oxford, July 27, to Winchester, where she arrived just before August first, and where she was besieged for seven weeks. From the accounts, we know that Waleran was not with her. On her flight, she went from Luggershall to Devizes; but as she had to be carried, half dead, on a litter, and advanced, without stopping, to Gloucester, it is inconceivable that any charters were issued at Devizes on this occasion. Moreover, her following was scattered, and Robert was not with her, but stayed behind to cover her retreat. This virtually narrows down the possible dating of these three charters to the four or five days' interval between Matilda's departure from Oxford, July 27, and her arrival at Winchester, not later than August first. However, though Devizes would not have been out of her way, there is one difficulty. Matilda might easily have stopped at Devizes, and the visit might not have been recorded by any chronicler. She also might have met Waleran, his son William, and a few of his friends, such as John de Lunda, at this time. But the Continuator specifically states that, leaving Oxford, "she came, *unknown to her brother*, the earl of Bristol, to Winchester" [1] — while Robert signs all three of these charters at Devizes. It is hard to escape the conclusion that some special circumstance or arrangement lay back of the whole proceeding, and that these charters of Matilda are not entirely trustworthy.[2]

[1] *Ed. cit.*, p. 133: *ignorante fratre suo, comite Bricstowensi, Wintoniensem venit ad urbem.*

[2] de la Roque records, "suivant les chartes de l'Abbaye du Valasse" — another curious arrangement entered into many years later by Matilda and Waleran, in which, both having vowed to found the same monastery, the Archbishop of Rouen effected a compromise, and Matilda virtually made the foundation. Cf. however, below, pp. 82, 83. The Archbishop "jugea que ce leur seroit vne charge trop grande de fonder deux Monasteres, qui peut-estre ne pourroient pas longuement subsister, pour n'auoir suffisamment dequoy se maintenir, et leur conseilla d'vnir leurs vœux par ensemble pour la construction et fondation d'vne seulle Maison, a quoi ils s'accorderent . . . ainsi fit-on venir quelques Religieux dudit Monastere de Mortemer pour donner ordre aux bastiments, dont le lieu fut choisi dans la vallée qui est entre Lillebonne et Bastebec, que l'Imperatrice Matilde donna entiere pour ce suiet, avec trois mille arpents de terre et de tres-beaux privileges: Voila donc la façon dont fut fondé le Monastere de Nostre-Dame du Vœu, vulguairement appellé du Valasse, l'an 1157 de laquelle Richard de Bloceuille fut esleu premier Abbé, et comme se fit l'vnion des vœux de l'Imperatrice Matilde, et du Comte de Meullent." *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

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However, accepting them as entirely genuine, and to be dated the end of July, 1141, they provide the sole occasion of which there has been preserved any record that Robert of Gloucester and Waleran of Mellent met after the Battle of Lincoln. Whatever Waleran's relations with Matilda and the Count of Anjou became several years later, and after Robert's death, there is no evidence that the two men patched up a broken friendship. Waleran returned to Normandy, where, except for a trip to the Holy Land 1146–7, he remained till long after Robert's death. The latter, except for a brief sojourn in Normandy in the summer of 1142 — where he went to try (unsuccessfully) to induce Geoffrey of Anjou to invade England,[1] and captured some castles, — remained continuously in England until his death. There is no reference to Robert meeting Waleran during this visit of 1142, no charters have survived witnessed by them together, and they are never mentioned as together. Waleran did not take up arms late in 1141 or 1142 against King Stephen, and at this time did not support Matilda. So far as the "Island of Britain" and Geoffrey of Monmouth were concerned, Waleran passed out of the picture; he was not, after Lincoln, and as described in the dedication, "loyally defending" his own, nor could he possibly be reckoned, even if on Matilda's side, as the "other pillar of the realm."

I can discover nothing about Waleran's activities throughout 1142, save for one charter issued by him, dated December 8, relative to the introduction of some monks of Bec into the collegiate church of Beaumont-le-Roger, founded by Waleran's grandfather, Roger de Beaumont, in 1088. The exchange of monks was approved by Rotrou, bishop of Evreux, Waleran's cousin, and Philippe, Bishop of Bayeux and Dean of the college.[2]

[1] Wm. of Mal., *Hist. Novel.*, *Rolls Ser.*, III, paragraph 519, and *Chron. of Robt. of Tor.*, ed. Delisle, Rouen, 1872, p. 225. Cf. also Kate Norgate, *Eng. Und. Ang. Kings*, I, p. 338, ff.

[2] Cf. the *Cart. de Beaumont*, Bibl. Nat. MS. Latin 13905, fols. 3 and 16; and the note in *Chronique du Bec*, ed. by l'Abbé Porée, Rouen, 1883, in Vol. 17 of *Soc. de l'Histoire de Normandie*, p. 8; also Round, *Calendar of Doc.*, No. 370, p. 124: "and gives it and the monks of Bec serving there ten librates of land in England, in his manor of Veia," etc. *Ego Gualerannus comes Mellenti relegi et subscripsi*, etc.

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It would appear that he retired from active campaigning, and attended to his personal affairs.[1]

In January, 1144 (1143 old style), Geoffrey of Anjou crossed the Seine at Vernon to attack Rouen, thus completing his subjugation of Normandy. The citizens opened their gates,[2] but the castle was held by followers of William of Warenne, Waleran's younger brother, *qui regi Stephano favebat.*[3] Geoffrey summoned the Norman barons to assist him, and these came, headed by Waleran himself, *qui jam cum duce concordati erant.* A siege of three months finally reduced the besieged, and the castle was surrendered on St. George's day, April 23, 1144. This is the only occasion on which Waleran is recorded as actively supporting Geoffrey of Anjou; and as the latter had so completely subjugated Normandy, — which he held himself by right of conquest and not in his wife's or son's name, a right acknowledged formally by the King of France, — Waleran could hardly have been in a position to refuse him. A revolt among Geoffrey's own barons took him back to Anjou, and relieved Waleran of further military service. In 1146, on Palm Sunday, at Vizelay, "Louis, the French King; Conrad Emperor of Germany, Frederick, his nephew, duke of Suabia; Waleran, count of Mellent, and William the third count of Warenne, his brother, Theodric, also, of Alsatia, count of Flanders, and many other men of great authority and rank, French, Norman, and English," took the Cross as a result of St. Bernard's preaching, and at Pentecost, 1147, the crusade actually started.[4] While on this crusade, and, in peril of his life during a shipwreck, Waleran vowed to found a monastery if he survived, and kept his vow by deeding a tract of (swampy) land for that

[1] Waleran seems to have kept to himself throughout 1143 also, as there are no notices of him in any of the chronicles. A single charter, dated 1143, issued by Robert de Novoburgo, his cousin, granting 8 pounds yearly to St. Mary's at Bec, etc., is witnessed *Ex parte ecclesie Becci* by Waleran. Cf. Bibl. Nat. MS. Latin 13905; fol. 27, and Round, *Cal. of Doc.*, No. 380, p. 128.

[2] *Chron. Rotom, an.* 1144, in *Rer. Gall. Script.*, Vol. XII, p. 785.

[3] *Chron. of Rob. of Tor.*, Delisle, p. 233.

[4] *Chron. of Robt. of Tor., ed. cit.*, p. 241; and the extended notices in *Chronicon Valassense*, written 1181; ed. by F. Sommênil, Rotomagi (Rouen), 1868; cf. p. 134.

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purpose on his return, about 1148.[1] During his absence, he addressed his son, William de Bello Campo, to "quit claim to the Prior and monks of the Church of St. Mary of Worcester the forestage of Tibritune" etc., — "for you know that for the soul of me and of my countess, and Rodbert my son, and of my father and mother, I concede and pardon to the Prior and monks of the King's gild which to me belongs, and all customs and services and forest rights which were formerly the King's and then mine in the said vill. . . . But whatever my brother the Earl of Leicester and you do on my part, I grant to the Prior and monks. For know that there are no monks in my domains whom I love so much, nor in whose prayers I so much confide; and if God grant I return from the Pilgrimage safe and sound, I will well show it to them. So I ask you, as my dear son, that them and all of them for the love of me you will maintain." [2] When Waleran did return, safe and sound, Robert of Gloucester was dead. The fact that later Waleran treated with Matilda, who now returned to the Continent, and in 1150 openly joined her, does not concern us, because Geoffrey of Monmouth could not have dedicated his *Historia* to both men after Robert's death. At that time, Stephen attacked Worcester, which he had given Waleran, writes Henry of Huntingdon, "to his own hurt," [3] reducing the town, but not the castle, which was successfully defended by Waleran himself. However, Stephen attacked again in 1152, and this time with success.

The whole course of events prior to Robert's death has now been examined in detail; and it leads to the one conclusion, namely, that Geoffrey of Monmouth could only have dedicated the *Historia* to both Earls with any possible hope of winning their favour together, during the period of twenty-six months between 1136 and 1138, with the probability that April–May, 1136, was a

[1] But cf. above, p. 80, n. 2, for the later agreement, apparently entered into with Matilda, where a joint foundation was made.

[2] Appendix, *Fifth Report of the Royal Com. on Historical MSS.*, London, 1876; the Manuscripts of Sir Edmund Lechmere, Bart., Upton-on-Severn, Worcestershire, p. 301: "*G. Comes. Mett. Willilmo de bello Campo filio suo sal.*" etc.

[3] *Rolls Ser.*, p. 282: "*malo suo ei dederat.*"

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likelier time than any later period up to the break between the Earls. Apart from internal manuscript evidence, the period of nominal reconciliation during the summer of 1141, after the Battle of Lincoln, is rendered highly improbable by the attitude of Matilda herself, and of Robert supporting her, in giving away Waleran's Worcester rights to her follower, William de Beauchamp. We have, apparently, evidence that Waleran and Robert did meet once, at most for two days, during that summer, — but they met immediately after Matilda's hostile grant to William, and in order that Waleran should still further relinquish his connections with Worcestershire, to free him for a prolonged stay in Normandy. It was also at a time when Matilda was forced to flee from her enemies, and when Waleran was in no sense supporting her. It is inconceivable that Geoffrey would have chosen such a time to seek the common patronage of the two Earls (together with Waleran's enemy Bishop Alexander of Lincoln), addressing them, as twin "pillars of the realm." Moreover, Henry of Huntingdon, partizan of Robert, revised his history about 1145, and he describes the Battle of Lincoln in detail. In this he actually puts into Robert's mouth a direct characterization of Waleran, which from its very nature he could not have done if, *at the time he wrote*, the two men were friendly once more, and which must, therefore, to some degree reflect the point of view of his patron, Robert. Robert is addressing his troops before the battle, and is made to say: "Advancing against us we have the Count of Mellent, practiced in deceit, skilful in perfidy, innate in whose heart is villainy, in whose mouth is falsehood, and whose acts are weakness. Vainglorious in heart and boastful in words, he is pusillanimous in deeds; the last to engage, the first to retreat, slow to fight, swift to flee." [1] This, written after the event by a close friend of Robert, is certainly significant. No historian, a friend of Robert, would actually put in the latter's mouth so

[1] *Procedit quoque contra vos comes Mellensis, doli callidus, fallendi artifex, cui innata est in corde nequitia, in ore fallacia, in opere pigritia, corde gloriosus, ore magnificus, opere pusillanimis, ad congrediendium ultimus, ad digrediendum primus, tardus ad pugnam, velox ad fugam. Historia Anglorum*, VIII, xv (*ed. cit.*, pp. 269, 270).

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bitter a speech against a living and powerful Earl, unless the sentiments there expressed reflected Robert's opinion of Waleran in the year in which it was written. It argues strongly, therefore, against the possibility that Waleran and Robert should have become friends after this same battle, when Waleran ceased actively to support Stephen, and began to look out for his own interests in Normandy, since the King's fortunes were so variable.

We may now turn to the actual wording of the double dedication, to see how this wording, as already suggested, requires an early date in the relations of the two men, and how inappropriate it is when applied to any time after 1138. We shall further see, on comparing the two double dedications, with the later single one to Robert alone, that both the double dedications came first in point of time. For the sake of convenience, the two double dedications are printed below in parallel columns.

University Library (Cambridge) MS., No. 1706

Cvm mecum multa et de multis sepius animo reuoluens in hystoriam regum britannie inciderem. in mirum contuli quod infra mentionem quam de eis gildas et beda luculento tractatu fecerant nichil de regibus qui ante incarnationem christi inhabitauerant nichil etiam de arturo ceterisque compluribus. qui post incarnationem successerunt repperissem: cum et gesta eorum digna æternitate laudis constarent et a multis populis quasi inscripta iocunde et memoriter predicarentur. Talia mihi et de talibus multociens cogitanti optulit walterus oxenefordensis archidiaconus uir in oratoria arte. atque in exoticis hystoriis eruditus quendam britannici sermonis librum uetustissimum. qui a bruto primo rege britonum. usque ad cadualadrum filium caduallonis actus omnium continue et ex ordine perpulcris orationibus proponebat. Rogatu itaque illius ductus tametsi infra alienos ortulos. falerata uerba non col-

Codex Bernensis, No. 568

Cum mecum multa et de multis sepius animo reuoluens in hystoriam regum britannie inciderem. in mirum contuli quod infra mentionem quam de eis gildas et beda luculento tractatu fecerant nichil de regibus qui ante incarnationem christi inhabitauerant nichil etiam de arturo ceterisque compluribus. qui post incarnationem successerunt repperissem. cum et gesta eorum digna eternitate laudis constarent et a multis populis quasi inscripta iocunde et memoriter predicarent. Talia mihi et de talibus multociens cogitanti optulit walterus oxinefordensis archidiaconus uir in oratoria arte. atque in exoticis historiis eruditus quendam britannici sermonis librum uetustissimum. qui a bruto primo rege britonum. usque ad cadualadrum filium caduallonis actus omnium continue et ex ordine perpulcris orationibus proponebat. Rogatu itaque illius ductus tametsi infra alienos ortulos. falerata uerba non col-

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legerim.' agresti tamen stilo propriisque calamis contentus. codicem illum in latinum sermonem transferre curaui. Nam si ampullosis dictionibus paginam illinissem tedium legentibus ingererem dum magis in exponendis uerbis quam in hystoria intelligenda ipsos commorari oportet. Opusculo igitur meo roberte dux claudiocestrie faueas. ut sic te doctore te monitore corrigatur. quod non ex galfridi monemutensis fonticulo censeatur exortum set sale minerue tue conditum illius dicatur editio quem henricus illustris rex anglorum generauit quem philosophia liberalibus artibus erudiuit quem innata probitas in milicia militibus prefecit unde britannia insula tibi nunc temporibus nostris ac si alterum henricum adepta interno congratulatur affectu. Tu quoque galeranne consul mellenti altera regni nostri columpna qperam adhibeas tuam ut utriusque moderatione communicata.' editio in medium producta pulchrius elucescat. Te etenim ex illius celeberimi regis karoli stirpe progenitum mater phylosophia in gremio suo excepit scientiarumque suarum subtilitatem edocuit. ac deinde ut in militaribus clareres exercitus ad castra regum direxit.' ubi commilitones tuos audacter supergressus et terror hostium existere et protectio tuorum esse paternis auspiciis addidicisti. Fidelis itaque protectio tuorum existens me tuum uatem codicemque ad oblectamentum tui editum sub tutela tua recipias ut sub tegmine tam patulæ arboris recubans. calamum musæ tue coram inuidis atque improbis tuto modulamine resonare queam.

legerim.' agresti tamen stilo propriisque calamis contentus. codicem illum in latinum sermonem transferre curaui. Nam si ampullosis dictionibus paginem illinissem tedium legentibus ingererem dum magis in exponendis uerbis quam in historia intelligenda ipsos commorari oporteret. Opusculo igitur meo Stephane rex anglie faueas. ut sic te doctore te monitore corrigatur. quod non ex gaufridi monemutensis fonticulo censeatur extortum set sale minerue tue conditum illius dicatur editio cuius henricus illustris rex anglorum awnculus extitit quem philosophia liberalibus artibus erudiuit quam innata probitas in milicia militibus prefecit, unde britannia insula tibi nunc temporibus nostris ac si alterum henricum adepta interno congratulatur affectu. Tu quoque Roberte consul claudiocestrie altera regni nostri columna operam adibeas tuam ut utriusque moderatione communicata.' editio in medium producta et pulcrius elucescat. Te etenim ex illo celeberrimo rege henrico progenitum mater philosophia in gremio suo excepit scientiarumque suarum subtilitatem edocuit. ac deinde ut in militaribus clareres exercitiis ad castra regum derexit.' ubi commilitones tuos audacter supergrassus et terror hostium insistere et protectio tuorum esse paternis auspiciis addidicisti. Fidelis itaque protectio tuorum existens me tuum uatem codicemque ad oblectamentum tui editum sub tutela tua recipias ut sub tegmine tam patule arboris recubans. calamum muse mee coram inuidis atque improbis tuto modulamine resonare queam;

The opening of the *Historia* in the Cambridge manuscript may be translated as follows:

While oftentimes pondering things in my own mind, I happened to turn to the history of the kings of Britain, and wondered that, in the mention Gildas and Bede made of them in their excellent tractates, I found

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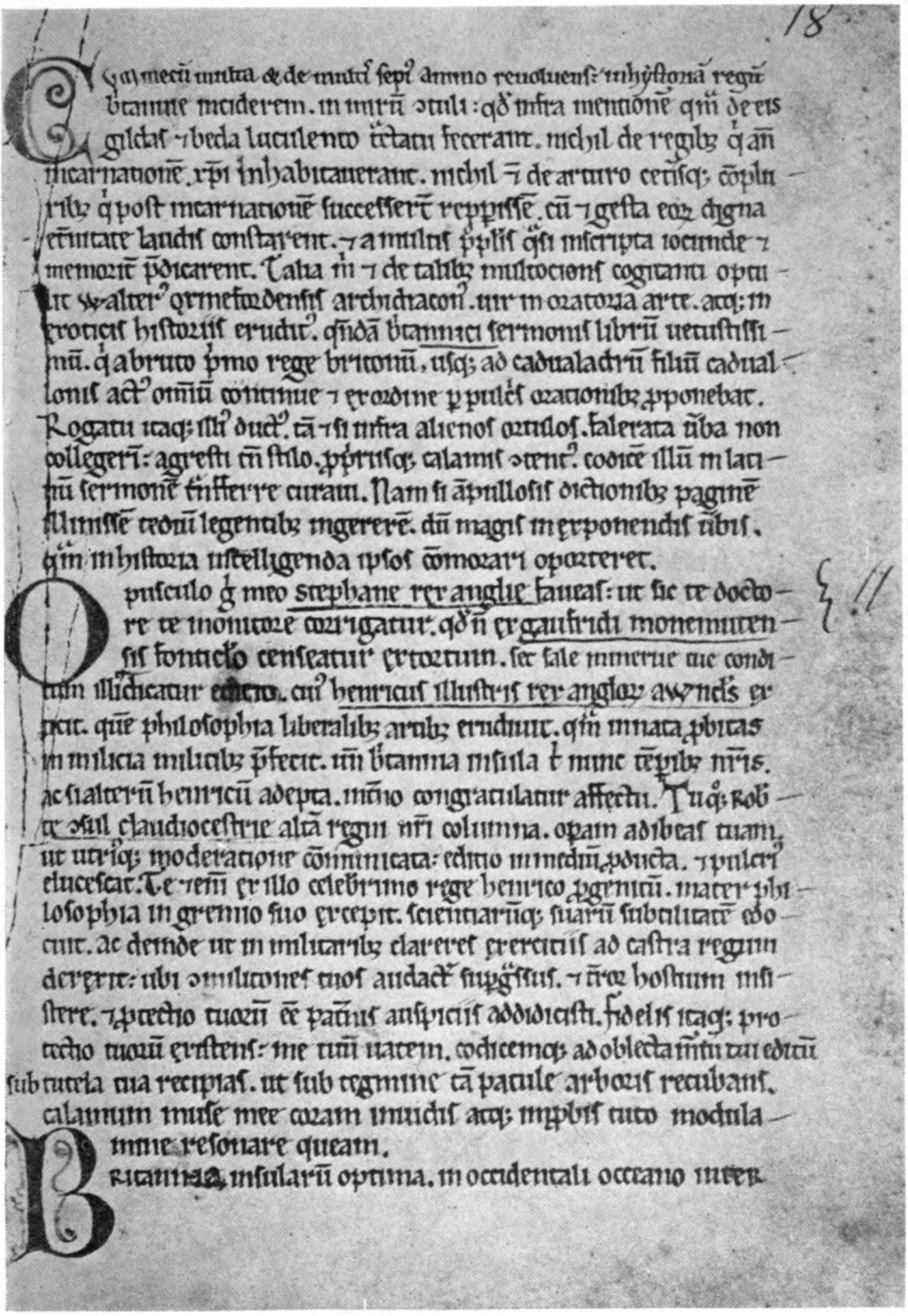

PLATE IX

Stadtbibliothek, Bern, Codex 568
Folio 18 *Recto, actual size*

Showing unique double dedication to King Stephen and Robert of Gloucester

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nothing of those kings who lived before the Incarnation of Christ, nor even of Arthur and many others with him who succeeded after the Incarnation, though their deeds were worthy of eternal praise, and, as if they had been written, were proclaimed by many peoples with delight and from memory. While I was thus thinking much about these things, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, a man learned not only in the art of eloquence, but in unusual histories, brought to me a certain most ancient book in the British language, which set forth the deeds of them all from Brutus, first king of the Britons, to Cadwalader, son of Cadwallo, in a continuous and regular order, and in a very excellent style. Led on, therefore, by his request, and although I have not myself acquired ornate expressions in foreign gardens, but for all that — satisfied with a rustic style and my own proper reed-pens — I have taken pains to translate that volume into the Latin language. For if I had spread the page with bombastic discourse, I should have inflicted tedium on my readers by requiring them to dwell more upon the meaning of the words than upon an understanding of the history. Unto this little work of mine, therefore, do thou, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, show favour, so that, being corrected by thy instruction and advice, it may be rated to have sprung, not from the poor little fountain of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but, seasoned by the salt of thy wit, may be said to be the work of one whom Henry, illustrious king of the English, begot, whom philosophy nurtured in the liberal arts, and whom an innate competence made superior to warriors in the art of war, — wherefore the island of Britain now, in these days, rejoices in thee with heartfelt affection, as if possessed of another Henry.

And do thou also, Waleran, Count of Mellent, thou other pillar of our realm, give thy aid, that, through the common patronage of both, when presented to the world, this work may shine forth the more resplendently. For Mother Philosophy has taken thee, a scion of that most illustrious king Charles, to her bosom, and has trained thee in the exact knowledge of her sciences. And further, to the end that thou mightest be famed in the accomplishments of a soldier, she has guided thee to the camp of kings, where, fearlessly outstripping thy comrades, thou, under thy father's auspices, didst learn to be at once a terror to the enemy and the defender of thine own. And being thus, as thou art, the loyal defender of thine own, take under thy protection me, thy bard, and this book now published to give thee pleasure; so that I, reclining under the shade of so spreading a tree, may be able to make music on the pipe of thy muse, with harmonies that are safe in the very face of men envious and malicious.

The Bern manuscript substitutes King Stephen's name for that of Robert, who in turn displaces Waleran. The significant

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sentences (ll. 36–44) read, first: "Unto this little work of mine, therefore, do thou, Stephen, King of England, show favour, so that it . . . may be said to be the work of him whom Henry, King of the English, thy uncle, made prominent . . ." and second (ll. 50–53): "Thou also, Robert, Count of Gloucester, the other pillar of our realm, give thy aid . . ."

The first question to be decided from our present point of view is, which of these two double dedications was written first. The second is to discover, from internal evidence, as nearly as possible the exact date when either one was written, in order to corroborate what has already been adduced from the general historic setting and the foregoing study of the relations of the three men involved. This, in turn, will enable us to fix with greater precision the earliest date of publication of the *Historia* itself.

Taking up the Robert-Waleran dedication, we notice first that the two paragraphs balance each other, and that the praise bestowed upon Robert ("whom philosophy nurtured in the liberal arts" and "whom an innate competence made superior to warriors in the art of war") reappears with substantially the same thought, merely changed in wording, when applied to Waleran ("Mother Philosophy . . . had trained thee in the exact knowledge of her sciences," and, "to the end that thou mightest be famed in the accomplishments of a soldier, she guided thee to the camp of kings"). There was to be no jealousy between the two patrons, who are placed on an equal footing. This obviously would have been a daring proceeding where King Stephen and Robert were concerned, and would have been most unacceptable to the former. It argues the priority of the Robert-Waleran over the Stephen-Robert dedication. Second, the concluding phrase of this first paragraph, appearing in all the dedications, namely: "wherefore the island of Britain now, in these days, rejoices in thee with heartfelt affection, *as if possessed of another Henry*," [1] certainly

[1] It is highly improbable that this phrase could have been written in the first instance as applied to King Stephen. Robert's coming to England was immensely popular with his party, whereas Stephen's was not, and at no time did he enjoy great popularity. Professor Faral, *art. cit.*, p. 18, argues that, "l'éloge de Robert, comparé a un nouvel Henri,

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implies that Henry I was dead. No one would be seeking to hail a second Henry while that monarch was still alive. We may therefore safely date the writing of this sentence of the Preface (which applies equally to all three forms of dedication) after December 1, 1135, when Henry died. Furthermore, this sentence, as already pointed out, could only apply to Robert upon his landing in England soon after Easter (March twenty-second), 1136. Towards the end of April, 1136, at Oxford, he signed Stephen's famous Charter of Liberties, having taken an oath of allegiance to the King; and as we have seen, it was at Oxford that Geoffrey appears to have lived, and to have been "*magister*." During the civil wars that followed, it would have been strange, indeed, to write in one paragraph that Britain "now, in these days, rejoices in thee (Robert)" — *and in the next paragraph* to praise Waleran, the most powerful supporter of the King, and open enemy of Robert.

Similarly, in the second paragraph devoted to Waleran, Geoffrey obviously, and three times, stresses Waleran's loyalty — "thou other pillar of our realm," "the defender of thine own," and, "the loyal defender of thine own." In view of his disgraceful flight at the Battle of Lincoln in 1141, and subsequent non-support of either Stephen or Matilda, these phrases could only have been penned before the Battle. It would seem that Geoffrey, a priest, had been won over early to the side of Stephen, the King's first adherents being, in fact, churchmen, secured by Henry de Blois, the powerful Bishop of Winchester, Papal Legate, and brother of Stephen. Having espoused the cause of Stephen, it would have

pourrait porter ombrage au roi Etienne," and therefore places the double dedication to Stephen and Robert earlier than that to Robert alone. But the obvious rewriting of this Bern dedication, the later or emended state of the text, and the fact that every other manuscript with a dedication addresses Robert as "another Henry," justified the conclusion that Geoffrey intended this phrase to apply to Henry's own son, not to his nephew; and only in the copy of the *Historia* dedicated and presented to the King, do we get the changed meaning. Further evidence that both the double dedications were the inspiration of the moment, rather than an original and fixed idea, is the fact (discussed further below, p. 95, note 1) that in Book XI, 1, Geoffrey addresses *consul auguste*, in the singular, not in the plural. It is quite probable that Robert was originally planned to be, what he finally became, his sole patron.

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been a matter of rejoicing to Geoffrey when Robert, after some hesitation, came to England and at least appeared to support Stephen, while he would naturally turn to Waleran as the next most powerful supporter of the King, betrothed to the King's daughter, and loyally fighting his battles for him in Normandy. In this connection, it is also noteworthy that Robert and Waleran are fitly described at this time as twin "pillars of the realm," both being powerful Earls, and both supporting Stephen. However, in the dedication to King Stephen and Robert in the Bern manuscript, it would be a strange thing to place an Earl on a par with the King, speaking of them equally as "pillars of the realm." The King represents in his person, and *is*, in a sense, the realm — only loyal subjects can be called its "pillars." Therefore, the inference at this point seems clear that the Bern dedication to King Stephen and Robert is a hasty rewriting of the more natural Cambridge dedication to Robert and Waleran.

Before we begin to compare more fully the double dedication in the Cambridge MS. with that of Bern, one more phrase requires to be noted, namely, that "Mother Philosophy" guided Waleran "to the camp of kings, where, fearlessly outstripping thy comrades, thou, under thy father's auspices, didst learn to be at once a terror to the enemy and the defender of thine own." This phrase, with all its rhetoric, applies correctly enough to Waleran before the Battle of Lincoln, who, in his youth, served with his father in the camp of Henry I, and now, while still only thirty-one or two, was making a name for himself fighting under Stephen. It would have no point, however, if applied to Robert, as we shall see. Therefore, once more, the inference seems clear that the Robert-Waleran dedication was written first, and that the Bern dedication was a hasty rewriting of this.

Turning now to the double dedication in the Bern manuscript, we find that, where Robert of Gloucester held first place, King Stephen, as was fitting, has been substituted, while Waleran is displaced entirely, to make room for Robert. As a result of these changes, several awkwardnesses of phrase and positive incon-

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gruities occur, which, in the first paragraph struck Madden so forcibly that he wrote that they were done "in so artificial a manner, and with so little disguise, that it is surprising how any writer would have ventured on such a step." [1] He did not, however, analyze the second paragraph at all, having nothing with which to compare it. Madden points out forcibly that "The terms of praise, in which the Earl of Gloucester had been addressed, in regard to his proficiency in the liberal arts, were well merited, and are amply borne out by the contemporary testimony of William of Malmesbury, but could hardly be applicable to Stephen, except by licence of the grossest flattery." Not having the key of an earlier dedication to Robert and Waleran — which had been hastily re-applied — Madden could offer no explanation, though his strictures are entirely justified and seem very clearly to suggest that the dedication to Robert in the first paragraph was written first and then hastily altered when an opportunity occurred to dedicate a copy to the King as well. Once more, it is almost inevitable to point to the exact time when Stephen was in Oxford, April, 1136, as the likely occasion when we may surmise that Geoffrey would have seen his royal patron, would have offered him the completed *Historia*, and may well have presented it personally to the King. Certainly no other occasion before 1138, or after it for that matter, in any way is recorded in the chronicles, while this visit to Oxford would have afforded a splendid opportunity and a most auspicious occasion. The King, apparently pleased with so notable a contribution to British history, may even have asked for a copy, and hence the hasty dedication to him. The general appearance of the Bern manuscript, the number of hands, the separate leaf for the dedication, all bear this out.[2]

[1] *Archæological Journal*, XV (1858), 301.

[2] It would be a fascinating conjecture to suppose that in this separate preliminary leaf in a hand different from any others in the manuscript, we have an actual example of Geoffrey's own autograph. The scribe having begun the first line, Geoffrey took the pen from him, and having placed the name of King Stephen first, himself changed a few words only, as he wrote, so as to make the familiar sentences conform in obvious essentials to the new and royal patron. It is a striking coincidence that the concluding sentences

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The Bern dedication changes *Roberte, dux Claudiocestrie* into *Stephane, rex Anglie*, and alters *quem Henricus, illustris rex Anglorum genera uit* into *cuius Henricus, rex Anglorum awnculus extitit.* The awkwardness of the last phrase, in its context, is manifest:

> Unto this little work of mine, therefore, do thou Stephen, King of England, show favour, so that being corrected by thy instruction and advice, it may be rated to have sprung, not from the poor little fountain of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but, seasoned by the salt of thy wit, may be said to be the work of him whose uncle was Henry, illustrious king of the English, whom philosophy nurtured in the liberal arts . . . etc.

The natural and rhetorical sequence of the earlier dedication — "whom Henry begot" and "whom philosophy nurtured" — is broken by the intrusive *extitit*, and though Geoffrey of Monmouth's thought is clearly that Stephen is rendered conspicuous or prominent because of his close relation to King Henry I, the phrasing is certainly less felicitous. To sum up, therefore, the Bern text is a rewriting, and either a hasty or a very careless rewriting, of the dedication to Robert.

In the next paragraph, the rewriting is even more obvious, and it is here that we find the final proof that the dedication to Waleran came first. Let us take up the phrases in order. For *Galeranne consul Mellenti* we find *Roberte consul* (not *dux*) *Claudiocestrie;* [1] and here Waleran is correctly described as "a scion of that most illustrious King Charles," and, since he was descended from Charlemagne through his mother's family, we now find *ex illo celeberrimo rege Henrico progenitum* "born of that most

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of the epilogue at the end, also appear to be in a different hand from that immediately preceding, as if added perhaps for the first time in this very copy, apparently made for King Stephen.

[1] Writing at first when Robert was in England, an English *dux*, and Waleran was campaigning in Normandy, a Continental *consul*, Geoffrey so addresses them, as in our Cambridge MS. When this was hastily reworked to give precedence to the royal patron, Robert took second place, and the *consul* which had correctly characterized Waleran, now applies most inappropriately to Robert. All the single dedications to Robert use the term *dux*. Once more, the reverse proceeding is highly unlikely, following Professor Faral's and Sir E. K. Chambers' theses, viz., to have addressed Robert first as *consul* (Bern), and then to have called him *dux* alone.

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celebrated King Henry." These phrases fit more naturally than those above; but what point is there in describing in succeeding sentences Robert, a king's own son, as guided by Mother Philosophy "to the camp of kings"? Such words apply, not to a prince of the blood, but to some noble who has luckily or successfully achieved a place at Court. And though Robert was always a favourite of Henry, he never even remotely served in the camp of King Stephen. Why, then, the plural *ad castra regum?* Waleran, however, served under both Henry and Stephen in numerous campaigns. Moreover, the next phrases are equally absurd when applied to Robert — "where, fearlessly outstripping thy comrades, thou, under thy father's auspices, didst learn to be at once a terror to the enemy and the defender of thine own." A favourite prince does not outstrip his "comrades" — he by birth excels them — whereas Waleran did outstrip other young nobles in making a place for himself. Finally, a prince does not need "his father's auspices" to win for him a place at Court, whereas Waleran, under the auspices of his influential father, Robert de Beaumont, undoubtedly gained his first introduction to King Henry's Court. Nor can Robert be said at this time to be the "loyal defender of thine own." He was doing no fighting, on his own or Stephen's behalf, whereas Waleran was actively and successfully campaigning in Normandy, protecting Stephen's continental fiefs, and recapturing lost castles.

The whole cast of these sentences, therefore, seems very clearly to point to the Bern double dedication as a hasty rewriting of the earlier double dedication to Robert and Waleran. Once this is established with a fair degree of certainty, we note the phrase in the second paragraph — ". . . take under thy protection me, thy bard, and this book *published* to give thee pleasure." The Latin *editum* means the actual issuance, or first appearance, of a work. We have, therefore, the specific statement in this early dedication that the work was just published, which disappeared when this last paragraph was omitted and when the dedication was confined to Robert alone. Once more, the single

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dedication could not have preceded the double dedications. Moreover, since the Bern dedication to Stephen was in all likelihood written in April, 1136, when Stephen visited Oxford, as we have seen, the dedication to Robert and Waleran, which preceded it, must have been written before that event in April, and after the death of Henry I in December, 1135. In view of Robert's movements, and arrival in England willing to support Stephen early in April, 1136, that month may have seen both dedications written and published.

Apart from manuscript evidence, in itself apparently decisive, there does not seem to be much likelihood that the single dedication to Robert of Gloucester actually represents the first edition, and that both the double dedications came slightly later in an attempt to win favour in additional directions — an effort given up as unsuccessful. The following arguments against this seem to be conclusive: (1) No manuscript I can find with the single dedication to Robert has the earlier form of the verses in Book I, certainly representing the first edition; and only our Cambridge manuscript, and a XIII century edition of it, amongst those with double dedications, have these earliest lines; (2) the Cambridge manuscript is without reference, in an epilogue, to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, which, once written and retained in all but one other comparatively late manuscript, would not have been omitted in this one; (3) if Robert had seen the work dedicated to himself alone, and after that to Waleran (or even to the King) also, he might not have been pleased; whereas to be chosen as the only patron, dropping Stephen and Waleran, both his enemies, was an additional (albeit subtile) piece of flattery; (4) by far the largest number of manuscripts have but the single dedication, and these almost certainly represent a later and more carefully revised and polished version of the *Historia;* and, (5) the meaning of *editum* in the last paragraph, seems conclusive, when taken with the above. This phrase, of course, disappeared with the dropping of the second paragraph, and since this represents the later version of the *Historia,* it is

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quite proper that the word *editum* should no longer be used in a later edition.[1] It certainly could not have been newly added to the dedication of a later edition of the work.

To sum up, the double dedication to Robert and Waleran, represented by at least seven manuscripts, and which has been overlooked for several centuries, points by a clear and simple chain of contemporary evidence to the actual date of composition of Geoffrey's *Historia*. Like the Bern double dedication, it could not have been written after June–July 1138, the probabilities being that Geoffrey would have hailed Robert's advent no very long time after the latter landed in England just after Easter 1136, and before difficulties had begun to arise between him and the King. Since King Stephen and Robert visited Oxford together, and since Robert took his oath of allegiance to the King there in April, 1136, and since we have every reason to believe that Geoffrey himself lived as "*magister*" and composed his *Historia* in Oxford, it is a highly probable supposition that it was precisely on this occasion that Geoffrey re-dedicated a copy of his work to King Stephen and Robert — an alteration made all the easier by the absence, at that time, of Waleran, who was, at least tempo-

[1] In *The Review of English Studies*, III, 11, July 1927, under "Notes and Observations," pp. 332–3, Sir Edmund K. Chambers points out in discussing my article in *Speculum*, I, 129, that in Book XI, cap. 1 (cf. text, p. 496.) "Geoffrey turns from Arthur's continental wars to his struggle against Modred, with a formula which in B. M. Cotton MS. Titus, C. XVII, runs: 'De hoc quidem, consul auguste, Gaufridus Monumetensis tacebit.'" This address to a single patron, *consul auguste*, in the body of the work, which occurs in *all* our MSS. with the double dedications, and also in more than one hundred and thirty MSS. I have had examined for this point, convinces Sir Edmund "that Geoffrey originally addressed a single dedicatee, and that, when he altered the dedication, he omitted to make a corresponding alteration in XI.i." This argument, which Sir Edmund presents by itself, if accepted, does not meet the textual difficulties I have enumerated above; nor does it explain why Geoffrey, who addressed Robert in the single dedication as "*dux Claudiocestrie*," should here use the term "*consul*," when "*consul*" as a title appears only in the double dedications, applied to Waleran in the one case, and to Robert in the other when he follows King Stephen out of place in the second paragraph. Furthermore, while writing his book (which must have taken many months), Geoffrey may well have intended to address one person alone, probably Robert, as his patron, and had that in mind in writing Book XI, i; however, when the time for actual publication came, he may also have taken advantage of the course of events early in 1136, and therefore have published the work with a double dedication, forgetting the incidental reference he had made while writing, to one patron only. Admitting the interest of Sir Edmund's argument, I still do not feel that it can weigh against the other evidence. Cf. also his reference to the same point in *Arthur of Britain*, London, 1927, p. 43.

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rarily, dropped as a patron. The dedication to Robert and Waleran, Count of Mellent, therefore, would seem to have been written early in April, 1136, followed within a few weeks by the special dedication to the King and Robert. The single dedication to Robert, alone, which appears in by far the greatest number of manuscripts, can hardly have preceded the double dedications, since the latter expressly describe themselves as "published," a statement which would not have been *added* later had the work already appeared without that phrase; while a great majority of the MSS. with a single dedication, which I have had examined, show manifest signs of editorial revision on the part of Geoffrey himself. Moreover, it is unlikely that Geoffrey would have dedicated a work first to Robert alone, then with him to two other patrons — Waleran and Robert, and the King and Robert — and finally have returned to Robert alone.

Geoffrey's *Historia* was published at first without any reference to Henry of Huntingdon or William of Malmesbury, but the source of his work having been challenged, he added a paragraph asserting in unmistakable terms that he had an old book which they did not possess and which he had translated.

To Professor Edmond Faral belongs the credit of discovering a fourth edition of the *Historia*, issued by Geoffrey after the death of Robert of Gloucester in 1147, and that of Bishop Alexander of Lincoln in February, 1148.[1] Geoffrey suppressed any dedication since King Stephen must have been antagonized, and Waleran, who had already been dropped, had just returned from the Holy Land and was in Normandy, and had not yet openly espoused the cause of Matilda and the young Henry. The special address to Bishop Alexander, introducing the *Prophecies of Merlin*, also needed to be rewritten; and this rewriting proves that Geoffrey himself brought out the new edition so that the absence of dedication to Robert was not a mere scribal omission. Professor Faral places the old and the new passages in par-

[1] Cf. the *art. cit.* in *Romania*, pp. 30–32, citing Bibl. Nat. MS. Latin 6233.

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allel columns, which I cite in the parallel columns as he gives them.

Nondum autem ad hunc locum historiae perveneram, cum, de Merlino divulgato rumore, compellebant me undique contemporanei mei ipsius prophetias edere, maxime autem Alexander, Linconiensis episcopus,

Rédaction ancienne:

vir summae religionis et prudentiae. Non erat alter in clero sive in populo cui tot milites vel nobiles famularentur, quos ipsius mansueta pietas et benigna largitas in obsequium ejus alliciebat.

Cui cum satisfacere praeelegissem, prophetias transtuli, et eidem cum hujusmodi litteris direxi:

"Cogit me, Alexander, Linconiensis, praesul, nobilitatis tuae dilectio Prophetias Merlini de britannico in latinum transfere, antequam historiam perarassem, quam de gestis regum Britannorum inceperam.

Proposueram enim illam prius perficere et istud opus subsequenter explicare, ne, dum uterque labor ingrueret, sensus meus ad singula minus sufficeret.

Attamen, duoniam securus eram veniae, quam discretio subtilis ingenii tui donaret, agrestem calamum meum libellis apposui et plebeio modulamine ignotum tibi interpretatus sum sermonem. Admodum autem admiror quod id pauperi stylo dignatus es committere, cum tot doctiores et tot ditiores virga potestatis tuae coerceat: qui sublimioris carminis delectamento aures Minervae tuae mulcerent. Et ut omnes philosophos totius Britanniae insulae praeteream, tu solus es, quod non erubesco fateri, qui prae ceteris audaci lyra caneres, nisi te culmen honoris ad alia negotia vocaret. Quoniam ergo placuit ut Galfridus Monemutensis fistulam suam in hoc vaticinio sonaret, modulationibus ejus favere non diffugias, et si quid inordinate sive vitiose protulerit, ferula Camoenarum tuarum in rectum convertas concentum.

Rédaction nouvelle:

vir prudens et eruditus.

Quibus satisfacere volens, ejus prophetias,

antequam historiam, quam de gestis Britonum inceperam, perarassem, de britanno in latinum transtuli.

Proposueram namque historiam prius perficere istudque opus subsequenter explicare, ne, dum uterque labor incumberet, sensus meus ad singula minus sufficeret.

Quum, igitur sic illis placuit ut huic vaticinio fistulam meam imponam, si quid vitiose minusve ordinate sonuerit, venia danda.

quia libenter pareo et pudibundus Brito non doctus canere, quod in britannico Merlinus dulciter et metrice cecinit, utcumque potui, licet immoderate, tamen latine persono.

The fact that Geoffrey personally revised his work at this date, ten or twelve years after its first appearance, argues strongly in

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favour of the fact that he also sponsored a translation into Welsh about this same time, as claimed by one of the Welsh manuscript versions, represented by several early and interesting manuscripts.[1] It is this Welsh translation, with revised colophon, that has rendered the identification of any genuine Welsh source-history-book so exceedingly difficult, because Geoffrey's original native *vetustissimus liber* was overlaid and superseded by the larger, more elaborate and more readable creation of our historian.

This problem may now be approached directly, and the arguments for and against it surveyed afresh.

[1] Cf. Appendix II.

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CHAPTER VII

THE PROBLEM OF GEOFFREY'S SOURCES: THE WELSH *BRUTS*

ANY discussion of the Welsh manuscript Chronicles, or *Bruts*, raises the question of Geoffrey's sources for his *Historia*. Many, if not most, of the best modern scholars have considered this question to have been so definitely answered by preceding generations, that they have not themselves troubled to examine it at first hand, but have repeated the opinions of earlier writers. Geoffrey used freely, it is commonly held, the accepted historians of his day, Gildas, *Nennius* and Bede; he also probably drew from Orosius and perhaps also from Livy, not to mention Virgil; and undoubtedly he had in mind popular folk-tales, some of which his scholarly friend Walter told him by word of mouth. All the rest he invented out of an unusually prolific and fertile imagination. He did not have, what he claimed to have, a native written source which he translated into Latin. As romance, his book is good reading; as history, it is misleading and dangerous because the interweaving of fact and fiction is so plausibly done. He was, in fine, not a "nature faker," but a "history faker."

But though this is the common opinion today, the more closely we examine the evidence adduced for it, the less trustworthy it appears. As we have already pointed out, scholars in the past have worked almost exclusively from very faulty printed texts and translations, and many of the arguments they have drawn from these are completely reversed when the MSS. themselves are examined. Students, furthermore, whose primary interest is in literature or mythology can scarcely be expected to be the best judges of the historical value of Geoffrey's material, while historians have not yet sufficiently realized the actual im-

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portance of Geoffrey's work as bearing on ancient British history. Whether or not the history of pre-Roman Britain, and the obscure post-Roman period also, can ever be satisfactorily reconstructed depends very largely on whether or not the *Historia*, the similar Welsh Chronicles, and the Laws and *Triads* of the Welsh, really give us native traditions. So long as Geoffrey's long lists of British kings, with occasional incident about them, are held to be his own invention, discarding his claim to a written source, so long are they worthless historically. However, the difficulty has not been faced which this theory involves. Geoffrey could not have invented such a mass of material, nor have "expanded" the meager entries of *Nennius*, the *Annales Cambriæ*, or Gildas and Bede into stories, incidents of which are found nowhere else, but which are substantiated by recent archæological research. For example, Geoffrey in Book VIII, cap. xiv, states that Pascentius, son of Vortigern, the British king who invited the Saxons into England as allies against the Picts and Scots, went to Ireland to obtain assistance, where "he was well received." Vortigern is characterized in the *Encyclopedia Americana* (1920) as "a semi-mythical British King of the 5th century." Now six miles north of Cork, at Ballybank, there is a stone inscribed in ogham characters, which is deciphered to read "*Ailella maqi Vorrtigurn*";[1] while another at Knockaboy, north of Dungarvan, County Waterford, bears the single ogham name "*Vortigurn*."[2] No other record of this King having any connection at all with Ireland outside of Geoffrey's account is known, and the brief entries of his invitation to the Saxons in Gildas, Bede, *Nennius*, and Ethelwerd are still called "legends." Geoffrey's record of a friendly interchange with an Irish King, reflected in the visit of Vortigern's son, *must* have had some native account back of it, because these ogham stones, only recently deciphered, bear witness to Vortigern's presence in Ireland. As Professor Slover points out, such a written native tradition on which Geoffrey drew "gains a certain amount of

[1] *Studies in Irish Epigraphy*, R. A. Stewart Macalister, London, 1907; Part III, p. 80.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

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strength from the fact that Vortigern lived in the ogham period, that there were Irish colonies in Britain which were in close touch with Ireland, and that the name Vortigern is not duplicated elsewhere." [1] Such instances could be multiplied, and another, which is even more conclusive, is given in Chapter XI.

We must conclude, therefore, that certain important contributions in the *Historia* are not imaginative, and that Geoffrey did not always "invent." How much allowance must be made for expansion and embellishment is admittedly hard to determine, because, first and foremost, Geoffrey was bent on turning chronicle history into literature. But he must have had some written source other than the known Latin histories. As a matter of fact, comparison of the *Historia* with certain of the existing Welsh Chronicles brings out very clearly in certain places just how much Geoffrey did expand, and enables us frequently to eliminate rhetorical flourishes, and to distinguish the original chronicle record. Professor Petrie's appeal, therefore, for the necessity of a comparative study of the Welsh, Irish, Scotch, and Latin records, should be heeded, even if his original essay was mistaken in certain of its details. It behooves the student of Geoffrey to survey the whole field, rather than to concentrate his gaze too minutely on the Latin text of the *Historia* alone, comparing it only with those earlier Latin Chronicles which are well known to contain little or nothing of this more immediately native material.

As a matter of fact, Geoffrey gives us his own sources or rather, makes succinct and definite statements about them, though, unfortunately, his assertions have not been believed. More than this, however, certain of the Welsh MSS. contain equally succinct and definite statements which fully explain the difficulty scholars have found in identifying Geoffrey's main source; but these statements, also, have been either ignored or disbelieved, with the result that no thorough effort has ever been made to test their veracity or to pursue the direct and natural

[1] "Early Literary Channels Between Ireland and Britain," in *University of Texas Studies in English*, No. 6, 1926; p. 27.

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line of inquiry which they suggest. In the Prologue, or Introductory Epistle, dedicating his work to Robert of Gloucester and Waleran of Mellent, Geoffrey states, as we saw, that he wondered because no mention was made by the authoritative historians of his day, Gildas and Bede, of King Arthur, or of "those kings who lived before the incarnation of Christ." Hence, when his learned friend, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, brought him "a certain most ancient book in the British language," which gave an account of these kings in regular order and in a readable style, he "took pains to translate that volume into the Latin language." Despite the simplicity of these statements, by far the majority of British and Continental writers over a long period have expressed themselves in no uncertain terms as entirely unconvinced that any such "ancient British book" ever existed. As a result, the opinion is often held today that Geoffrey merely invented a "*vetustissimus liber*" to cover the romantic creations of his own imaginative genius.

Nevertheless, in view of Geoffrey's explicit statements, this question of the actual existence of a "*vetustissimus liber*" embodying written memory of early British history, should still be regarded as an outstanding historical, as well as literary, problem. I believe that this problem should not only be reopened, but that its solution can be approached in a new way. This new way is, to put it briefly, a critical examination of *all* the surviving Welsh manuscript Chronicles; and a careful comparison of all of them with the *Historia*, with other histories (notably Irish and Scotch), and with purely literary remains. Strange as it may seem, this has not heretofore been done. Three Welsh manuscripts only, out of fifty-eight now known to me, have been published, — two of them, uncritically, one hundred and twenty-five years ago; [1] while one only of these last two has been translated into English — and that most misleadingly — one hundred

[1] *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* — 1st ed., Denbigh, 1801, (2d ed. Denbigh 1870); II, 83–390. Also *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest*, J. Rhys and J. G. Evans, Oxford, 1890.

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and fifteen years ago.[1] Without due examination, these three, together with all the rest, whether examined or not, have been sweepingly declared Welsh translations of Geoffrey's *Historia*, thus closing the issue by begging the question. Furthermore, those who have ventured to support this thesis have in most cases (and admittedly) been unable to read mediæval Welsh, and have perforce worked at second or third hand, with unreliable translations. Nevertheless, because they were expert Latinists, or recognized historians, or special students of the *Nennius* compilation, their *dicta* have been accepted as authoritative.

It must surely be obvious that until such a comparative survey of *all* the Welsh manuscript Chronicles is accomplished, no critic can safely assert that an ancient British book of native history has not survived, either in a late copy, or embedded in other material.[2] The group of Welsh manuscripts, however, raises a whole series of most difficult problems, especially in their relation to Geoffrey's *Historia*. The matter has been so much a subject of controversial writing based on insufficient evidence, that the summary statement of a new thesis which runs counter to accepted opinion, lays itself open to misunderstanding, because all the proofs and arguments cannot be given in full. The present discussion labours under the disadvantage, therefore, of arguing

[1] *The Chronicle of the Kings of Britain*, in *Collectanea Cambrica*, trans. by the Rev. Peter Roberts, London, 1811.

[2] I have not been able to analyze *all* the known Welsh manuscripts; but I have studied several, including the two earliest, from complete sets of rotographs, and have had many others examined for me. One of these, Jesus College, Oxford, MS. No. LXI, XV century, has been literally and closely translated for me by Canon Jones with the co-operation of Professor Parry and myself, and is printed with the Latin text of the *Historia*, paragraph by paragraph. All of these Welsh manuscripts are described in Appendix II, and are roughly re-classified. Special MSS. are discussed in the following sections. It seems hardly necessary to state that I have been well repaid in the interesting material uncovered. It has convinced me that some Welsh manuscripts provide the basis for a strong presumption that native written records were kept, and that therefore Geoffrey's claim to have translated a British history should receive a new and careful hearing. In fact, Professor Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, instead of the criticism he has received, deserves the grateful thanks of scholars for calling attention to this in his address, before the British Academy in 1917, upon "Neglected British History." Though Professor Petrie could base his argument only on the very inaccurate English translation of the *Tysilio* mentioned above, and was further misled in certain details, his appeal for the necessity of studying all the Welsh and Irish manuscript chronicles was unquestionably justified.

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in advance of detailed and cumulative proof, and of the exhaustive treatment which seems essential; and I can do no more than indicate in what follows, first, the extent of the need for a complete re-examination of the Welsh manuscripts, which for the most part have remained unread and unclassified; and, second, to point out that the attitude and arguments of Geoffrey's critics are sometimes regrettably prejudiced, and are not based on a comprehensive grasp of the problem. One or two illustrations will be sufficient to justify, it is hoped, the claim that the Welsh *Bruts* deserve, and require, close study. Despite prevalent adverse criticism, it will then be easier to show that actual manuscript evidence, not heretofore properly estimated, affords justification for a renewed contention that the British book really existed.

However, for fear of misunderstanding, let it be clearly stated at the start that no one of the existing Welsh manuscripts known to me represents exactly, or perhaps even closely, the *vetustissimus liber* itself. The surviving manuscripts which differ from the *Historia* are all compilations, and merely serve to demonstrate the survival of written Welsh material and the existence of early traditional history. But this material is in itself corroboration of the strongest sort that Geoffrey's statement about his native sources was not an invention. Whether or not he exaggerated his debt to it is another question. The reasons for selecting the particular manuscript (i.e., Jesus College LXI) for translation will be given in the next section, after a preliminary discussion will have familiarized the reader somewhat with the complicated nature of the problem. But it may be said in advance that any chronicle that shows marked variations from Geoffrey, and contains statements of fact, and names, not only not in the *Historia*, but not in any of Geoffrey's recognized Latin sources, surely deserves careful study and analysis, even if relatively late and corrupted by scribal tampering.[1]

[1] As a striking example, see the typical Welsh folk-tale known as the *Llud and Llevelys* story, on pp. 301 ff. below. None of it is in Geoffrey, and it is familiar to students of literature in a text and translation prepared by Lady Charlotte Guest from the Red Book of Hergest MS. Cf. Loth's trans. of the *Mabinogion*. Now, it is characteristic of

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The whole argument in favour of believing anew in Geoffrey's claim to have translated a native written record may be summarized under two heads, as follows: —

(1) Geoffrey's critics have not read the Welsh manuscript Chronicles as a whole, or in relation to each other and to the Irish and Scotch histories. Theories based on the verbal descent of a few isolated passages of the one or two Welsh manuscripts that have been printed, compared with Geoffrey's faultily printed Latin text, are decidedly inconclusive. *All* the available manuscripts should be read and compared. The fact that certain late Welsh manuscripts can be rejected as corrupt and interpolated, does not invalidate others, which have never been critically read. Many of the best of the Welsh manuscripts have only recently been discovered, and placed in libraries where they are available for students. The accepted earlier critics never saw these manuscripts, and they have been ignored by recent writers; therefore wholesale rejection of the Welsh Chronicles as representing a source of Geoffrey is without scholarly foundation.

(2) Other evidence, accumulating from many directions, such as archæological and anthropological findings, and the independ-

this Red Book version, where it appears as an independent story, extracted from its place in the chronicles, that it should be almost double the length of that in our MS., which is in its proper setting in chronological sequence. There is virtually no essential difference of fact and incident between the two; but, as appears also in so much of Geoffrey's handling of similar material, the Red Book writer obviously indulges in literary expansion and embroidery of detail. He also abandons a certain coarseness appearing in our MS., which indicates the toning down of a much older document. The Red Book begins by saying that Beli "had *three* sons, Lludd, and Caswallawn, and Nynyaw; and *according to the story* he had a fourth son called Llevelys." Our MS. says that Beli "had four sons, Llyd and Llefelys, and Kasswallawn, and Nyniaw, and Llyd was the eldest son." Neither of these statements equates exactly with Geoffrey (Bk. III, cap. xx), who does not know of Llevelys as a son of Beli; and our MS. bears evidence of being the older of the two accounts. One illustration may be given of the "toning down" process, which is obvious when the Red Book version is compared with our MS. Jesus LXI has: "a long tube [through which Llud and Llevelys heard] only bitter talk, *ass over head*." The Red Book has: "a long brass tube (or horn) [through which neither could hear] any other but harsh and hostile words." The Red Book shows continental, or Breton, influence, for the *third* name given for Caer Lludd, viz., *Lwndrys*, not in our Jesus MS., is an effort to reproduce the French *Londres* — a significant detail.

This old Welsh folk-tale would well repay study in its earliest MS. form, viz., Llanstephan MS. I, before 1250, in comparison with these later MS. editions of it. I am inclined to believe that the Llanstephan text would be found far closer to our Jesus version than to the more elaborate literary and sophisticated form in the Red Book.

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ent and satisfactory solution of one or another special problem relating to Geoffrey's historical material, is tending to corroborate Geoffrey's statements, and to show that he could not have "invented" correctly in the twelfth century, things about "prehistoric" or Roman England, which twentieth century scientific research and reconstruction have only just demonstrated. Once we find corroboration, and entirely independent corroboration, of some of Geoffrey's stories, or "inventions," we shall be wise to reserve judgment about his other tales, as yet unsubstantiated, waiting, rather, for opportunities which will enable us to use his statements as finger-points on the way toward further reconstruction.[1]

The prevalent attitude toward Geoffrey is, however, dogmatic and hostile. The standard reference books and latest authorities almost completely discredit the *Historia* and utterly ignore the whole body of Welsh Chronicle material. Professor Petrie, referring to the only one of these Welsh Chronicles (called the *Tysilio*) that had been translated, and which, ever since Zarncke wrote in 1864,[2] has been condemned as "eine abkürzende, hier und da auch frei verändernde Uebersetzung Gottfried's," points out that: "There is no mention of this chronicle, or use of it, by the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, S. R. Gardiner, C. I. Elton, J. R. Green, Rice Holmes in his study of Cæsar, Haverfield in the *Cambridge Mediæval History*, nor in the great collection of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*. Even Dr. Hodgkin, when discussing both Geoffrey who copied from Tysilio, and also the Breton *Brut* from which Tysilio originates, ignores Tysilio, as also do the recent studies by Baldwin Brown, Munro Chadwick, T. W. Shore, J. W. Jeudwine, E. McClure, and Henry Sharpe. When specially dealing with Arthurian writings, both Thomas Wright and Ernest Rhys refer back to Geoffrey without a hint of his source in Tysilio. Strangest of all, a recent study by Professor Lewis Jones, on the Arthurian records, spends pages on Nennius,

[1] See the illustration given at the end of Chapter XI, pp. 211 ff.; also p. 100, above.

[2] "Über das Verhältniss des Brut y Tysylio zu Gottfried's Historia regum Britanniae" in *Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur*, V, pp. 249–264; cf. p. 261.

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never mentions Tysilio [or even the existence of any other Welsh Chronicle, printed or in manuscript, late or early], and then suggests that Geoffrey had a large stock of popular traditions to draw upon. . . . It is justifiable, then, to speak of the Neglect of British History." [1]

Professor Petrie delivered his address in 1917, but it does not seem to have changed in the slightest since then the consensus of opinion that no actual "ancient book" ever existed. One of the latest scholarly authorities, writing in 1923 about the *Historia*, was the late J. D. Bruce, whom I quote in full. "We need not take very seriously the author's declaration in his dedication to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, that he was translating into Latin an old book in the British language furnished him by his friend Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford. There is no evidence that he had a more than superficial acquaintance with Welsh, and probably he knew Breton no better. As a matter of fact, in addition to some borrowings from oral traditions, not exclusively of the Celts, he drew material from Gildas, Nennius, Bede, Livy and others — in fine, from any quarter he chose, added to these materials from his own imagination — the most important element of all — and moulded the whole into the pseudo-historical work which we know." [2] With a far greater caution, in fact without seriously committing himself to anything, a recent German writer, in his doctoral dissertation in 1922, writes: "That he [Geoffrey] had source material at his disposal no one disputes, but he put it together for himself, — in other words, he had a variety of sources." [3] Dr. Matter begs the question by not distinguishing between native, and Latin or Roman, "source material." The eleventh re-

[1] "Neglected British History" in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1917–1918, pp. 251–252, *et seq.*

[2] *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance from the Beginnings Down to the Year* 1300, published in the series *Hesperia*, ed. by James W. Bright; Göttingen, and The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore; 1923; Vol. I, pp. 20–22.

[3] "Dass ihm Material zur Verfügung stand, bestreitet ja niemand, aber er hat es selbst zusammengearbeitet, mit andern Worten, er hatte verschiedene Quellen." *Englische Gründungssagen von Geoffrey of Monmouth bis zur Renaissance*, by Dr. Hans Matter, Heidelberg, 1922, p. 23; one of the *Anglistische Forschungen* series, ed. by Dr. Johannes Hoops.

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vised edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in an article on "Welsh Literature," tells us categorically, that "the book, (i.e., the *Historia*) however, is a compilation and not a translation," though the writer is forced to add that "the materials were probably drawn from British sources." [1] However, we also read that the *Historia* is "an expansion of the books attributed to Gildas and Nennius," implying that all the "British sources" mentioned above were derived from these British writers, who wrote in Latin. Furthermore, in the article on "Geoffrey of Monmouth," when discussing the *vetustissimus liber* that Walter gave to Geoffrey, we read: "Whether this book has any real existence may be fairly questioned."

So much for three of the latest authorities, who ignore Professor Petrie. Of those who have dealt with his address, no one has treated it with sympathy. It has been severely criticised by Professor R. W. Chambers and Professor Liebermann; but, though both of these critics pointed out errors into which Professor Petrie fell — partly through the unreliability of the texts with which he worked — they were themselves betrayed into similar pitfalls by their unfamiliarity with the Welsh MSS., and this, as we shall see, leaves their criticisms without effect upon Professor Petrie's main contention.

In 1906, the late Professor Robert H. Fletcher published an exhaustive study of *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, and he naturally discussed Geoffrey's sources at length. His conclusions have never been challenged, and his work is still regarded as authoritative. He writes of the *vetustissimus liber:* "In the first place, if such a work ever existed, no investigator has been able to find it, or if he himself thinks that he has done so, to convince others that he is right. . . . The more intelligent investigations of modern scholars have merely confirmed the opinion of Geoffrey's first outspoken opponent, William of Newburgh, that the *Historia* consists largely of amplified British popular

[1] The article is written by William John Gruffydd, M.A., Professor at the University College of Cardiff; V, p. 642; cf. XI, p. 617.

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traditions and myths." [1] In a concluding section, headed "Final Words on the '*Liber Vetustissimus*,'" and after fifty-six pages of discussion and illustration, Professor Fletcher concludes: "We cannot suppose that any such book recounted, as Geoffrey says of the *liber*, all the acts of the British kings consecutively from Brutus to Cadwaladrus. . . . If, then, the *liber* existed, Geoffrey has certainly exaggerated his obligations to it. It could not well have contained more than a number of Celtic traditional stories, perhaps somewhat embellished in a manner suggestive of Geoffrey's, and it can hardly have been of greater importance to Geoffrey than his other chief sources. But as a matter of fact, there probably was no *liber* at all." [2] Here Dr. Fletcher, though reluctantly, nevertheless concedes *some* native British sources, but he does not admit a written one, and falls back on "oral traditions."

If we turn from these sufficiently explicit estimates of the *Historia* and its sources to personal characterizations of Geoffrey himself, we meet with less tempered expressions. Despite the fact that he was a Bishop, against whom was raised no contemporary criticism, and who enjoyed the highest patronage, Geoffrey has been proscribed by a living scholar as "*facile princeps* in the art of historical lying! — or perhaps it would be more polite to say 'romancing,'" [3] and by the eminent English historian, J. R. Green, as a "daring fabulist." Gaston Paris tells us that "Il inventa certainement en grande partie," [4] while, typically, an anonymous reviewer asserted that "His genius lay rather in the direction of original fiction." [5] Edwin Guest spoke of him as the author of "that unhappy work which is everywhere found darkening the pure light of our early history," [6] and

[1] *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, 1906, pp. 53, 54. William of Newburgh wrote more than fifty years after the *Historia* was published, though he is often treated as a contemporary.

[2] P. 115.

[3] Mr. Egerton Phillimore, *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XI, p. 150, n.

[4] *La Littérature Française au Moyen Âge*, 1890, p. 88.

[5] *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 5th Series, Vol. X, 1893, p. 337.

[6] *Arch. Cambr.*, 3rd Series, No. XXVIII, October, 1861, p. 286.

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Bishop W. Nicolson spoke of him as writing history "under a mighty Heap of Monkish Forgeries." The eminent historian Thomas Hodgkin, in a paper "Cornwall and Brittany," epitomizes completely the modern scholar's estimate of Geoffrey, as historian, and this final quotation may suffice to indicate the low estate into which our poor author had fallen. "As Geoffrey lived in the first half of the twelfth century . . . his own personal authority for events which happened seven hundred years before is, of course, nothing at all. Even as a transmitter of Welsh legends, he would have had more importance for us if he had not apparently mingled with these an extensive coinage of fables issuing from the mint of his own imagination. In fact all serious students of British history are agreed in attributing to Geoffrey of Monmouth less historical authority than to any one of the Waverley Novels." [1] This brings to mind another writer, who wrote that "we would rather hope that history may be disinterred from the Legends of the Saints than from the *Historia Regum Britanniæ*." [2]

There is no doubt that Geoffrey embroidered, and above all expanded whatever sources he used, in order to make his history readable, and also, perhaps, as certain scholars have suggested, to meet the political exigencies of his time, which were looking for a British historical background comparable with that of France. But that does not mean that his work has no historical significance. Despite the extent to which his text has been studied, and in parts subjected to critical analysis, there is much more to be said, because students have always approached their study with the preconception that there was no Welsh source to explain their problem. Where the Welsh origin of some statement in Geoffrey has been unmistakably revealed and checked by independent evidence, the writers have fallen back on "oral tradition" as the only way out of an *im-*

[1] "Cornwall and Brittany," by Thomas Hodgkin, in the 78th *Annual Report of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society;* New Series, Vol. I, Pt. 3, Penryn, 1911; pp. 434–468, esp. p. 443.

[2] *Arch. Cambr.*, 5th Ser., Vol. X, 1893, p. 337.

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passe.[1] Practically without exception scholars have been content to work with the faulty printed Latin texts of the *Historia*, and have made no attempt to correct their readings with the manuscripts. The distinctly Welsh cast of Geoffrey's earliest writing in the spellings of personal and place names has escaped nearly everyone. Furthermore, as said before, it appears to be an indisputable fact that practically no English or Continental writers on Geoffrey's sources could read mediæval Welsh, nor do they give any evidence of having ever read the Welsh manuscripts. And though the whole group of Welsh manuscripts are usually ignored, where one of them (the *Tysilio*) used to be referred to because translated into English, it is now sweepingly denominated "unreliable" (whatever that means) or dismissed once and for all as a "late translation" or "adaptation" of the *Historia* itself. So recent an author as the late Professor W. Lewis Jones, referred to above by Professor Petrie, writing on *King Arthur in History and Legend* for the *Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature*, stated in 1914 that "The fact remains that no document, either in Welsh or in Breton, has yet been found even remotely resembling that which Walter, the Archdeacon, is said to have brought over from Brittany."[2] Giles, who edited Geoffrey's text, and published an English translation of it in 1848, asserted without qualification of the "*vetus liber*" that, "No manuscript copy is now in existence, nor any record of its ever having been multi-

[1] Thus Professor R. H. Fletcher in his study of *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, quoted above, could write that, "As a matter of fact, there probably was no *liber* at all" (p. 115), and two pages later, comparing the Arthurian portion (only) of the so-called *Tysilio* Chronicle with Geoffrey (or about one-fifth of the whole), was forced to note fifteen significant differences in facts and names, a list which by no means includes them all. "All these statements," he admits, "may possibly be details of the old British tradition from which Geoffrey drew, but it is quite as likely that they are elaborations on his text . . . or they may be details of popular tradition which Geoffrey failed to insert." Professor Fletcher used San-Marte's German translation of Peter Roberts' English translation of one, and only one Welsh Chronicle. On p. 119, he makes the statement that: "Besides the *Brut Gruffyd ab Arthur* and the *Brut Tysilio*, there are various Welsh chronicle compilations, which however, are brief and of no importance in this investigation" — showing that Professor Fletcher, like so many others, disregarded more than fifty Welsh Chronicles, and even the printed catalogue descriptions of many of them, available when he wrote.

[2] P. 63. He never once alludes to the Welsh MS. Chronicles.

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plied by transcription," [1] even though two Welsh texts with an English translation of the *Tysilio*, had appeared before his time.

Undoubtedly such sweeping statements from recognized scholars could not have been made without some justification. The basis for this consensus of criticism directed against Geoffrey's claim to a written source is twofold. First, no manuscript Chronicle in Welsh is known that is older as a manuscript than Geoffrey's Latin manuscripts. In other words, the earliest Latin manuscript of the *Historia* is almost unquestionably contemporary with Geoffrey himself and can be dated with assurance before 1155, when Geoffrey died; but the oldest Welsh manuscript *Brut* (known as the Dingestow Court MS.) has never been dated as a manuscript before 1200. I have recently called attention to the fact, which seems to have escaped the notice of scholars, that the Dingestow Court MS. in its turn is indisputably a copy of something earlier.[2] But as no known manuscript Chronicle in Welsh has survived predating Geoffrey, it becomes necessary to prove that Welsh Chronicles closely resembling the *Historia* are not translations of his Latin into Welsh.

The second basis of criticism is the comparison, or "verbal descent," of certain selected passages from Geoffrey's *Historia* and from the Welsh Chronicle, popularly known, though probably erroneously, under the name of *Tysilio*.[3] These selected passages from the *Historia* in each case have marked verbal similarity with parallel passages either in the Latin historical compilation known as *Nennius*, or in Gildas or Bede. If Geoffrey were translating from the Welsh, so runs the argument, how would his translation have reproduced whole sentences verbatim from these Latin authors? Moreover, if Geoffrey does not reproduce verbatim but

[1] *Six Old English Chronicles*, Bohn's Edition, London, 1848, p. 291, note.

[2] In *The Book of Basingwerk and MS. Cotton Cleopatra B. V.*, London, 1926, reprinted by the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion from *Y Cymmrodor*, Vols. XXXV and XXXVI, 1926, p. 9.

[3] A Welsh Bishop, Tysilio ap Brochwael, Prince of Powis, dying about A.D. 720, is said to have written an ecclesiastical history, now lost. He could not possibly have written this Chronicle attributed to him as we now have it, which is in no sense an ecclesiastical history, and ends in 940 A.D.

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rather paraphrases, a passage, say, from *Nennius*, and as a result Geoffrey's own statements are ambiguous and open to misinterpretation where his original is clear, and we find exactly this derived misinterpretation in the Welsh, which from the wording is based necessarily upon Geoffrey and not upon Geoffrey's source, what other inference can we draw but that the Welsh translated Geoffrey's Latin, and not *vice versa?*

However conclusive this argument may appear, the treatment of these passages in one, admittedly late, Welsh manuscript is made the basis for a sweeping rejection, not only of the whole of this single Chronicle, but of all the other Welsh Chronicles; and, for more than fifty years, critics and writers have been entirely satisfied to lay investigation of the Welsh aside and to consider the case proved. The fact that even this so-called *Tysilio* Chronicle, contains in other passages native names and statements not appearing in Geoffrey, or in any other Latin history, is one issue among others not yet faced by the critics.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE KNOWN WELSH MS. CHRONICLES: PROFESSOR PETRIE'S APPEAL AND ANSWERS TO IT: THE AGE AND INTERRELATION OF THE MSS. AND OF THE VERSIONS THEY CONTAIN

THE NEED for a thorough re-examination and comparison of all the Welsh MS. Chronicles becomes abundantly clear when we review the statements made regarding the few which have been discussed. Of the fifty-eight Welsh MSS.,[1] only three have been printed, only one has been translated from the Welsh, and for the *Brut y Brenhined* sections of them, no single MS. has received any other consideration at the hands of scholars than a bare (and often inaccurate and misleading) catalogue description. In a period of well over one hundred years, not more than three or four scholars have worked directly in this field or have written of these Welsh MSS. from first-hand knowledge; and of these, not all, unfortunately, have proved themselves careful workmen. As a consequence, crude errors and mis-statements of early writers or editors have been repeated by their successors, and have been generally accepted without question.

We may begin by recalling the discussion provoked by Professor Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie. On November 7, 1917, Professor Petrie presented the suggestive paper before the British Academy entitled "Neglected British History," already referred to, in which he re-opened the vexed question of a native British or Armorican source for the early history of Britain. More than a century ago certain scholars thought that such a source had been found in the Welsh Chronicle known as the *Brut Tysilio;* and the effort was then made to identify it with the *vetustissimus liber* upon which Geoffrey had claimed to base his *Historia*, and which he twice

[1] Listed with descriptions, in Appendix II.

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declared he had translated from the British tongue into Latin. The arguments put forward at that time in support of this attempted identification were later shown to be in many respects mistaken, and the theory was entirely discredited; so that for the past fifty years this Chronicle has been relegated by all literary and historical students to the negligible position of a mere Welsh translation (greatly abbreviated) of Geoffrey's Latin. Moreover, on the strength of arguments applied to this one Chronicle, all the other Welsh MS. Chronicles were discarded also. Professor Petrie, however, re-examined the *Brut Tysilio*, though he worked at second-hand with a badly edited and actually misleading translation into English from the supposed Welsh original;[1] and he detected, after a searching analysis of the internal evidence, that at least certain passages could not have been written so late as Geoffrey's time. Furthermore, as the passages, and some of the facts they enumerated, did not seem to appear in the known Latin historians preceding Geoffrey, the inference from these discoveries undeniably pointed to the existence of some native original. Professor R. W. Chambers challenged certain of Professor Petrie's conclusions in two papers,[2] to which Professor Petrie wrote rejoinders; and in 1922, Professor F. Liebermann wrote a paper in which he examined Professor Petrie's contentions in detail, and came to the conclusion that "Petrie hat nicht *einen* Punkt gezeigt, an dem Tysylio eine richtige Kunde wirklicher Geschichte mehr oder in ursprünglicher Form als Galfrid böte."[3] I shall discuss these criticisms later.

Professor Petrie protested against the neglect of the "native" Welsh versions, and particularly of the *Brut Tysilio*. "While we may see a few, and contemptuous, references to Nennius or Gildas, the name of the so-called Tysilio's Chronicle is never given, nor is any use made of its record. . . . The best MS. of it appears to

[1] See below p. 157.

[2] *History*, January and April, 1919.

[3] "Die angebliche Entdeckung einer brythonischen Geschichte aus Römerzeit; Galfrid von Monmouth und Tysylio," in *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Band 144, Neuen Serie, Band 44, Berlin, 1922, p. 32.

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be in the Book of Basingwerk; it was printed in Welsh in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, of which a second edition appeared in 1870. It was translated into English by Peter Roberts, and published in 1811, and a second edition in 1862. This translation is now so rare that I cannot hear of any obtainable copy, and could only work on it by having one of the British Museum copies type-written."[1] Professor Petrie, having apparently made the statements about the Book of Basingwerk largely on W. F. Skene's authority, elsewhere says that he uses the name *Tysilio* merely as a brief label, disclaiming any knowledge or examination of the original Welsh manuscripts: "The questions of real authorship, of original dates of composition, and of successive MSS. are quite outside my scope here" (p. 253). Once again in the body of the article (p. 264), Professor Petrie gives another authority, quoting from an essay by the late Thomas Hodgkin to the effect that an original and ancient (tenth century) Welsh or Breton manuscript version of British history once existed, — of which, presumably, Professor Petrie infers that the Book of Basingwerk, referred to above, is a copy. "That such a work did exist," he writes, ". . . is guaranteed by the '*Brut y Brenhined*, written in Brittany in the Breton dialect in the time of Athelstan (925–941) by an insular Briton' . . . Thus writes Dr. Hodgkin, quoting from the *Biographie Bretonne*."

Now, it so happens that the authorities quoted by Professor Petrie are misleading. A reader would infer from them not only that an ancient document once existed, but that a version of it had actually been printed in Welsh, and a translation into English made, but which scholars had ignored. Skene's information about the Book of Basingwerk, however, and other Welsh manuscript versions of the old British Chronicle in question, is, because taken at second-hand, confused and inaccurate. Hodgkin, furthermore, misread the article in the *Biographie Bretonne*, as Professor Chambers pointed out in his critique of Professor Petrie's thesis;

[1] *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1917–1918, p. 251. A footnote reference gives as authority: "W. F. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, II, 24"; which must be a slip for Vol. I. I shall refer to Skene's account later.

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but Professor Chambers, while noting Hodgkin's "slip," does not appear to have investigated the Welsh manuscripts themselves. The result is that while Professor Chambers advances one step in correcting the double misreadings of Hodgkin, and from him, of Professor Petrie, he in turn is unintentionally misleading in his statements about the manuscripts involved. The matter needs to be cleared up, and as it is complicated, it becomes necessary to deal with it in detail.

Professor Chambers describes briefly, but with an unfortunate appearance of finality, the Welsh versions of the *History of the Kings of Britain* (*Brut y Brenhined*), basing his classification on the "three types, extant altogether in thirty manuscripts, [which] are enumerated by Mr. J. G. Evans." [1] He gives no hint that manuscripts exist other than the thirty listed in 1889 by Dr. Evans, nor does he state that the Book of Basingwerk is not mentioned in that list. Certain of these thirty manuscripts, "and these, as it happens, the latest in date," continues Professor Chambers, "claim to be, not translations of Geoffrey, but copies of the source from which Geoffrey claims to have translated. To this version of the *History* the name *Brut Tysilio* has been given. . . . After this catalogue of existing *Bruts*, it remains to mention one which does not exist, but the assumed existence of which has been the cause of much confusion. Geoffrey, we have seen, asserts that he is translating a book brought out of Brittany. Now, both Geoffrey and the *Brut Tysilio* conclude with the mention of King Athelstan, who died A.D. 941. Therefore, *if Geoffrey is speaking the truth about his sources*, he presumably used a Breton book, which since it presumably mentioned Athelstan, but mentioned none later than he, was, presumably, compiled in his reign. To this theoretical Armorican source, the *Biographie Bretonne* applied the name *Brut y Brenhined*. . . . Dr. Hodgkin, however, misunderstood this reference in the *Biographie Bretonne*, and read it as being a reference to an actual existing document, 'the *Brut y*

[1] His note refers to: *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest*, ed. by J. Rhys and J. G. Evans, Oxford, 1890, Vol. II, pp. xiii–xix.

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Brenhined, written in Brittany in the Breton dialect in the time of Athelstan (921–941).'[1] . . . 'I owe this reference,' he [Hodgkin] adds, 'to De la Borderie's article 'Conan Meriadoc' in the *Biographie Bretonne*.' But," continues Professor Chambers, "if anyone will turn to that article he will see that the *Brut y Brenhined* is simply the name there applied to the presumed Armorican original of Geoffrey, and that De la Borderie expressly states that such presumed original no longer exists. Yet this theoretical Breton *Brut*, assumed on the strength of Geoffrey's assertion, is repeatedly quoted as if it were an existing document confirming that assertion, and the great reputations of Dr. Hodgkin and Professor Petrie have given to this view a currency which it would otherwise hardly have attained.

"It needs, therefore, to be stated most unequivocally that this Armorican *Brut* does not exist. Its supposed existence arises from a slip made by Dr. Hodgkin in 1911. This is disappointing, for the references to it in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* must have led many students to hope that a new document was at last forthcoming, throwing light on a puzzling problem."[2]

Granting his approach, which is the opposite of that of De la Borderie, Professor Chambers has quite fairly interpreted the sufficiently explicit statements of De la Borderie in the article in question in the *Biographie Bretonne*. On page 411, Section II, under the caption, LE BRUT Y BRENHINED, De la Borderie writes: —

C'est donc encore ici un document de l'histoire véridique, mais simplement un monument de la tradition populaire. [The negative particle is lacking in the first phrase. A hasty reading may have led Hodgkin to a wrong inference from the start.] Ce monument contient l'histoire (prétendue) des divers chefs qui ont gouverné la race bretonne, depuis Brutus, premier auteur de cette race, jusqu'à Cadwal-Ladre, qui vivait à la fin du VII siècle de l'ère chrétienne. Le *Brut y Brenhined* a été écrit sur la terre

[1] The date 925 correctly appears in the original, i.e., "Cornwall and Brittany," p. 443, note, in the 78th *Annual Report of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society*, New Ser., Vol. I, Pt. 3, 1911.

[2] *History*, January, 1919, pp. 226–7. The Presidential address in which these statements were made was delivered in 1910.

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d'Armorique, et dans le dialecte, des Bretons armoricains, au temps d'Athelstan, roi d'Angleterre (925–941), par un Breton insulaire qui avait probablement suivi sur le continent Alain-Barbe-Torte (voyez ce mot), à l'époque (en 937) où cet illustre chef revint délivrer notre péninsule du joug des pirates normands qui la désolaient depuis trente années.

Nous ne possédons plus aujourd'hui la version originale du *Brut*, écrite dans le dialecte armoricain; mais nous en avons du moins une version en dialecte gallois, rédigée (à ce qu'il me semble) par Geoffroy de Monmouth, et imprimée dans la collection du Myvyrian, où on lui a donné, par suite de circonstances trop longues à exposer ici, le titre de *Brut Tyssylio*.

De la Borderie continues with a warning of the need for distinguishing carefully between this version and others — a warning which has passed unheeded by later writers: —

Il faut se garder de la confondre avec plusieurs autres versions galloises ... qui sont réellement des amplifications, très-ornées, très-étendues et considérablement augmentées; il faut surtout se garder de confondre le *Brut Tyssylio* avec l'ouvrage latin de Geoffroy dont je parlerai bientôt, et qui porte le titre d'*Histoire des Rois bretons*.

Professor Chambers notes that De la Borderie clearly states that we no longer possess the Breton original, by which the French author means that no manuscript of an age greater than Geoffrey's *Historia*, in Breton or Welsh, has to his knowledge survived. De la Borderie specifically gives it as his opinion, however, that some original native *version* has survived, incorporated with Geoffrey's *Historia*, and in the Welsh *Brut Tysilio*. Professor Chambers rightly points out that no one as yet has produced the conclusive evidence of an ancient British manuscript antedating Geoffrey. He therefore treats the existence of such an original as unwarranted, rejecting Geoffrey's repeated statement that he possessed such a most ancient book. It would appear, however, that Professor Chambers has not himself examined the Welsh sources.[1]

[1] Professor Petrie at the close of his address, listed the qualifications which are necessary, and the material to be covered, in any endeavour to deal adequately with this problem. "The present requirement for British History, so much neglected, is a scholar in Old Welsh, Breton, Irish and late Latin, accustomed to palæography, who will deal as an historian, and not as a mythologist, with the following sources: — The *Brut y Brenhined* of A.D. 940, in Breton; all MSS. of Tysilio, of the *Historia Britonum* or Nennius, and

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It is true that, so far as is known (and again it must be remembered that by no means all Welsh manuscripts have been examined), no Welsh (or Breton) manuscript has survived earlier in date as a manuscript than the XII century. But although an original manuscript may have perished, its matter may still be identifiable, by means of careful textual criticism, in later compilations, or even copies. Therefore we cannot follow Professor Chambers when his argument, in reply to Professor Petrie, passes from the unequivocal denial of the present existence of the ancient Armorican manuscript cited, to the conclusion that existing Welsh Chronicles in manuscript (including Geoffrey's *Historia*) are without authentic original sources, and fail to reflect a native version of early British history. It would obviously be most difficult to *prove* that a British history had never been compiled 900 years ago — and we cannot safely assert that no identifiable version of it exists in the Welsh manuscripts, until all of these have been critically examined — which is what Professor Petrie urges should be done. Professor Chambers's criticism leaves this main contention quite untouched.

Professor Petrie — expressly disclaiming all knowledge or discussion of the Welsh MSS. — used the name *Tysilio* merely to indicate the only representative of this native material which had been translated. Professor Chambers ignores the Book of Basingwerk MS. mentioned by Professor Petrie, and any discussion of those MSS. listed in the Introduction to the Red Book text by Dr. J. G. Evans. The Book of Basingwerk is a MS., in two hands, of the XIV and XV centuries, respectively. There are also at least five MS. chronicles, all differing, of the XIII century.

It can further be demonstrated, as I have already noted, that what is probably the earliest Welsh manuscript *version* [1] of the

of Gildas, tracing their descent and various dates of issue; the chroniclers, as Henry of Huntingdon, Hector Boece, John of Fordun, etc., to discriminate how far other sources of material — now perished — were used by them; the Irish Annals; the Mabinogion, the triads, the laws, and other literature which may embody historical detail." (Pp. 274–5.)

[1] By version, I mean the essential contents, not the MS. itself.

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Brut y Brenhined, dated as a manuscript by Dr. J. G. Evans as of the early part of the XIII century — say about A.D. 1210–20, is itself a copy (i.e., the work of a copyist) of some Welsh original, as a complete set of excellent rotographs made for me by Mr. Ballinger of the National Library of Wales, amply demonstrates.[1] Another manuscript, giving still another version, or variation in phrasing, and arrangement of material, may be dated in almost exactly the same period.[2] A complete set of rotographs of this second manuscript has also been made for me. There are in addition other MSS., such as Llanstephan I (proper), and Havod I, etc., too numerous to detail here, but all of which are listed, with descriptions' in Appendix II. These early manuscripts *may* be, what they are usually called, translations into Welsh of Geoffrey's *Historia*, but such study as I have been able to give them convinces me that they are not mere translations, and we must recognize that no one has yet *proved* that they are, and that the MSS. themselves have never been adequately examined. They differ from each other — slightly in subject matter, radically in diction and phraseology. As an example of the kind of statements current about them, Dr. J. G. Evans quotes from the *Dictionary of National Biography* in a footnote to page vi of his Preface to the *Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest.* He writes: "In an article on Geoffrey of Monmouth in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Mr. H. R. Tedder commits himself to the baseless assertion that the 'three Welsh chronicles known as the "Brut Tysilio", the "Brut y Brenhinoedd", and the "Brut Gr. ap Arthur", have been clearly shown (? by whom) to be *late translations* or adaptations of Geoffrey's *Historia.*'" Dr. Evans asks advisedly "? by whom" — certainly not by Zarncke or ten Brink, who wrote more than twenty years before Dr. Evans discovered

[1] Dingestow Court MS. Cf. for example fol. 2vo., where a whole sentence is copied twice. The only printed description of this MS. seems to be in Rhys and Evans, *Text of the Bruts*, already cited; p. xiii. The text varies from that printed from the Red Book MS., and the description is inadequate. Cf. below, Appendix II, p. 586.

[2] Peniarth MS. 44, taken with the fourth and fifth quires found in Llanstephan MS. I, the two together forming one chronicle, torn apart and bound separately. Both are in the National Library of Wales.

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the Dingestow Court MS., and partly described it, in 1889. On page xi, Dr. Evans writes of his proposal "to edit the Bern MS. of Geoffrey's *Brut*, and to print in parallel columns the oldest Welsh version." This, in the intervening forty years, Dr. Evans has unfortunately been unable to do; but it shows that one authority on Welsh manuscripts recognized differences of sufficient importance in these early versions to warrant examination and editing. Nothing, however, has been done with them since. Mr. Egerton Phillimore, in 1890, made the statement about the versions other than the *Brut Tysilio* that they "all seem indisputably to be taken straight from Geoffrey." [1] He professedly, however, had not examined the Dingestow Court MS. nor many others of considerable antiquity.

Now the fact is, that even a superficial examination of the Dingestow Court MS. shows that it cannot, in its entirety, have been "taken straight from Geoffrey." Whatever its relation may be to the *Historia*, that of mere translation is precluded, and this is equally true of a number of the other Welsh MSS. They not only differ from Geoffrey, but they differ from one another, in ways which may not immediately or easily solve for us the problem of their relationship, but which reveal indisputably that such a problem exists and is important.

A single illustration in this place may suffice; others will be found in subsequent discussion. In the Dingestow Court MS., the preliminary Dedicatory Epistle to Robert of Gloucester, with which a majority of the MSS. of Geoffrey's *Historia* commences, is given in *Latin*, and in, apparently, a different hand from the rest of the manuscript. The description of Britain follows immediately in Welsh, and on the same page. If the MS. be no more than a translation of the *Historia*, some scribal confusion might explain the presence of the Dedicatory Epistle prefixed in Latin. But in Book XI, i, as we have seen in a note on p. 95 above, Geoffrey, in the *Historia*, breaks his narrative to address

[1] "The Publication of Welsh Historical Records" in *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XI, p. 165, n. 4.

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again "*consul auguste.*" Now, this intrusive sentence *does not appear* in the Dingestow Court MS., nor in any other Welsh MS. version I have examined. It is not in the Red Book (printed text p. 229); nor in Panton 9 (printed text, *Gruffyd ab Arthur* in *Myv. Arch.*, II, p. 545); nor in Cotton, Cleopatra B. V.; nor in Jesus MSS. LXI or XXVIII. How can we suppose that there was a conspiracy on the part of so many translators to omit just this sentence? Similar points of difference occur throughout. For example, the whole incident leading up to the prophecy of Diana, including the Latin verses, does not occur in the Dingestow MS. The comforting of Inogen is immediately followed by the embarcation for Africa.[1] The opening lines of the Dingestow Court MS. about Æneas would read in a translation very close to those in the *Red Book*, but the verbal divergences are marked, though they cannot adequately be shown in an English translation, — comparison of the Welsh being necessary. However, as the text progresses, more and more differences, not only verbal, but of facts appear, until in the colophon we find statements of considerable significance. Dr. Evans, who does not quote it, says only that, "The greater part of the colophon is lost" (p. xiii); but he did not note the important variants of this surviving part, which we place in parallel columns with the corresponding passage of the *Red Book*, with their respective translations: —

Dingestow Court MS. p. 316, last seven lines	*Red Book* text p. 256
E tẏwẏssogion a uuant ar gẏmrẏ wedẏ hẏnnẏ pob eilwers a orchẏmẏnneis i ẏ caradaϭc o lancarban uẏg kẏt oͤswr. Ac iddo ef ẏd edweis i ẏ defnẏd. ẏ ẏsgriuennu ẏ ll̈ẏuẏr o hẏnnẏ all̈an. Brenhined ẏ saesson ẏ rei a doethant ar . . ol a orcẏmẏnneis ẏ wilẏm o . . . a . . .	A renhined y rei auuant or amser hwnnw all̈an ygkymry. y garadawc olan garban vyg kytwerswr ygorchymynaf i eu hyscriuennu. A brenhined y saeson y wilim malmeson ac y henri hwntedwn. yr rei hynny yd archaf i dewi. A brenhined y brytanyeit kanyt yttyw

[1] MS. fol. 13 *vo.*, last line but one. The other MSS. known to me have this prophecy in varying form, in prose. MS. Cot., Cleop. B. V. adds a detail not in the *Historia:* "which was inhabited formerly by giants, *but now by twenty giants only* . . ."

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mesbỳr. A henri o hontendeson. A thewi ar er kỳmrỳ . . .[1]

(The remainder on the last page is undecipherable.)

gantunt y ỉlyfyr brwtwn hwnn. Yr hwnn a ymchoeles Gwaỉỉter archdiagon ryt ychen o vrytanec yg kymraec. yr hwnn yssyd gynuỉỉedic yn wir oc eu hystoryaeu wy yn enryded yr rac dywededigyon tywyssogyon hynny. Ar ywed honn y prydereis inheu yymchoelut ef YR LADIN.

The *princes who were over the Cymry* after that [temp. Athelstan] successively, I commit*ted* to Caradoc of Lancarvan my contemporary *and to him I promised the material for writing the book from that time on.* The kings of the Saxons *who came afterwards I committed* to William . . . bry and Henry of Huntingdon, but let them be silent about the Cymry . . .

The kings who from that time on were in Wales I assign to Caradoc of Llancarvan, my contemporary, to write about.

And the kings of the Saxons I assign to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, whom I order to keep silence concerning the kings of the Britons because they have not that British book which Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford *translated from British* [old Welsh?] *into Welsh*, which having been faithfully *compiled from these historia* [records and traditions] in honour of the aforementioned princes, I have in this manner been at pains to translate into Latin.

The most cursory comparison of these with the usual epilogue of Geoffrey in his *Historia* surely precludes *translation*, — whatever theories one may propound to explain the variations.[2] In order

[1] This is similar, with one important difference, to the colophon in British Museum MS., Cotton, Cleopatra B. V., fol. 108^{rec}, last four lines, and 108vo first two lines. Cf. a modernized form in the Book of Basingwerk, p. 178, col. 6, first eight lines, but with marked verbal differences.

[2] The italicized phrases above differ from Geoffrey. The clear statements, with such early manuscript authority, that Geoffrey had information (probably native, from the context) about the period after Cadwalader in 681–2 (689) which he gave to Caradoc, promising "material for writing the book from that time on" cannot be overlooked. I fail to see justification for the remark of the late R. H. Fletcher: "The date of these [i.e., Welsh *translations* of the *Historia*], indeed, is doubtful, and their very misleading statements about their authorship afford no information as to the real facts." In a note

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to make this point perfectly clear, we give a literal translation of this epilogue from the Latin of the Bern MS., which is sufficiently typical, as collation with several other MSS.[1] shows only minor scribal variations:

> But their kings who from that time on succeeded in Wales, I commit in the materials of writing to Karadoc of Llancarvan, my contemporary. But the kings of the Saxons (I commit) to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, whom I command to be silent concerning the kings of the Britons, since they have not that book of britannic language which Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, brought me out of Brittany [rather than Britain, the usual rendering] which, being truthfully written in honour of the aforesaid princes concerning their history, I have taken pains in this way to translate into the latin language.

The Dingestow Court MS., therefore, and several others which have textual variations from the Latin *Historia*, raise the question as to their mutual relationship — viz., Welsh with Latin, and Welsh with differing Welsh. There is no valid argument against the supposition that Geoffrey retranslated his own elaborated and popular Latin text back into Welsh for his countrymen, perpetuating in Welsh, therefore, much the same source material. The colophon of the Dingestow MS. suggests a rewriting of his earlier Latin colophon. Further, there is no reason to suppose that Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, may not have translated for himself or copied out, both into Latin and in Welsh, his own original discovery of native material, which probably came from Brittany, and may have been written in the Breton dialect, as distinct from the Welsh of his day. A thorough and unprejudiced examination of all the Welsh versions is essential to the elucidation of this problem. It is admittedly complicated by the likelihood that the great popularity of Geoffrey's "worked up" and elabo-

on the "doubtful" age of the translations, Professor Fletcher added: "It can only be said that there is a manuscript of the Tysilio form written at the beginning of the thirteenth century," and he cited Dr. Evans's description on p. xiii of the *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, Vol. X of the Harvard *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, p. 117, and note 2. Professor Fletcher had obviously not read the Dingestow Court MS., nor the Welsh originals of the *Tysilio*, and he depended upon Roberts's and San-Marte's translations of the latter.

[1] Leyden B. P. L. 20, four Cambridge MSS., two Bodleian, the Harlech, etc.

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rate Latin version would have influenced later Welsh copyists of any genuine Welsh Chronicles. Also, once Geoffrey's Latin *Historia* was translated into Welsh, any bare Welsh Chronicle would suffer by contrast; and as the *Historia* proper was accepted as dependable history, the earlier Welsh Chronicle would many times be discarded in favour of the longer and more elaborate work, or it would be changed to conform with its more successful rival. The complications of the problem, however, do not lessen its importance, nor need they deter students from seeking for whatever detritus of original Welsh records may have survived.

Speaking of the *Tysilio* version, and the supposition that it represented the *vetustissimus liber*, Professor Chambers admits (p. 34) that, "of course, ancient and authentic documents are sometimes extant only in very late manuscripts. Nevertheless," he adds, "a treatise, supposed to be 'based upon documents extending back to the first century A.D.' [this from Professor Petrie], and claiming to derive its text from the Red Book of Hergest, may naturally be treated with some suspicion when its text is found to date from 1695." Now it happens that no manuscript mentioned by Professor Chambers claims to derive its text from the Red Book MS. The text entitled *Brut Tysilio*, beginning on page 434 of the second edition of the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, is most certainly not the version found in the Red Book of Hergest MS. (as the editors and Roberts following them, erroneously state), but is undoubtedly taken from another manuscript in Jesus College, Oxford, Number XXVIII,[1] dating, as Professor Chambers says, from the year 1695. But Hugh Jones, Under-Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, in whose autograph this last manuscript is, was not the author of this version, nor does he claim to have derived it from the Red Book MS. Rather, he found it worth while to make a complete transcript of another manuscript, about two hundred years older, on vellum, namely, Jesus College MS. LXI (Hist. MSS. Com., *Reports*, No. 8). A

[1] MS. 19 in Vol. II of the Historical Manuscripts Commission *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, described by Dr. J. G. Evans.

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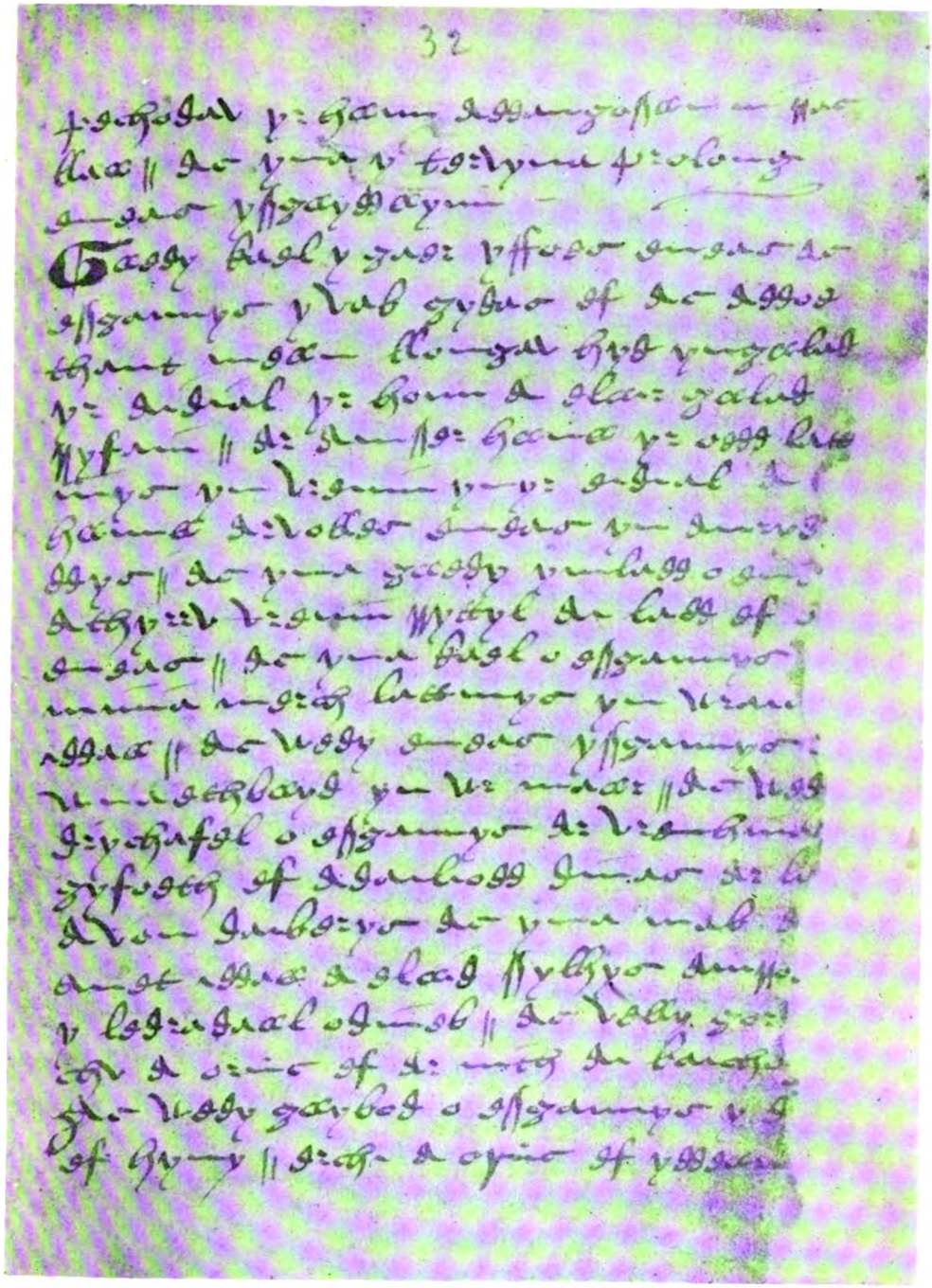

PLATE X

Jesus College, Oxford, No. LXI
Folio 32 Recto, actual size
Note the damaged outer edges, with missing letters

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complete set of rotographs of the first, and test rotographs from the second, as well as actual collation of both throughout, establish this point beyond peradventure.[1] The later transcript is beautifully and clearly written and adheres to its original with great accuracy, even reproducing errors, etc., and as the earlier manuscript is very faded, and torn at the edges, and is often hard to read, the *Myvyrian* editors probably found it easier to edit the later manuscript, knowing that they were obtaining the text of the earlier, and then, because the Red Book MS. and the earlier *Tysilio* were both in the Jesus College Library, they confused them and cited the wrong manuscript as their source. The *Tysilio* and Red Book versions differ radically in vocabulary, style of composition and content, and could not be considered similar by anyone. It is, of course, remotely possible that the *Myvyrian* editors deliberately referred to the Red Book, as a somewhat older and far more famous document, and in defiance of the facts. The *Tysilio* version, we might add, has marked divergences from the two early thirteenth century manuscripts referred to above, and from several others which in point of age, lie between them.

Jesus College MS. LXI, the earlier *Tysilio* version, is dated by Dr. Evans 1500–1525, and by both Hardy[2] and Coxe[3] as fifteenth century. I believe it to be very late fifteenth century, or to be dated about 1500. It contains the special colophon,[4] and as in fact Hugh Jones appears to have made a faithful copy, and the *Myvyrian* editors in their turn to have made only a few negligible printers' errors in editing it, we may safely say that the printed text represents the earlier manuscript. Hence a translation of this XV–XVI century manuscript carefully reproducing the earlier forms in the spelling of names (which were often

[1] Jesus MS. LXI is the basis for the accompanying translation placed below Geoffrey's Latin text, checked, or filled out, with readings from Hugh Jones's copy, made in 1695 when the earlier manuscript was doubtless easier to read and less torn at the edges than now. Cf. Plates X, XIV, and XVI.

[2] *Desc. Cat. of Materials Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, I, p. 351.

[3] *Cat. Cod. MSS. Collegiis Aulisque Oxon.*, II, p. 21; ed. Henry O. Coxe.

[4] "I, Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, turned this book from Welsh into Latin, and in my old age I have turned it the second time from Latin into Welsh." Cf. p. 536 of text.

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modernized by Hugh Jones), in conjunction with the printed *Myvyrian* text, actually provides the student, who is not prepared to consider the whole body of the Welsh Chronicles, with as good a single tool as can be placed in his hands.

It is of great interest that this earlier manuscript is also a copy, or compilation, from still earlier Welsh sources. This will be demonstrated in illustrations which follow, and the notes also point to the evidence of additional passages. The primary intent of printing the Welsh-in-translation in juxtaposition with the text of the *Historia* has been to bring out in high relief the sustained difference between the two, despite the superficial resemblance of subject matter. The whole style of the Welsh precludes translation and abbreviation of Geoffrey's Latin, at least in the greater portion of the book. The typically Welsh *Prophecies of Merlin*, which Geoffrey interpolated into his text, do not appear; there are constant variations in detail, names, etc., the *Llud and Llevelys* story, not in the *Historia*, is given in a markedly early form, and a fragment of an earlier Welsh colophon similar to that of the Dingestow Court MS., survives, immediately preceding the statements by Walter of his own translations and retranslations.[1] This last does not appear in the *Myvyrian* text, as it was omitted by Hugh Jones in his copy.

There are at least six other, practically complete *Tysilio* manuscripts; one in the British Museum (Addl. 15,566), two Mostyn, two National Library of Wales, one Peniarth and one Llanstephan.[2] This makes eight manuscripts in all, instead of one as usually stated, for this *Tysilio* version alone, the earliest dating from the end of the fifteenth century. Besides this there are large parts of this version combined verbatim with other versions by various eclectic compilers of British history, as, for example, Llanstephan 5 (early XVII), Mostyn 115 (XVI), or B. M. Addl. 14,903 (1613). To these last, and most important of all, should be added the Book of Basingwerk (now in the

[1] Cf. last page of text, below, with Plate XVI.
[2] Cf. Appendix II.

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National Library of Wales), and British Museum MS. Cotton, Cleopatra B. V. In 1889 Dr. J. G. Evans listed only thirty manuscripts of what he considered three types of *Bruts;* but today there are printed descriptions of at least fifty-eight manuscript *Bruts*, not counting mere chronologies or insignificant fragments. These are listed in Appendix II, with descriptions, and represent various versions and compilations, containing some material not in Geoffrey, and a few at least could not have been merely translations of Geoffrey. However, they are practically all labelled in the catalogue descriptions as Welsh translations of Geoffrey's *Historia.*

This enumeration of manuscripts and versions is derived from a careful perusal of printed catalogues, supplemented by collations made for me of the respective manuscripts with the printed texts in the *Myvyrian*, and also by sets of rotographs, which the librarians of the libraries concerned have been so courteous as to supply promptly and accurately. In the face of all this easily accessible printed material, — let alone direct reference to no longer inaccessible manuscripts, — it is greatly to be regretted that Professor Chambers (echoing earlier writers) advances a single manuscript of 1695 as one prime reason for discrediting the existence of a native *version* of British history, and the claims made for its original antiquity.[1]

Professor Petrie, referring to W. F. Skene, alludes to the Book of Basingwerk as probably "the best MS." of the *Tysilio* version; but Professor Chambers, though he emphasizes

[1] Nor can I see the least justification for Professor Max Förster's scornful characterization of Professor Petrie's work as that of a "dilettante," when he himself states without qualification in the same paragraph that: "As a matter of fact Petrie's famous discovery deals with a copy (MS. Jesus College 28) finished in 1695 by Hugh Jones, the Director of the Ashmolean Museum, of one out of some thirty manuscripts of a Middle-Kymric translation of the *Historia Regum Britanniæ* of Galfrid of Monmouth which has come down to us, and which is well known to every Kelticist from the edition of the 'Red Book of Hergest,' of Rhys and Evans (Oxford, 1890), 40–256." ("War Nennius ein Ire?" in, *Eine Festgabe zum siebzigsten Geburtstag Geh. Rat. Prof. Dr. Heinrich Finke*, 1925, p. 38; in a *Supplementband* of *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der mittleren und neuren Geschichte und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften*). The ignorance of the Welsh manuscripts, the confusion of radically differing versions, and the repetition of previous errors involved in this criticism must be regretted when coming from one of such scholarly reputation.

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"the late and corrupt text of Tysilio," i.e., the 1695 manuscript, makes no allusion to the Book of Basingwerk MS., nor does he, or Professor Petrie, give its age or description. As a result, one is left to infer that this manuscript, the "best," "was printed in Welsh in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*," because there is a *Tysilio* text in the *Myvyrian*, and that the "transcript" spoken of (though not named) by Professor Chambers, dated 1695 (namely Jesus MS. XXVIII), and given by him as the basis for the text of the *Tysilio* printed in the *Myvyrian*, must be the "Book of Basingwerk." But this is far from being the case; the "Book of Basingwerk" has never been printed and is not identical with either Jesus College MSS. XXVIII or LXI, and this text was not printed in the *Myvyrian*.

Furthermore, De la Borderie, in a note indicated by the number (1) in the text of the quotation made above, gives the following reference: "Le plus ancien manuscrit gallois du *Brut y Brenhined* se termine par la note suivante, citée par le rev. Evan Evans dans le *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* (T. Ier, p. 396), et que M. de la Villemarqué a bien voulu me traduire du gallois." He then cites in a French translation the concluding lines, not of the *Tysilio* version, but of the distinctive ending from the Red Book of Hergest text. As the one word "Saeson," not in the Red Book text, is inserted by Evan Evans in the original Welsh citation in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, and the spelling of "gweythyeu" differs, he may possibly have seen or copied from another manuscript, but the wording is characteristic, and does not belong to other Welsh versions. Those familiar with all the printed endings would easily have recognized to which version Evans's citation belonged, and would not have confused it with the *Tysilio*. Evan Evans gives the age of the manuscript he used as "from five to six hundred years old"; and the Red Book itself is today dated for the *Bruts* at about 1380. Therefore we apparently find De la Borderie citing at second hand as a *Tysilio* version, the entirely different Red Book version, which latter he mistakenly designates as the manuscript of the original British

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Book — or *Brut y Brenhined*. This error had originally been made by the editors of the *Myvyrian*, Peter Roberts repeated it in his preface to the translation of the *Tysilio*, and it is echoed, as we have seen above, by Professor Liebermann in 1922 and by Professor Förster in 1925.

Villemarqué, whom De la Borderie frequently cites as his authority, gives us a further clue to the manuscripts on which his opinions at that time were based. In his *Essai Sur l'Histoire de la Langue Bretonne*,[1] page xxxiii, he writes: "Il nous reste à étudier, comme précédemment, les monuments écrits de la langue bretonne, pendant la période qui nous occupe." He then cites first: "1° Le *Brud er brénined énez Bretaen* ou la Chronique des rois de l'île de Bretagne, ouvrage en prose, composé au VIIIe siècle, au monastere de Gaël, en Armorique, par saint Sulio ou S. Y-Sulio, et remanié au XIIe, en Galles." Note six follows, which to our surprise reads: "(6) Musée britannique. Biblioth. Coton. MSS. in-4° vel. Cleop. B. C. 5. 19.A, publié, d'après un autre manuscrit moins ancien, dans l'*Archæol. of Wales*. T. II, p. 81." This last reference is to the *Brut Tysilio* version (1st ed. of *Myvyrian*), and leads one naturally to infer that the Cotton, Cleopatra B. V. MS. was an ancient Breton manuscript, which underlies the *Tysilio* version. It is hardly necessary to say that Villemarqué drew, not largely, but entirely, upon his imagination, alike in the above statements as in the spelling. His misinformation, however, misled De la Borderie, who misled Thomas Hodgkin, who in turn misled Professor Petrie.

We ask again at this point how this confusion and these cross-currents can possibly be resolved save by a direct appeal to the original manuscripts themselves? And this, apparently, is what *no* writer on the subject has done for well over one hundred years. Even San-Marte in 1854, as we shall see, when he "translated" the Brut *Tysilio* into German, on his own statement translated Peter Roberts's English rendering made in 1811 from the printed

[1] Paris, 1847. The copy used was De la Borderie's own, now in Columbia University Library.

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Myvyrian text, — which his German text amply proves, repeating as he does some of the errors made by Roberts in his English translation. The "verbal descent" arguments of Zarncke and ten Brink against the priority of the *Tysilio* are based in turn on San-Marte's German text, which both say that they quote;[1] while Professor F. Liebermann, who also quotes from San-Marte's German, cites the Red Book manuscript version as the Welsh of the *Tysilio* version, as if they were the same thing.[2]

The "Chronicle of the Kings" (*Brut y Brenhined*) in the famous Red Book of Hergest MS., late fourteenth century (cf. Appendix II, p. 595) is by no means the same as the so-called *Tysilio* Chronicle. There are striking and significant differences between these two *versions*, and each of them differs from others, represented, for instance, by the one chronicle Peniarth 44 plus a part of Llanstephan 1 (early XIII century), or by the chronicle (incomplete) of Llanstephan 1 proper (2nd quarter of XIII century), or Peniarth 21, (before 1350), or Havod 1 (of the same age), or Cotton, Cleopatra B. V. (XIV century), and a related MS., the Book of Basingwerk, XIV and XV centuries, not to mention the very early thirteenth century manuscript alluded to above, the Dingestow Court MS., all of which differ so far amongst themselves that collation of them — certainly in large parts — would be out of the question.

If it be asked at this point why these manuscripts have been ignored, or why they have never aroused scholarly interest, the answer is probably threefold. First, very few scholars outside of Wales are really conversant with mediæval Welsh. Second, until quite recently, since the successful inauguration of the

[1] "Ueber das Verhältniss des Brut y Tysilio zu Gottfried's Historia regum Britanniæ," in Erbert's *Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur*, Band V, p. 259: "Im Brut lautet die entsprechende Stelle *nach San-Marte's Uebersetzung*," *etc.*

[2] "Ich zitiere daraus Galfrid nach Buch und Kapitel und Tysilio nach der Seite seiner deutschen Übersetzung . . . Nur das Welsche, ohne Übersetzung, bringt *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest*, ed. Rhys and Evans, 1890. Die vor 1914 in England vorbereitete Neuausgabe, von Petrie unerwähnt, kenne ich nicht." "Die angebliche Entdeckung einer brythonischen Geschichte aus Römerzeit: Galfrid von Monmouth und Tysilio," in *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Band 144, Neuen Serie, Band 44, Berlin, 1922, note 4 to p. 31.

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National Library of Wales, most of these manuscripts were in private collections, inaccessible to ordinary students. It was almost impossible to see them, or find out anything about them. Third, those which have been described and catalogued have been almost uniformly denominated Welsh translations of Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniæ*. Their description, from 1889 to date, has been in the hands of one man only, Dr. J. G. Evans, whose labours for the Historical Manuscripts Commission in describing eight hundred and ninety-four Welsh manuscripts can only be characterized as monumental. The very magnitude and extent of his work precluded any minute study of particular manuscripts, and hasty generalizations were almost inevitable. The printed *Reports*, embodying his descriptions and extracts, begun in 1898, and extending over twelve years until 1910, cover two thousand, four hundred and four printed pages, mostly in very small type. I have not, however, seen a single reference in *any* work by an English, Welsh or Continental writer, either on Geoffrey's sources in general, or on the Welsh manuscripts in particular, to these *Reports* of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. All the most recent writers hark back to the first list, tentatively made up and classified by Dr. Evans in 1889, and printed in the Preface to *The Texts of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest*. In 1889 Dr. Evans described in only the briefest way one-half of the actual number of manuscripts; and his re-description of some of these for the Historical Manuscripts Commission introduced certain modifications which seem as yet to have remained unnoticed. He speaks feelingly, and apparently truly, of the "thankless labour" of his task; and in the earlier list, which he expressly states is incomplete — as at that time he at least knew of manuscripts (since described) access to which was then denied him — he points out clearly the tentativeness of his classification. But this tentativeness is never alluded to by those who cite his early list, nor has any effort been made since then either to solve the problems left open by Dr. Evans, or to examine the original documents he lists, let alone those at that time inaccessible, but no longer so.

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In compiling the earlier list Dr. Evans was forced to use only test passages, to be applied to widely separated manuscripts for purposes of comparison, in order to determine the version or type to which any one might belong. He points out that in addition to the incompleteness of his list, "another reason" for his tentativeness was the imperfect state of many of the manuscripts, thus making *test passages* often of no use; "out of half a dozen selected passages I have in one or two instances been unable to find one of them." [1]

The thirty manuscripts in this earlier list are divided for purposes of classification into three groups; nine in the first, comprising the "A or *Vaticinium Version*," containing the *Prophecies of Merlin;* four in the second, or the "B or *Llevelys Version*," adding presumably the *Llud and Llevelys* story; and seventeen among the "γ or *Compiled Versions*."

Of the interrelation of the first group, including the Dingestow Court MS., the Red Book, and others, Dr. Evans's Preface states that "It is difficult to determine the exact relationship" (p. xiv) — a statement with which anyone attempting it must be in hearty accord — continuing: "If the text of any one of the [first] six were selected for printing, it would be possible to give in the notes the variant readings of the other five up to the end of the Vaticinium." I am inclined to disagree with this statement; or, at least to point out that many paragraphs would have to be placed in parallel columns. But though the writer distinctly says that "The six manuscripts belong to the same version," he nowhere indicates (as we have seen above in discussing the colophon), that the variants are sometimes of such a nature as to preclude *translation* from Geoffrey's Latin *Historia*. He adds, on the contrary: "From the concluding words of Merlin's Prophecy to the end of the Brut, the text of Nos. 5 and 6 differs from that of Nos. 1–4, and yet we have not even here independent translations. Certain agreements and differences in the wording of the six manuscripts point to the probability of their being independent

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. x, note 1.

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transcripts of a lost original." As the oldest transcript is admittedly to be dated c. 1200, the original source is probably pushed back into the twelfth century, and this lost original was in Welsh, not in Latin.

This is actually all the comparison that this group of manuscripts has ever received, and no hint is given that the Welsh colophons vary markedly from the Latin of Geoffrey, or that other differences, varying in importance, occur on many pages. Nor is any interpretation offered to account for these variations in the earlier portion (Geoffrey, Books I–VII), or to explain why the later portion (Geoffrey, Books VIII–XII) varies from the respective earlier sections in style and orthography, and differs still more as between the six manuscripts. The implication is merely that all differences are due to the vagaries of individual scribes, or translators.

It is made clear in the Preface, however, that no finality is claimed for this and the following surveys — on the contrary Dr. Evans disarms all criticism under this head by writing in conclusion that he is "painfully conscious of the shortcomings of this brief review"; and he admittedly expects that "the evidence of other important manuscripts as well as a more minute examination of some of those enumerated above, cannot fail to furnish some fresh light which will doubtless necessitate modifications in many of the statements" (p. xxiv). In a preceding note (p. x) he had stated that "to obtain certainty some manuscripts must be read from Prologue to Colophon; others must be brought together for comparison." In view of these quotations, it seems surprising that the Preface has been cited so confidently as unqualified endorsement of the widely current opinion that all these Welsh versions are no more than late translations or abbreviations of Geoffrey's Latin *Historia*.

This is even more true of the second and third groups of Dr. Evans's classification. Of the second, or "Llevelys" group, little is said; and the heading, in the Preface, is slightly misleading, as the first two manuscripts cited (Numbers 10 and 11), really one

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manuscript, separated and bound apart, do not contain a *Llud and Llevelys* story at all.[1] This version is there equated with a portion of the "Brut Gruffud ap Arthur of the *Myvyrian*" (pp. 476–554). The MS. is practically contemporary with the Dingestow Court MS., varies considerably from it, and unfortunately lacks the concluding pages and colophon. There is no preliminary "Dedicatory Epistle" to Robert of Gloucester (agreeing in this with the *Tysilio* MSS.), nor "Description of Britain." Nor does the letter of Geoffrey to Bishop Alexander, introducing the Merlin *Prophecies*, nor these *Prophecies*, appear; the narrative continuing without a break (Llanst. I, fol. 65). A complete set of rotographs lies before me.

Dr. Evans, at that time, gave no reasons for placing this group of manuscripts under the "Llevelys" caption in his Preface, nor does he make any attempt to explain the omissions or additional material — obviously strictly native in character — of this characteristic group. They are, however, sweepingly classified by him as Welsh translations of Geoffrey's *Historia*. But as the material *not* in Geoffrey is obviously not translated from the *Historia*, it needs explanation. In the Introduction, however, to Volume II, part ii, of the *Reports*, Dr. Evans writes most significantly some years later (1903) of the Llanstephan collection, that "It opens with the oldest version, in the Powysian dialect, of what is sometimes called *Brut Griffith ap Arthur. This version is not a verbal translation of any Latin text known to the writer.* But it bears ample proof of the free use of the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius, a work which seems to have received much greater attention from Welsh writers of the thirteenth century than has hitherto been suspected."[2]

The Preface heads the third group or *Compiled Versions* with the British Museum manuscript Cotton, Cleopatra B. V., and appends a note to the whole group, which gives a clear indication of the estimation there placed upon them. "It is a painful fact

[1] Peniarth 44, plus part of Llanstephan I. Cf. Appendix II, pp. 586 and 589.
[2] P. vi; italics mine.

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that we no sooner find records of the Eistedtvod and its doings [i.e., the Welsh congress of Bards and Minstrels, c. 1455] than the spirit of tampering with texts becomes dominant; and from that time to this the *Eistedtvodic spirit* has been the bane of Welsh literature, the curse of the Welsh tongue, and the enemy of all that is sane, natural and progressive. It is scarcely open to doubt that the scribe of Cotton, Cleopatra B. V., was the most prominent Eistedtvod-wr of his age, and the very first arch-druid that Wales unhappily produced. Alas, that he should not also have been the last" (p. xvi).

The intended inference is that this document (as well as its sixteen listed successors, including the Jesus College *Tysilio* manuscripts) is a species of concocted history, forged to simulate historical documents, and therefore worthless as an authority, and dangerous as a basis for any sound critical argument. A few such forgeries have been perpetrated by Welshmen; but the fear of being misled seems to have blinded later serious scholars to the fact that such misguided geniuses as Iolo Morganwg actually possessed and copied from old documents which have since disappeared, and that his writings (as a typical instance) deserve careful sifting, and appear, at least in certain cases, to be well worth critical analysis.

An authority not even second to the author of the *Text of the Bruts* in his knowledge of Welsh manuscripts, namely Mr. Egerton Phillimore, disagrees with Dr. Evans on the subject of this very note. Mr. Phillimore wrote in the article already cited:

> His [Dr. Evans's] note 1 on p. xvi., takes for its text the interpolated and composite character of the *Bruts* in Cleopatra B. V.; but we do not know what foundation there is for his suggestion in that note that there was any connection between the tampering with and falsification of texts and the spirit of Welsh *Eisteddfodau* or *Eisteddfodwyr* as early as the fifteenth century. The great falsifiers of early Welsh texts and traditions (between whose "spirit" and certain regrettable sides of the modern revived *Eisteddfod* we admit there is much relationship to be traced) were the later antiquaries of Morganwg to whom we owe the "Third Series" of Triads . . . The composition of such literature seems to us to have been confined

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to one of the four chief districts of Wales, and not to have commenced as early as the 15th century, or much before 1600 (pp. 156–7, n. 8).

In view of Dr. Evans's rejection of this MS., I am glad to be able to quote Mr. Phillimore in support of a conclusion to which I had been led — for though the versions of the *Bruts* in the Cleopatra B. V. are padded out and interpolated, these additions are quite readily distinguishable on comparison with other versions, and they do not necessarily involve the original matter which appears here and there when an attentive search is made. This manuscript is complete in our portion (*Brut y Brenhined*) and the special colophon of the earliest, Dingestow Court manuscript reappears, apparently completed. This will be discussed later. There are many facts and details in this *version*, which are not found in Geoffrey's *Historia*, and therefore if it be based on the *Historia*, additional, and in some cases, native, material has been drawn upon. The version is on the whole closest to that of the *Tysilio* group, represented by the manuscript of Jesus College, translated for this volume.

Dr. Evans's Preface describes the Cleopatra B. V. as follows: —

Vellum; xvth century. Folios 1–108, which are in the same hand as the continuation of *Brut y Tywysogion* in Hengwrt 51.[1] This manuscript contains the Prologue, the Llevelys Story, and the Vaticinium; it has also incorporated in its text the Prophecy of the Eagle.

[1] It is worth noting first, that a scribe who added the entries from 1287 to 1332, to the *Brut y Tywysogion* of Peniarth 20 (= Hengwrt 51, the C text of the *Monumenta Hist. Brit.*), should also have written out the *Brut y Saesson* of our Cotton MS. in full, as if he considered both *versions* worth preserving, and also had materials for writing native history; and second, that the last entry made by him in Peniarth 20 is dated 1332, a fourteenth, not a fifteenth century date. His entries follow in regular annual sequence, the decades written out in full — e.g., "Anno dni. M. CCC.XXX," then below, "Anno.j." etc. — and give the impression of having been made, originally at least, very nearly contemporaneously with the incidents they narrate. Are we to assume that this continuation of the *Brut y Tywysogion* is also written "in an archaic style," and forged to simulate genuine history? (Cf. below, pp. 140–1.) This, at least, has never been said of it; yet the handwriting, style, and orthography appear to be the same as those in the Cotton MS. Aneurin Owen, Mr. Phillimore, and others describe this Peniarth MS. 20 as fourteenth century; the *Reports* alone call it fifteenth century, and the "continuation," which contains exactly the last entries in the Cottonian handwriting, are there termed "interesting" and are printed in full (I, pp. 343–6). They have unquestioned historical value.

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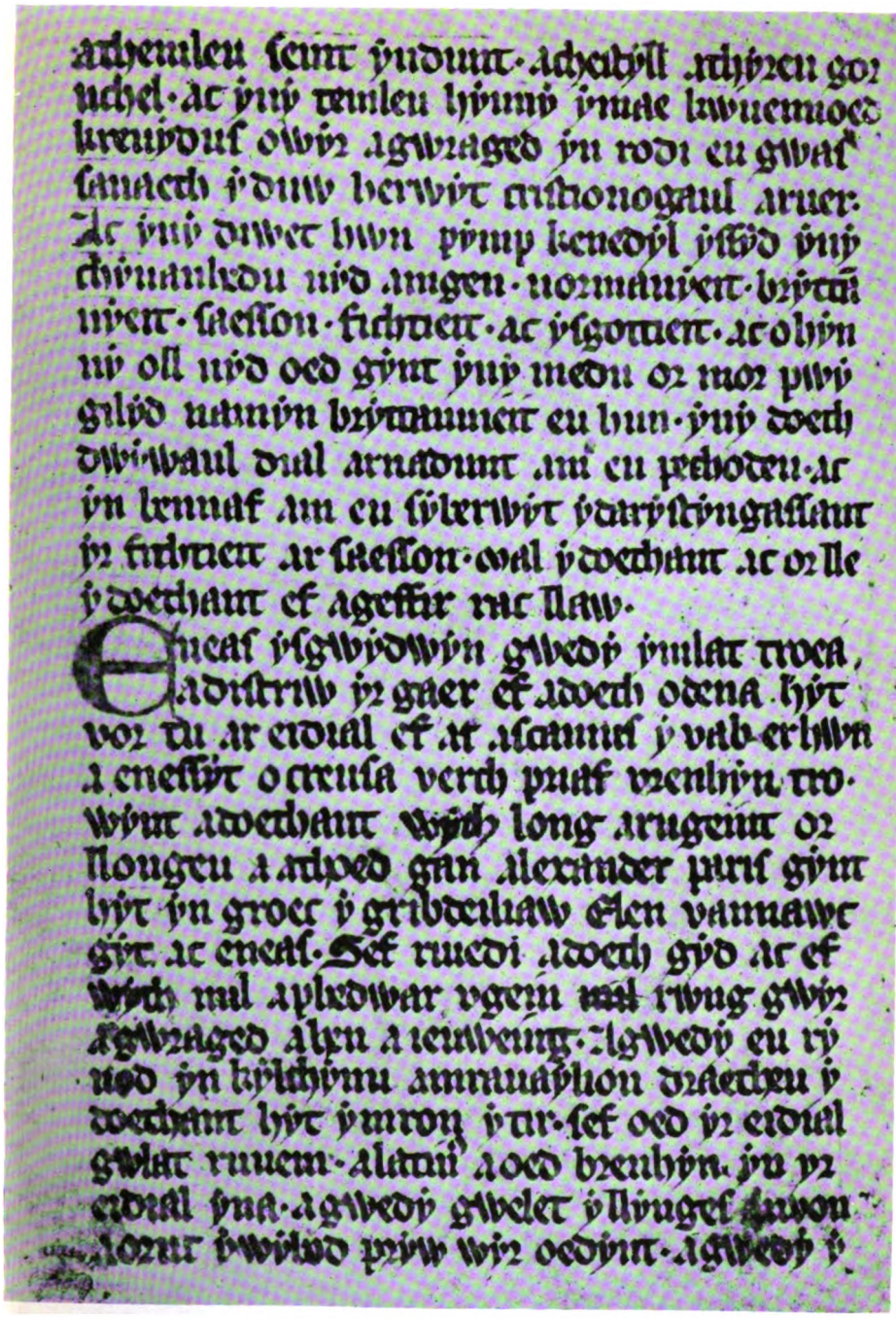

PLATE XI

British Museum, Cotton, Cleopatra B.V.
Folio 2 Verso, actual size

Note the large letters, 28 lines to the page, dotted ŷ's, and opening varying from HISTORIA I. iii. *Cf. Plate* XII

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On page xx of Dr. Evans's Preface, it is stated of the *Dares Phrygius* part of this manuscript:

Vellum; early xvth century. Double columns. Beginning lost. In the same hand as Hengwrt 51, which is earlier than the rest of this manuscript.

The *Brut y Saesson* (Chronicle of the Saxons) text is not described when that chronicle is discussed on pages 23–24.

In 1910, Dr. Evans re-examined the manuscript for the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and this latest and revised description I give in full (*Reports*, Vol. II, pp. 952–3).

Compiled versions of *Historya Brenhined y Brytanyeit*, *Brut y Saeson*, and the "*Gwentian*" *Code* of the *Welsh Laws;* also the *Historia* of *Dares Phrygius*. Vellum; $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ inches; folios 1–250 (folios 163–4 are wanting); bound in Russia leather.

This manuscript is a composite one. The *Bruts* (fols. 1–162b, which have 33 lines to the page) are written in an archaic style. End of *Brut of the Saxons*, which usually stops with the year 1461, is wanting, but as this manuscript is inferentially the archetype of the *Bk. of Basingwerk* and Peniarth MS. 270 we may conclude that the writing of it was not finished before that year. The large initials are in red and green. The *Laws* (fols. 165–222) have 20 lines to the page and are in a hand of about 1350. The large initials are in red, blue, or green, and highly floriated, while five are illuminated, an unusual thing in Welsh MSS. This part of the manuscript belonged to Jasper Griffith in 1600 (fol. 165b). The *Dares Phrygius* (fols. 223–250, bi-columnar, 28 lines to the column), belongs to the same school of writing as the Laws, if it is not actually from the same hand, but a little later.* The ink is pale, the large initials are one in red and one in green, and without floriation.

There follows a page of extracts and notes; the whole colophon of the *Brut y Brenhined* is given; and also the last decipherable sentences of the *Brut y Saesson*, with the following comment: "*fol. 162b is difficult to read and the end of the Brut is wanting.*" A note indicated by the asterisk above, says of the age of the *Dares Phrygius:* "In the Oxford edition of the *Bruts* this part of the MS. was confounded with the earlier portion and an erroneous date assigned in consequence."

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This is unquestionably a careful description, and coming from Dr. Evans, may well be taken as authoritative. Nevertheless, a close study of rotographs yields further information of considerable significance.

We are chiefly concerned to determine the age of the *Bruts*, especially of the *Brut y Brenhined*, or that part which relates directly to Geoffrey's *Historia*. Once the age of the handwriting can be definitely established, one can reason with some definiteness, on making comparisons with other manuscripts, as to the probable relation and original composition of the versions involved.

Certain definite statements about the *Bruts* stand out in the description given in the *Reports:*

1) Folios one to 162b have "33 lines to the page."

2) These folios, comprising the whole of both *Bruts* "are written in an archaic style."

3) The end of the *Brut y Saesson* is "wanting."

4) This *Brut* "usually stops with the year 1461."

5) "This MS. is inferentially the archetype of the *Bk. of Basingwerk* and Peniarth MS. 270."

6) Therefore, "we may conclude that the writing of it was not finished before that year," i.e., 1461 or later.

Let us examine one by one the above statements.

1) Only the concluding folios of the *Brenhined y Saesson* have 33 lines to the page. The *opening* folios of this second *Brut* (109 ff.) have 29 lines per page (cf. Plate XII). The first six folios of the manuscript — namely the *Brut y Brenhined*, have 28 lines to the page (cf. Plate XI). From folio 7vo. to folio 108rec., the entire *Brut y Brenhined* has 29 lines uniformly.[1] Folio 108vo. gives the conclusion of the colophon in eight lines, and the rest of the page was left blank. This has been filled in with several

[1] Fol. 7$^{rec.}$ has one misplaced word over the line, making strictly 30 lines to this one page.

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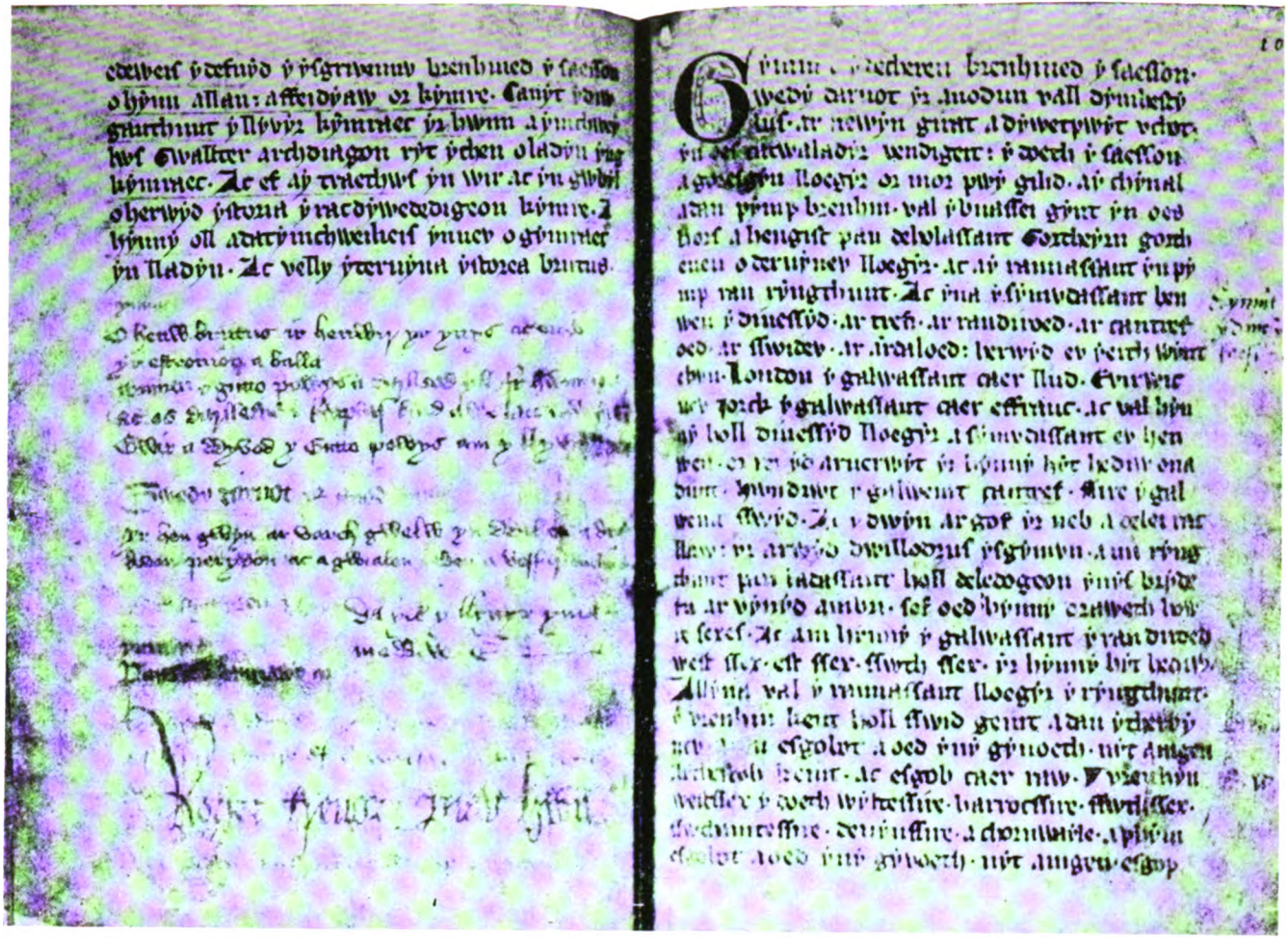

PLATE XII

British Museum, Cotton, Cleopatra B.V. Folios 108 *Verso*–109 *Recto, reduced one-half*
Note compact writing, tall initial A's, and 29/33 *lines to the page*

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entries in three different hands, the earliest probably late fifteenth century — as the *Reports* state,[1] and therefore, after the body of the manuscript itself is said in the *Reports* to have been written.

The great body of the *Bruts*, therefore, have 29, not 33, lines to the page — with a few opening folios, written larger with only 28. All of the *Brut y Brenhined* is in 28 or 29 lines.

2) The *Bruts* "are written in an archaic style." This is manifest, as, it is hoped, the accompanying reproductions will make clear. All the ẏ's are dotted, and the letter formation seems to be very much earlier than that current in the fifteenth century. The use of such forms as *ruvein* (cf. Book of Basingwerk *ruvain*), *ẏn wreic* (cf. *ẏn wraic*), *ẏ dyrchauel* (cf. *i drychauael*) also bears this out; — ai does not appear to be used, nor does one discover such forms as those listed by Dr. Evans as characteristic of the middle of the fifteenth century — namely, doyd*u*t, geiri*a*v, enei-di*a*v, dev*a*id, wnel*a*i etc.[2] Dr. Evans also points out that the transition from the regular dotting of the ẏ's to the discontinuance of that practice, occurred about the middle of the fourteenth century; and he cites Mostyn MS. 116, as an example — earlier than the Red Book (c. 1380, which has no dotted ẏ's) — where the y's are scarcely ever dotted. The *Bruts* of Cleopatra B. V., however, are regularly dotted — only the fewest ẏ's are missed — slips such as any scribe might make. This is equally true of the forepart of the Book of Basingwerk. By the use of such a phrase as "written in an archaic style," however, the author of the *Reports* may perhaps

[1] Third note, p. 953. The *Reports* omit the first entry, which in translation reads: "From the name of Brutus was the island named, and the name of the strangers *ceased*." In the middle of the page, in a hand similar to that of the body of the manuscript occurs the opening of the *Brut y Saesson*, which was discontinued. The names of Gytto Powis, Gruffyd ap Adam ap Pothon, and Roger Trevor occur, the last two claiming ownership of the manuscript (cf. Plate XII).

[2] Cf. his note to Peniarth MS. 23, p. 349.

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explain such points of orthography, and still claim a late and deliberate reproduction of older writing. But a motive, and a very special motive, for doing so, would have to be provided. Any scribe deliberately setting out to reproduce ancient handwritings, would reproduce those far older than a mere century before him; and he would also give minor indications in more than three hundred pages of writing, that this form of writing was not naturally his own, by little slips, or awkwardnesses, or variations in certain difficult letters. I can only say that I have not been able to detect any. I shall return to this question a little later.

3) The end of the *Brut y Saesson* is "wanting." This is a fair inference, but as the first nine or ten lines only of folio 162 verso can be deciphered, and the last lines on the page are faded and rubbed off, it cannot be definitely proved. The last decipherable entries may be dated 1196–7, and as it stands the manuscript ends shortly thereafter. If the two missing folios, numbers 163 and 164, were the continuation, so late a date as 1461 could not be reached, unless the whole style of narration changed, and became extremely condensed. A date, however, in the early part of the fourteenth century would be possible, though the period in 1270, given by Humphrey Lloyd,[1] would seem far more likely as the logical ending for this *Brut*.

4) This *Brut* "usually stops with the year 1461." The Book of Basingwerk, a kindred *version* with the Cottonian, does stop in 1461, continued perhaps to that date by Gutyn Owain, as Humphrey Lloyd said. The *Brut y Saesson* in the Red Book and Peniarth 19, (a copy of it)

[1] *Historie of Cambria*, 1584, p. 206. "The successions and actes of the princes of Wales after this time (A.D. 1156), untill the year 1270, were kept and recorded from time to time in the Abbies of Conway in Northwales, and Stratflur in Southwales, as witnesseth Gutryn Owen, who being in the daies of Edward the fourth wrote the best and most perfect copie of the same." The manuscript referred to may be the later part of the "Book of Basingwerk" manuscript, which is in Gutyn Owain's hand. Cf. Appendix II, p. 593.

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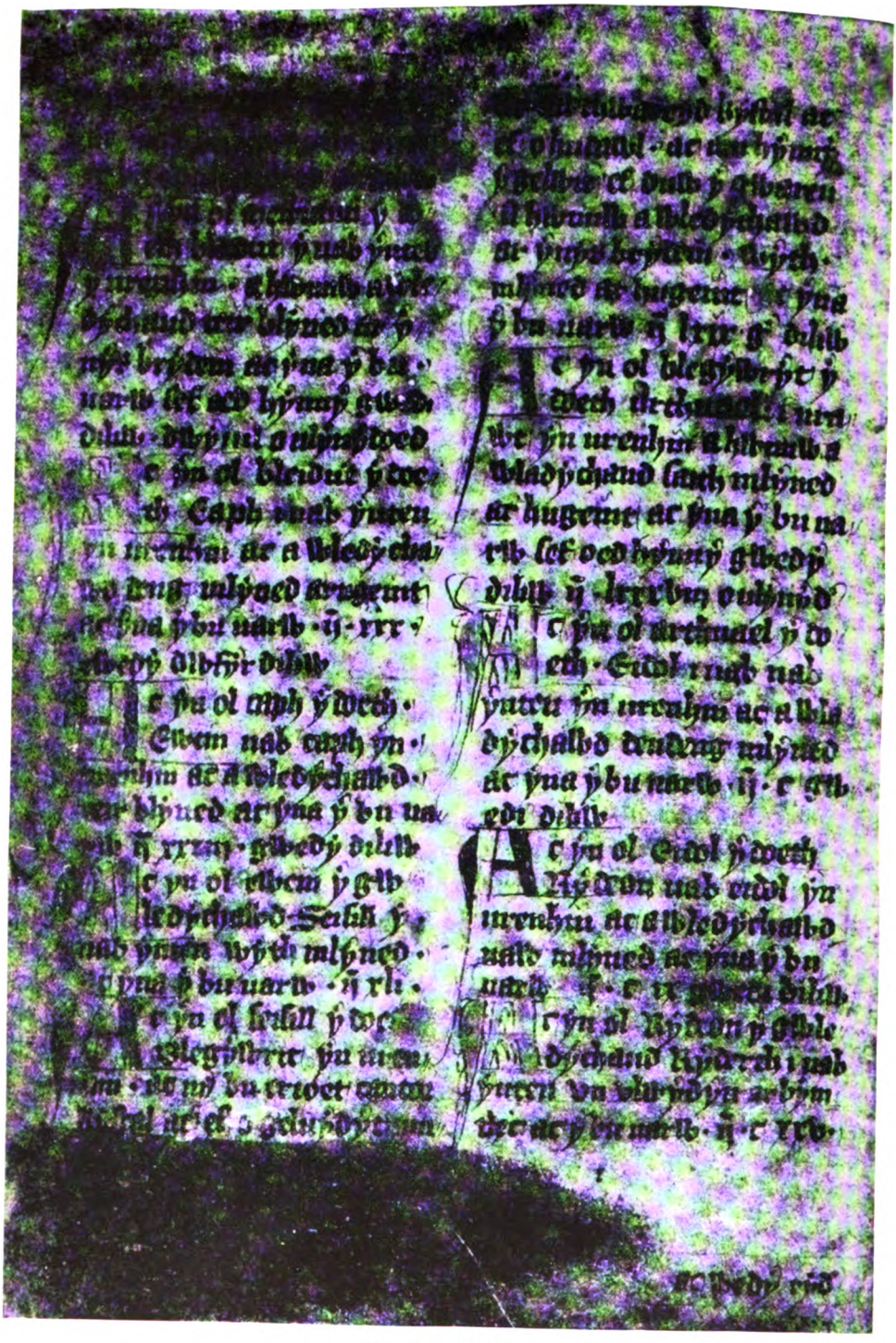

PLATE XIII

National Library of Wales, Book of Basingwerk
Page 88, slightly reduced

Showing older writing, worn outside leaf, dotted ŷ's and differing catch-words. Cf. Plate XIV

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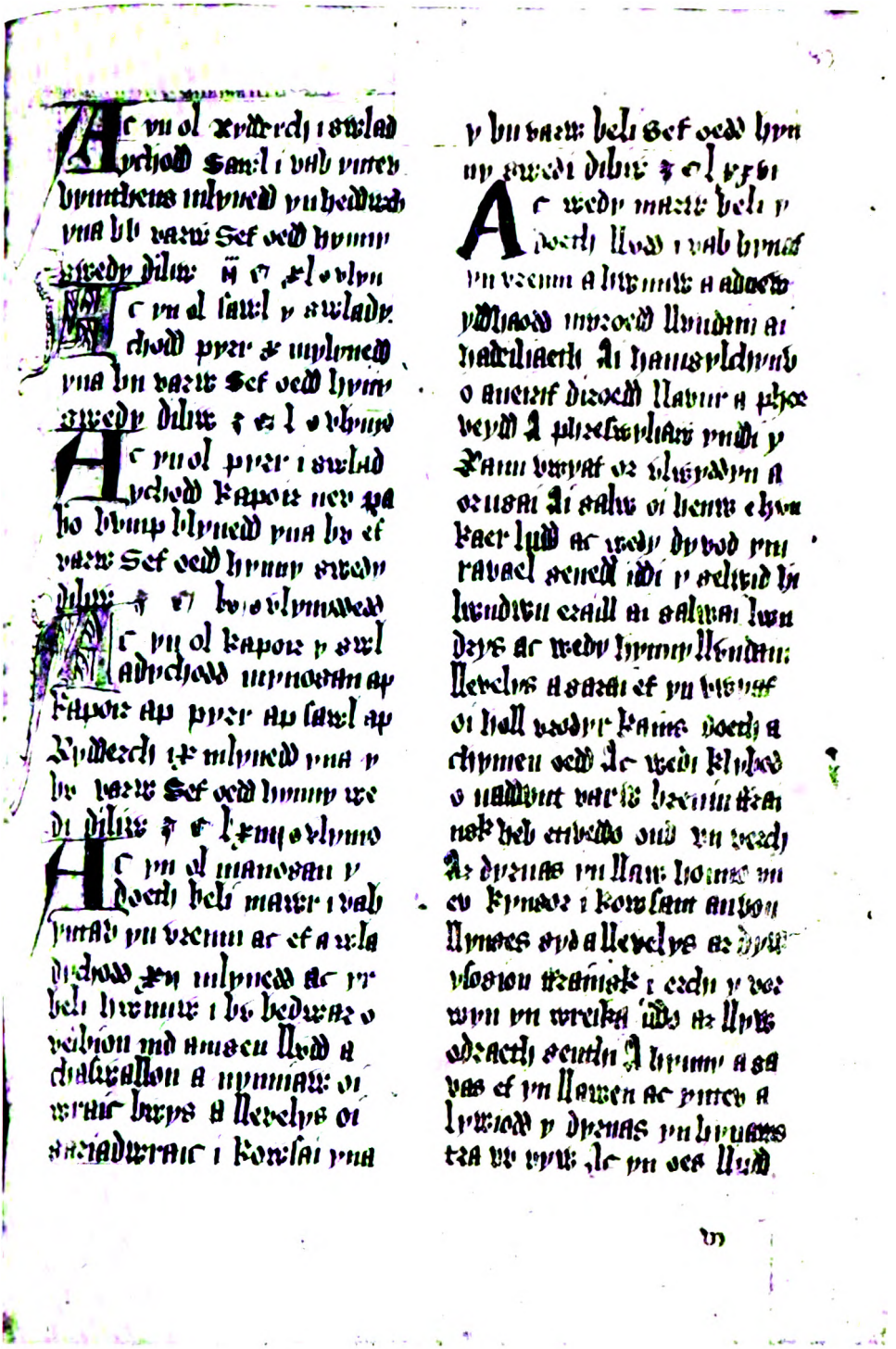

PLATE XIV

National Library of Wales, Book of Basingwerk
Page 89, slightly reduced

Note Gutyn Owain's writing, no dots to y's, and opening words not agreeing with preceding catch-words
Cf. Plate XIII

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is an entirely different composition, as Dr. Evans states clearly in his Preface, p. 23 — so also the transcript of these last: Peniarth 32 (fifteenth century, breaks off 1376), Peniarth 253 (third quarter sixteenth, breaks off 1355), Peniarth 27, Pt. ii (late fifteenth, breaks off 1015; with a transcript of it by John Jones in Peniarth 267), and Peniarth 22, translated from the Latin by David ap Meredith Glais, 1444, which breaks off in 1048. Only one other text similar to ours is known, namely Peniarth 264, a transcript by John Jones in 1635–6, made "in the prison of Caerlud" (London), and that is not verbally the same and ends in 1461. The other *Brut y Saeson*, said to be like the text in the Cotton MS. and in the Book of Basingwerk, namely, Jesus cxli (Evans, p. xvii) is not at all alike, it ends in 1471, and it was probably translated by Gutyn Owain from the Latin. The authorities from which it was compiled are given in Appendix II, p. 596, below. To what manuscripts then does "usually" refer?

5) Dr. Evans says that as the *Brut y Saesson* "usually" stops with the year 1461, and as "this MS. is inferentially the archetype of the *Book of Basingwerk* and Peniarth MS. 270," therefore,

6) "We may conclude that the writing of it was not finished before that year." But has not the fact been overlooked that the first forty-eight pages of the *Bruts* in the Book of Basingwerk were not by Gutyn Owain, are certainly earlier, and may safely be dated in the fourteenth century? [1] Either the Cotton MS. must be pre-dated into the fourteenth century or earlier, or it cannot be the archetype of the Book of Basingwerk. Furthermore, Peniarth 270, a miscellaneous collection of more than fifty fragments, of 520 loose pages, in many hands, much of it in English and Latin, bears no relation to our manu-

[1] Cf. Plate XIII; also my discussion in *The Book of Basingwerk and MS. Cotton, Cleopatra B. V.*, already cited, pp. 20–21; 62–63, etc.

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script — so there is some confusion here. Perhaps the reference should have been to MS. 264, the transcript by John Jones — though that is not textually the same.

In other words, the Cottonian MS. is assumed to be the one from which Gutyn Owain transcribed his Book of Basingwerk, and since the latter ends in 1461, it is supposed that the Cotton MS., at the time when Gutyn Owain wrote, was complete, ended in that year, and therefore is a manuscript of that date. Furthermore, it is assumed that Gutyn Owain, who attended the Eisteddvod of 1455, had transcribed the forged compilation of an "arch-druid," while the sixteenth century testimony of Humphrey Lloyd is left out of account; and another manuscript by the same scribe (Peniarth 20) is accepted without question, — though the style, writing, and orthography seem to be the same — and is called XIV century.

It is exceedingly hard to decide from rotographs whether or not there may be *two* handwritings in this *Brut* also, but a comparison of Plates XI and XII will show at a glance the obvious differences. The writer has been told that an examination of the manuscripts suggests the possibility of a break on folio 51, line 10. If so, the theory of a late forger deliberately affecting "an archaic style" becomes even more difficult to maintain. There are many slight variations in letter formation (none conclusive, however), such as the initial capital A's — which, in the early part are often round, but in the later folios are tall, slender and erect, with tails attached. In the later part, also, colons are used as punctuation, which hardly ever occur in the earlier folios, and which is usually a personal characteristic. We must, however, leave this matter undecided, though strongly inclined to agree with Hardy's dating in the fourteenth century.[1]

To sum up the immediate discussion, therefore, the Welsh Chronicle or *Brut y Brenhined*, in the Cotton, Cleopatra B.V. MS.,

[1] *Desc. Cat. of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, Thomas Duffus Hardy, Vol. II, p. 529, No. 691. The confusions of this description and others by him are elucidated in my previously cited articles, pp. 71 ff.

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placed as the type MS. of a third group, has been variously dated, and none too accurately described. Dr. Evans, seeing in this manuscript the compilation of a literary forger, dates our portion of the chronicle as shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century, although admitting that it is "archaic" in appearance. But for the reasons I have set forth, it may very well be that the actual writing of the manuscript should be dated in the fourteenth century, if no earlier. And Dr. Evans places the *Tysilio* MSS. in this same third group as similar, unreliable, perhaps deliberately forged, compilations, derived from the Cotton MS.

I find on analysis, furthermore, that of the three type manuscripts, placed first by Dr. Evans in his three groups of Welsh Chronicles, no one can be said to be a translation, *and nothing more*, of Geoffrey's Latin *Historia*. The wording differs, the sense is often different, facts are not only omitted, but new facts and names appear, the material is sometimes differently arranged, and therefore easy generalizations are out of the question. As Dr. Evans says, many of these MSS. must be read from Preface (if there is one) to Colophon, and brought together for comparison.

Moreover, a clear distinction must be made between the actual age of any of these manuscripts, and the time when these particular chronicles or *versions* of British and Welsh history were originally compiled. Even if it can be demonstrated that the handwriting of any one of them was a uniformly successful imitation of something earlier (and this would be hard to determine because due allowance must be made for "inking over"), and therefore, say, fifteenth century, or comparatively late, writing, the many different compilations were not originally made in the fifteenth century as some of the MSS. are certainly of the thirteenth. There is a striking similarity, for instance, between both the *Bruts* in the Cleopatra B. V. and those in the Book of Basingwerk. This is closest in the forepart of the *Brut y Brenhined*, though the diction and orthography are often different, and it is precisely this forepart of the Book of Basingwerk that we find

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to be earlier, probably of the fourteenth century, *as a manuscript.* This early fragment was completed by Gutyn Owain, apparently from a dissimilar but allied copy. The later portion in his handwriting, still follows the "family likenesses," so to speak, of the particular version, but is modernized throughout, and there is constant verbal variation, occasional differences in dating, and the introduction of phrases and incidents. This practically precludes the direct copying of one from the other. The almost inevitable conclusion to draw from a textual comparison of these two manuscripts is that three similar transcripts survive, worked over and somewhat freely interpolated, of a common original, or perhaps kindred originals — which is exactly the suggestion casually made by the Reverend J. Williams ab Ithel [1] in his use of another part of these manuscripts, and the significance of which seems to have been overlooked.

If this be so, it opens a series of interesting possibilities. Dr. Evans places the Cotton, Cleopatra B. V. manuscript as the first (because the oldest ?) of a numerous species of Welsh Chronicles which he denominates "Compiled Versions," usually adding the words, "of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniæ*"; but *from what* were these differing versions compiled, especially those statements, names and facts not in the *Historia?* Only one standard text by Geoffrey has been found, with minor revisions made in his lifetime. To admit different versions of the *Historia* is almost to admit the rehandling of Welsh history, by Welshmen, with Welsh sources — Geoffrey's first Latin translation of an original *vetustissimus liber* in Welsh being merely one of the number, and because of its brilliance and success, creating a stereotyped mould. This, more or less, is exactly what Welsh historical writers like Sir John Price and Lewis Morris constantly assert, and which English writers, following Polydore Virgil, have rejected. But as Polydore Virgil and his successors give no evidence of ability to read Welsh, or of ever having examined the

[1] The *Brut y Tywysogion*, in the *Rolls Series*, 1860, p. 71. Cf. *The Book of Basingwerk, etc.*, pp. 64–5.

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Welsh manuscripts involved, their testimony is of little value. When an English editor, Giles, writing in 1848, gives the following reasons for rejecting Geoffrey's claim to a native source, we may suspect prejudice: — "1. It was first made known six hundred years after the events which it relates. 2. No manuscript copy *is* now in existence, *nor any record of its ever having been multiplied by transcription* [italics mine]. 3. It relates stories utterly at variance with acknowledged history. 4. It abounds in miraculous stories, which, like leaven, ferment and corrupt the whole mass. 5. It labours under great suspicion from the mendacious character of the people, whose credit it was written to support" (!).[1] And Mr. Phillimore, referring to Geoffrey's warning that, because they did not have the *vetustissimus liber*, William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon must be silent on native British history, comments: "As if any of Geoffrey's contemporaries would have ventured to infringe on his prerogative as *facile princeps* in the art of historical lying! — or perhaps it would be more polite to say 'romancing.'"[2]

History, and the discovery of historical evidence, are not served in this way. However complicated the problems are, Professor Petrie seems amply justified in his reproach that ancient British History has been neglected; and an examination of the Welsh manuscripts to which he refers seems to bear out, not to contravene, his thesis.

[1] Pp. 291–2 of the Bohn Edition of Giles's translation of the *Historia* in *Six Old English Chronicles*.

[2] "The Publication of Welsh Historical Records" in *Y Cymmrodor*, XI, p. 150, note 1.

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CHAPTER IX

REASONS FOR TRANSLATING JESUS MS. LXI

FROM the foregoing it is obvious that many of the surviving Welsh manuscripts, especially the oldest, should be carefully edited by experts; and it is to be hoped that this will be done at no far distant date. There is also obvious need for reliable translations into English — certainly of those MS. versions which vary markedly from Geoffrey's *Historia*. Scholars in mediæval Welsh are not so plentiful as to make translations superfluous, and the interested general reader has no opportunity to estimate native British sources without them.

Just because the *Tysilio* text of the *Myvyrian Archaiology* was translated into English, and later into German, the whole controversy over the Welsh MSS. as representing some form of Geoffrey's *vetustissimus liber* has been confined to the discussion of this one *version*. The other two MSS. which have been printed in Welsh (though never translated), viz., the *Brut Gruffyd ab Arthur* (in the *Myvyrian*), and the Red Book (edited by Dr. J. G. Evans in 1890), have been identified with the *Tysilio*, as we have seen. Since, however, both textually and in content, they differ quite as much from each other as from the *Tysilio*, such identification suggests that they have never really been compared.

It must be obvious that translations, even when of the best, must be used with great caution, unless constantly compared with the originals, and especially is this true for scholars whose method of criticism is that of "verbal descent," or the verbal similarities or relation between a MS. and its possible sources. As an eminent and unappreciated Welsh scholar, Lewis Morris, wrote of this same problem as far back as 1760: "How despicable must that critic look in yr. eyes, who would dare to criticize upon

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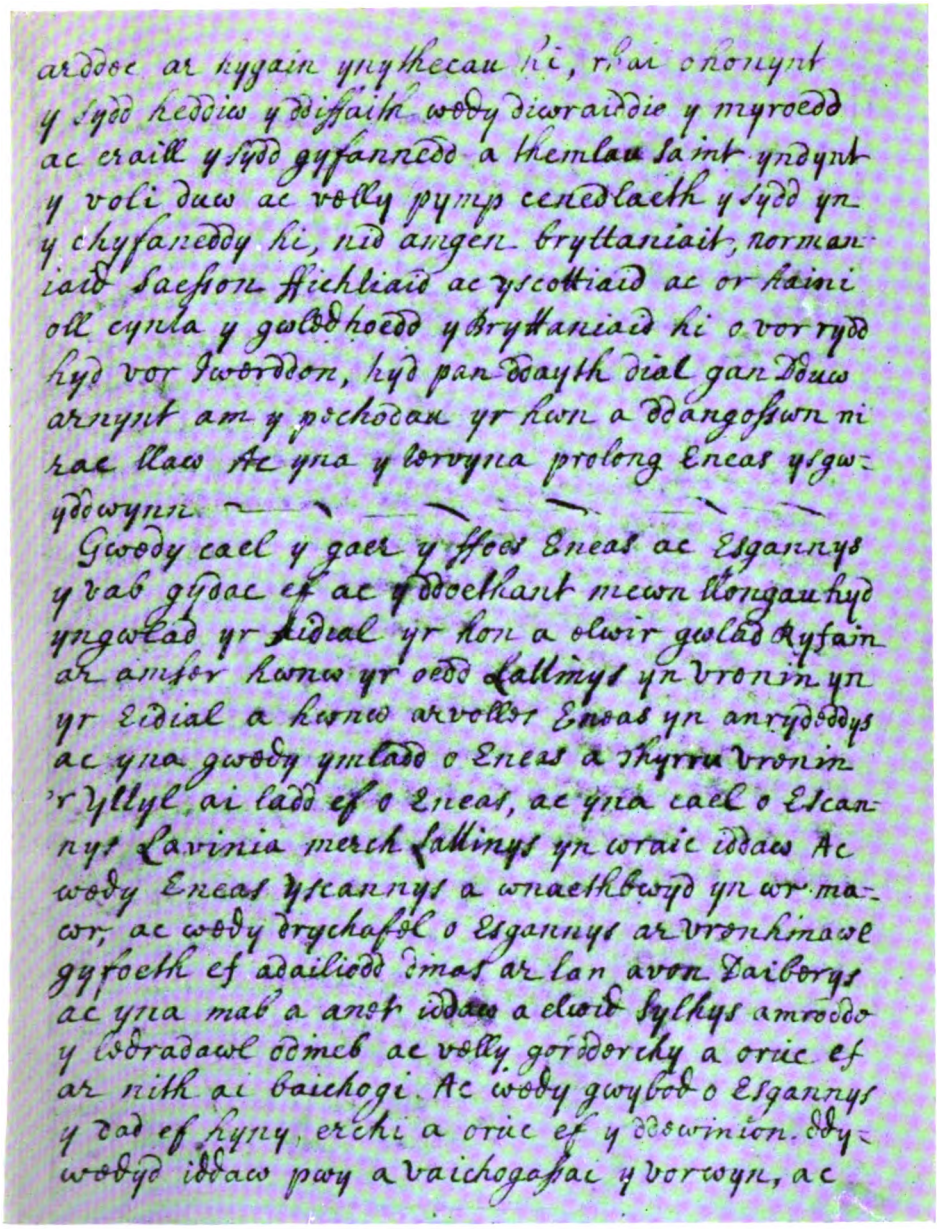

PLATE XV

Jesus College, Oxford, No. XXVIII
Page 45, actual size

Copy of Jesus LXI made by Hugh Jones, 1695
Called the "Tysilio" MS. Cf. Plate X

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Homer in Ogilby's translation";[1] and yet English and German critics have fallen into many errors by relying on the faulty translations of the *Tysilio;* so that by arguing in matters of verbal descent on the basis of these translations, they have unwittingly built upon sand.

In what has preceded I have tried to make clear first, that the printed text under the title of *Tysilio* in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* was taken, not from the Red Book MS. (c. 1380), as the Editors state, but from Jesus College, Oxford, MS. XXVIII, (see Plate XIV), dated 1695, which has no title or mention of the name *Tysilio;* and, second, that this latter MS. was an accurate, though somewhat modernized transcript of one two hundred years older, namely MS. Jesus LXI, which is on vellum, is time-worn and torn at the outer edges (see Plate X), and is to be dated as a MS. about 1500. Evidence, both internal and external, points unmistakably to this being, also, a copy of something preceding it. The colophon of this MS. — with Walter's statement — raises sharply the relation of this version to Geoffrey's *vetustissimus liber.* It is a problem which is not solved, and which requires much further investigation. I am myself in agreement with Professor Liebermann that this so called *Tysilio* version *as it stands* cannot be Geoffrey's source. Yet on the other hand, the Jesus LXI MS., dating from the XV century, shows every evidence, as we have said, of being itself a compilation, reduplicating statements, and containing a curious mixture of archaic with relatively modern forms. And in these older parts, it does not always agree with such differing XII–XIII century manuscripts and versions as the Dingestow Court, Peniarth 44, and Llanstephan I MSS. It seems to me entirely possible — though by no means established — that this MS., therefore, represents a reworking of an independent older version from which the colophon was taken bodily. This is further substantiated by the surviving fragment of the more ordinary colophon usually attached to the other Welsh MSS., such

[1] *Cambrian Register,* Vol. I, 1769, p. 347, letter of March 28, 1760, to his friend Edward Richards. The whole letter is interesting, and shows a comprehensive grasp of the main problem.

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as the Dingestow Court and Cotton, Cleopatra B. V. MSS., which appears immediately before our special colophon, and which breaks off in the middle of the opening sentence (cf. Plate XVI). The scribe or original compiler of Jesus LXI, therefore, almost certainly had before him two MSS., one containing an incomplete colophon of the more usual type (due perhaps to the last leaf of one of his MSS. being in part undecipherable, or even lacking) and our special colophon involving, not Geoffrey of Monmouth, but Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, Geoffrey's learned friend, who gave to Geoffrey the *vetustissimus liber*. This earlier, independent version, tracing its lineage back to Walter, might properly be called "Walter's Book." Such an hypothesis would imply that Walter himself made a translation into Latin of the book which Geoffrey elaborated, and that later Walter retranslated it (quite possibly with his own additions) into Welsh. Upon such an hypothesis — though the Jesus LXI MS. could not be considered Geoffrey's source — its colophon would have to be considered Walter's confirmation of Geoffrey's statements.

This earlier MS., the earliest known of this *version*, which also has no title or attribution to *Tysilio*, has been literally and scrupulously translated by Canon Jones, with the co-operation of Professor Parry and myself, and is placed below the Latin text of the *Historia* for easy comparison and contrast.

I selected this manuscript for study, and for renewed translation, for the following reasons: —

1) It was inaccurately translated, and misleadingly interpolated, in 1811. This faulty English rendering was translated into German in 1854. Controversialists and critics have worked with these translations, not with the Welsh originals. A study of the Welsh MSS. invalidates much of this criticism, and therefore a new and accurate translation is essential.
2) If another Welsh MS. had been used, earlier criticisms might have been outflanked, but they would not have been met. It seemed wiser, therefore, to meet the critics on their own ground. If the so-called *Tysilio* group can be shown to have independent value as Welsh source-material, the existence of other MSS. and versions,

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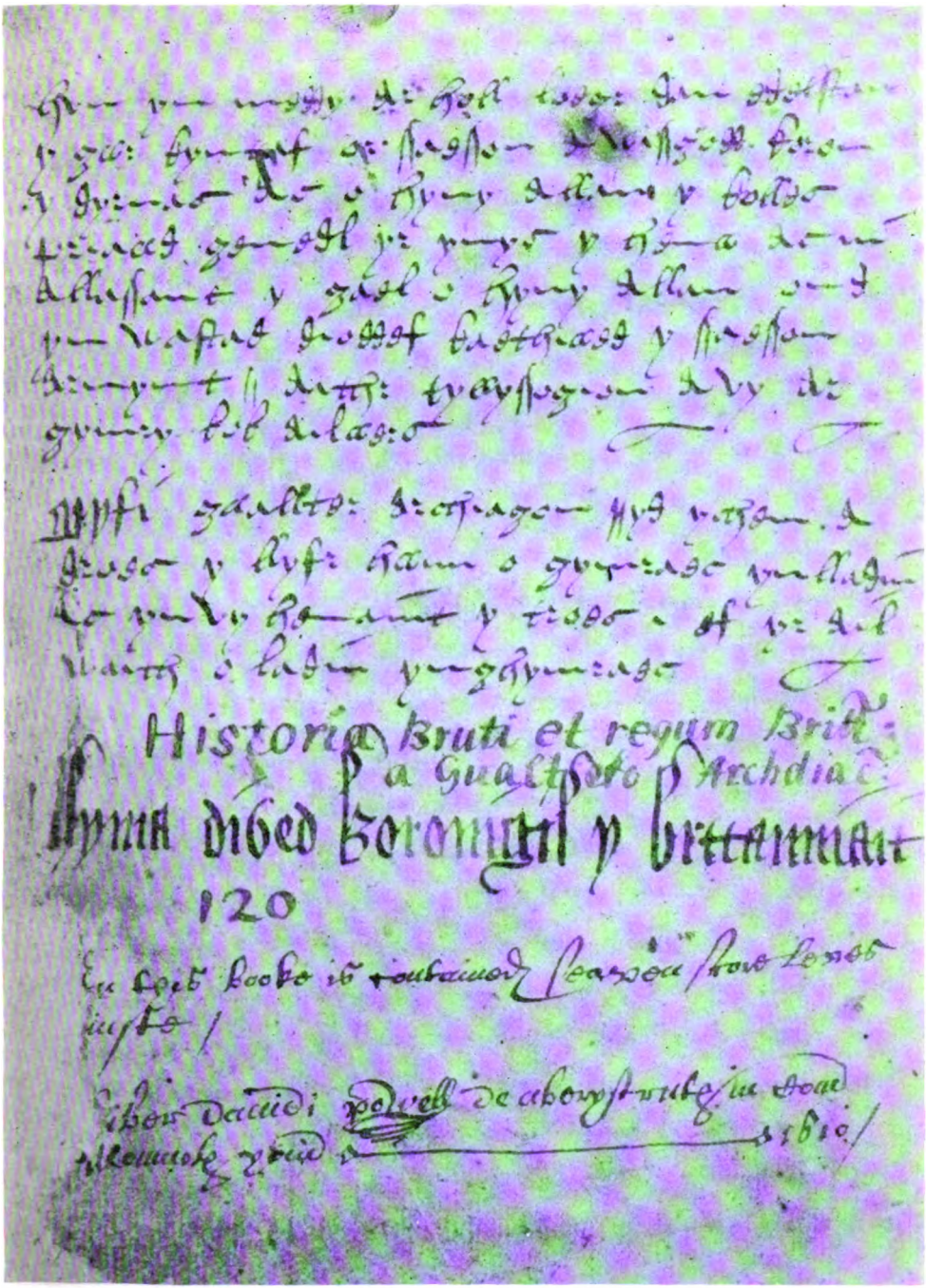

PLATE XVI

Jesus College, Oxford. No. LXI
Folio 135 Verso, actual size

Showing special colophon, and fragment of another colophon left incomplete

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even older and less corrupted, would only add strength and significance to the whole thesis.

3) The Jesus LXI MS. and its later MS. examples, have a colophon different from that of the *Historia* and from the other Welsh versions, such as the Dingestow Court MS., the Red Book MS., and the Cotton, Cleopatra B. V. MS., viz.: — "I, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, turned this book from Welsh into Latin, and in my old age I have turned it the second time from Latin into Welsh." This has been called a forgery, but no proof whatsoever, except the comparative lateness of the MS., has ever been brought forward to substantiate this criticism. The significance of this colophon is obvious; and since Walter's Book, as well as, apparently, Geoffrey's Welsh Book which Robert of Gloucester had translated, are referred to as distinctly separate books by a contemporary poet, Gaimar,[1] there seems no valid reason for ignoring it, or for refusing to estimate its value in the light of all other manuscript evidence. More-

[1] Ici voil del rei finer.
Ceste estorie fist translater
Dame Custance la gentil.
Gaimar i mist Marz e Averil
E tuz les dusze mais,
Ainz k'il oust translaté des reis.
Il purchaça maint esamplaire,
Liveres Engleis, e par gramaire,
E en Romanz e en Latin,
Ainz k'en pust traire à la fin.
Si sa dame ne li aidast,
Jà à nul jor ne l'achevast.
Ele enveiad à Helmeslac
Pur le livere Walter Espac.
Robert li quens de Gloucestre
Fist translater icele geste
Solum les liveres as Waleis,
K'il aveient, des Bretons reis.
Walter Espec la demandat;
Li quens Robert li enveiat;
Puis la prestat Walter Espec
A Raul le fiz Gilebert.
Dame Custance l'enpruntat
De son seignur, k'ele mult amat.
Geffrai Gaimar cel livere escrit,
Les translad an fès i mist,
Ke li Waleis ourent leissé;
K'il aveit ainz purchacé,
U fust à dreit u fust à tort,
Le bon livere de Oxeford,
Ke fust Walter l'arcediaen;
Si en amendat son livere bien.
Monu. Hist. Brit., pp. 828–9.

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over, even if the colophons of the other MSS. are held to be mere progressive degenerations of the original Latin by Geoffrey, the same cannot be said of this, which bears no relation or resemblance to that of Geoffrey, and is simplicity itself in the directness of its statements. Proof must be forthcoming that it is a forgery before rejecting it, and as yet no proof has been offered.[1]

4) The Jesus MS. — which might, therefore, from its colophon, represent "Walter's Book," however overlaid, has many names and passages not in the *Historia*, and these could not have been translated from Geoffrey's book.

5) The placing of this colophon side by side with that of Geoffrey, emphasizes the fact that if Geoffrey — a *Magister* at Oxford — deliberately lied with regard to the *vetustissimus liber* he claimed as his source, this lie was shared by Walter the Archdeacon; and we have to assume not merely a literary fiction of an imaginative writer, but a deliberate conspiracy of deceit. It would have been a simple matter for Geoffrey to have claimed — as the perpetrators of other literary frauds have claimed — to have "found" his old book in some library where no one could have ascertained the facts in order to have disputed his statement. Instead, he names publicly the man — and a well-known man — who gave it to him. This claim was not disputed for fifty years, Geoffrey himself received ecclesiastical preferment, and other contemporary historians and poets adopted and reworked Walter's and Geoffrey's material.[2] Unless these Welsh MSS. can be shown to be forgeries, we have here Walter's confirmation of Geoffrey's statement — further confirmed by the reference of a contemporary poet, Geoffrey Gaimar, who states that he used the Book which Walter "made."

In other words, because controversy has centered almost exclusively about the *Tysilio* group of MSS.; because the previous translations were unreliable; and also because the additions, omissions, and changes of the earliest MS. (viz., Jesus LXI) of this *Tysilio* group make it of importance and interest despite comparative lateness, it was thought best to provide a close and literal translation as a first step towards solving the problems

[1] Cf. the superficial and entirely inconclusive arguments of B. ten Brink, "Wace und Galfrid von Monmouth," *Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur*, Vol. IX, pp. 268–70, on this particular point; also below, p. 196.

[2] E.g., Alfred of Beverley, cf. p. 167 below, Henry of Huntingdon, Wace, Layamon, etc.

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raised by the Welsh MSS. as a whole. It cannot be urged too often that other MS. Chronicles should be both edited and translated, such as the Dingestow Court MS., Llanstephan I MS., Peniarth 44 MS., and others; and that all the Welsh MSS. should be carefully studied and compared.

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CHAPTER X

THE "VERBAL DESCENT" ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE *TYSILIO* TEXT

SEVERAL critical studies already mentioned discuss the relation of the translations of the *Tysilio* to the previously printed texts of the *Historia*. When the two latest of these come from scholars of the eminence of Professor R. W. Chambers and Professor F. Liebermann, anyone who disagrees with the conclusions reached must do so with a diffidence that only strong reasons can overcome. But when it becomes apparent that these conclusions have been drawn from a survey of a very narrow and limited section of the whole field to which they have been applied, and when, in the wider field, facts are found with which they are incompatible, it is clearly necessary that the question be reopened, and the arguments be examined anew.

To Professor Petrie's contention for a native account of Cæsar's invasion of Britain, Professor Chambers opposes an argument of verbal descent based upon a comparison of one or two similar sentences in Orosius, Bede, the *Nennius*, Geoffrey and the *Tysilio*, — ignoring all the other Welsh MSS. and all the essential differences of the varying accounts. One cannot thus argue from the *Tysilio* alone. The *Tysilio* (i.e., MS. Jesus LXI) is late in form, and shows that it is what its colophon states, a rendering *from Latin into Welsh*. That the Latin original was Geoffrey's *Historia* would be hard to prove. Walter's Latin version is not now known, though it may be possible either to find, or to reconstruct it, when all the Welsh versions are compared. But unless some common source for all these Welsh versions be found and identified, we cannot safely extend to the whole body of the chronicles conclusions which are drawn from a study of only one. This need for caution applies even more to Professor Liebermann's searching

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analysis.[1] I am in agreement with many of the points that he has made, and especially, as I have said, that the *Tysilio* is *not* — as has unfortunately been claimed — the *vetustissimus liber* which Geoffrey says he translated; but Professor Liebermann not only confuses the Red Book and the *Tysilio* versions, but has apparently never examined and has certainly not written upon, a single Welsh MS., while he cites Charles Gross,[2] Tedder[3] and Heeger[4] as authorities, and uses throughout San-Marte's German rendering of Peter Roberts's English translation, without reference to the manuscripts. He taxes Professor Petrie with ignoring "Historiker des Altertums, klassische Philologen, Sagenforscher und Keltisten"; but his own judgments upon early British historical legends are here based upon a German translation at two removes from the original Welsh MSS., and ignore not only the MS. sources themselves, but the published (though inadequate) descriptions of these sources. We are therefore compelled to recognize that no brilliance of argument can make his conclusions broader or more trustworthy than the premises from which they are drawn.

How far scholars have been misled by the translations of Peter Roberts and San-Marte has not been realized. It will be well to review this in at least one instance, to demonstrate the need for the accompanying re-translation of the same Welsh original, made this time, however, from the earliest MS., and

[1] "Die angebliche Entdeckung einer brythonischen Geschichte aus Römerzeit; Galfrid von Monmouth und Tysylio": *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Neuen Serie, Band 44, 1922, pp. 30–36.

[2] *Sources and Literature of English History*, 1900, pp. 188–89. Gross states that the "Welsh translation of the Historia Regum" was "made in the first half of the fourteenth century" — ignoring all the MS. catalogues and even the early XIII century MSS., listed in the very volume by Dr. Evans which he cites; and he says, further, that the *Historia*, "completed in 1147, consists largely of fabulous matter; it is 'an elaborate tissue of Celtic myths, legends, and traditions, scraps of classical and Scriptural learning, and fantastic inventions of the author's own fertile brain, all dexterously thrown into a pseudo-historical shape'" — citing Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, II, 445.

[3] *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, Art. "Geoffrey of Monmouth"; cf. above p. 121.

[4] *Über die Trojanersage der Britten*, München, 1886, esp. pp. 79–81. Heeger's arguments are by no means final, and are largely extensions of ten Brink's method of criticism (analyzed in detail below) so far as the *Tysilio* is concerned.

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partly to indicate that previous critics cannot always be followed.

In 1801 an anthology of Welsh prose works and poetry was published under the title *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, in three volumes, frequently cited in the foregoing pages. In the second volume (pp. 83–390), two of our Welsh chronicles were printed, under the titles *Brut Tysilio* and *Brut Gruffyd ab Arthur*[1] one above the other for easy comparison, together with variant readings from two more Welsh manuscripts in the notes at the foot of the page. The Preface and introductory remarks contain certain mis-statements about the manuscripts used; and though clearly printed, there are many misleading variations in spelling, etc. when comparison is made with the original manuscripts. In 1811, the Rev. Peter Roberts, a patriotic Welshman, translated one of the above Chronicles, that called the *Brut Tysilio*, into English. As Roberts, from his study of several Welsh manuscript Chronicles, was convinced that Geoffrey did translate from a native original, he unfortunately conceived the idea of making his translation of the *Tysilio* conform as closely as possible to the meaning or wording of Geoffrey's printed Latin text, and claimed in effect that the *Tysilio* was the *vetustissimus liber*. Where the *Tysilio* departed from, or was briefer than Geoffrey, he frequently supplied the necessary omissions from other manuscript Chronicles. Needless to say, it was not difficult for Roberts, by adopting this thoroughly uncritical method, to keep his parallel exceedingly close. Roberts had, however, no intention of wilfully misleading, and he therefore marked his collations with notes, or set them off between inverted commas. Unfortunately, once more, many typographical errors make it impossible in certain important passages to disentangle the interpolations from the actual *Tysilio* text, without reference back to the Welsh original.

Further to confuse the unsuspecting reader, in 1862 Manly Pope re-issued Roberts's translation, suppressing all the collation marks, but retaining the interpolations; and he added captions

[1] The Chronicle of Geoffrey, son of Arthur — Geoffrey of Monmouth's Welsh name.

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from another manuscript, re-arranged certain paragraphs, suppressed whole sentences of the *Tysilio* text, added dates from still another manuscript — obviously the Cotton, Cleopatra, B. V. — and gave no clue in any place that he had made changes or additions. The result is that his edition is thoroughly misleading where Roberts is only confusing. Unfortunately, Professor Petrie's arguments are based on the text of this edition of Manly Pope, which is necessarily unreliable as a basis for any sound scholarly argument. Furthermore, the arguments of Zarncke, ten Brink, and Professor Liebermann in matters of "verbal descent" of the Welsh are in their turn based in each case, and admittedly, upon the German translation by San-Marte of Peter Roberts's English rendering, and not upon the printed Welsh text, let alone the original manuscript. The first point to note, therefore, is that Zarncke's and ten Brink's arguments, as also certain of those of Professor Liebermann, are two steps removed from the Welsh text.

The second point to note is that all these proofs, if accepted as valid, affect only one Welsh Chronicle version known as the *Tysilio*, and such other manuscript Chronicles as are identical with it in the passages considered. Other Welsh Chronicles which differ from the *Tysilio* are obviously not affected by these "verbal descent" arguments.

Out of fifty-eight Welsh manuscript Chronicles known to the writer, only seven agree, with any approach to verbal similarity, with the *Tysilio* version. Of the others, though some are unquestionably free translations of the *Historia* into Welsh (cf. Appendix II), several are to be assigned to other "versions" or "editions" of the Welsh, as already outlined; and as a result, certain of the most telling "verbal descent" criticisms of Zarncke, ten Brink, and also of Professor Chambers and Professor Liebermann, do not apply to these other manuscripts.

Let us now analyze, as briefly as may be, the arguments, and see what force these retain when we turn from the printed texts to the manuscripts. Zarncke's argument can, indeed, be stated

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very briefly. Comparing the opening historical passage in the *Historia* (Sec. 3) with the closely corresponding passages in *Nennius*,[1] and in the *Tysilio* German text, he pointed out that a number of phrases in the Latin of this paragraph are so nearly, when not exactly, identical in the *Historia* and *Nennius* as to make it highly probable that one is a copy of the other — and that since *Nennius* preceded Geoffrey by centuries, Geoffrey must therefore have drawn from *Nennius*, and not from the *Tysilio*. He also illustrated with two other sentences occurring later in the *Historia*, which are said to be derived from Bede. The argument appears very convincing when we use for the basis of comparison the printed texts, Latin and German, which Zarncke (and after him ten Brink also) employed: but it loses its force when we consider how these texts were prepared. For when we turn to the MSS. themselves, the phraseology of both Latin and Welsh is so different that — as I shall presently show — the argument of verbal identity, or "verbal descent," no longer has any support. Ten Brink extended the argument of Zarncke, so the two can be dealt with together to advantage. Let us begin with an examination of the passage in the German rendering, and then turn to the Latin MSS. of *Nennius* and the *Historia*.

Zarncke and ten Brink both used, as said, the German translation by San-Marte of Roberts's English translation (with interpolations) of the printed *Tysilio* text. Roberts's English rendering (distinctly Johnsonian in diction) does not follow *exactly* the Welsh manuscript original (Jesus College, Oxford, No. XXVIII), and typographical peculiarities, due to his method of making interpolations, still further misled San-Marte. For example, the opening sentence of the passage under discussion in Roberts reads:

[1] I use the title *Nennius* to describe the compilation attributed to the obscure writer of that name, undoubtedly a Welshman, whose work has for long been a field of controversy. As the usual title, *Historia Britonum*, has also been applied to Geoffrey's work (e.g., by Giles), and appears in MSS. of the latter, it seemed better to use the title *Nennius* to avoid confusion. I italicize it, as representing a compilation of different writers, rather than the work of one man.

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Eneas Whiteshield. After that the city (of Troy) had been taken, Eneas and Ascanius his son, fled by sea to Italy, (the Roman territory), where Latinus, at that time king of Italy, received them with honour.

San-Marte, confused by the parentheses, writes:

Eneas Weissschild. Nachdem die Stadt genommen war, flohen Eneas und sein Sohn Ascanius zur See nach Italien, wo Latinus, zur selbigen Zeit König von Italien, ihn ehrenvoll aufnahm.

Note that the phrase which is in the Welsh "the Roman territory," because bracketed, has been omitted by San-Marte. Now a strictly literal rendering of the Welsh, taken direct from the earliest manuscript, reads as follows — the variations from San-Marte being placed in italics:

After the town [*was taken*], Eneas fled and Essgannys his son *with him*, and they *came in ships* to *the land of* Italy, *which is called the land of Rome*. And at that time Lattinys was king in the Italy, and he received *Eneas* with honour.

In the Welsh the opening words Eneas Whiteshield (*Eneas Yssgwyddwyn*) of MS. Jesus LXI, the oldest of the *Tysilio* group, belong to the preceding paragraph, *The Description of Britain*, the last sentence of which reads: "And here endeth the prologue of Eneas Yssgwyddwyn." The last two words, perhaps written large by some scribe, as concluding words often were, were taken as a sort of heading, and became attached, as in the *Myvyrian* text and in Roberts, to the succeeding paragraph. Next, the Welsh says that Eneas and Ascanius "came in ships" to Italy, adding, "now called the land of Rome." Neither of these two statements is in San-Marte, in the latter case because he misunderstood Roberts's parentheses, which often distinguished interpolations from other MSS., but sometimes also parenthetical elucidations in the MSS. themselves, or even his own editorial comments — it being impossible to tell which without reference to the Welsh. Roberts also says that Latinus "received *them* with honour," i.e., Eneas and Ascanius; but the Welsh says speci-

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fically "Eneas," omitting Ascanius. San-Marte naturally follows Roberts, viz., "ihn."

Now if we compare this one sentence with Geoffrey's *Historia*, we note with interest certain points of agreement and difference (cf. p. 223 of text below).

Eneas post troianum bellum excidium urbis cum ascanio filio suo diffugiens. italiam nauigio adiuit. Ibi cum a latino rege honorifice receptus esset . . . etc.

We note that Troy is not mentioned in the Welsh, the whole phrase being briefer, and that the phrase "now called the land of Rome" does not appear in Geoffrey. Furthermore, "*zur See* nach Italien," following Roberts's "by sea to Italy," is not correct, as both the Welsh and Geoffrey have "in ships," — *nauigio*. Arguments of verbal descent based on San-Marte's German text as representing the Welsh would therefore not seem to carry much weight.

Moreover, let us push the matter still further. This whole passage in Geoffrey is supposed to be taken from *Nennius;* and the critics used San-Marte's printed text of *Nennius*, published in 1844, and taken bodily by him (with acknowledgment) from the previously published text of Stevenson, in 1838. Now it is obvious that Geoffrey, who issued his *Historia* in April, 1136, did not have printed texts to give him all the necessary variant readings from numerous manuscripts to arrive at a "pure" text. He had, *probably*, only one manuscript of *Nennius* to work with. That manuscript obviously could not have been any of the manuscripts we now know that are to be dated by their handwritings as after 1136, when Geoffrey wrote. Where Stevenson and San-Marte *corrected* the earliest manuscript readings, supposed by them to be corrupt or inaccurate, with words or names from late twelfth or thirteenth, or even fourteenth century manuscripts, we must be very cautious before we accept these corrected readings as possible sources for Geoffrey. This whole passage affords an excellent illustration of the danger of using printed

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texts, so we shall place the Latin of *Nennius*, as given in the earliest group of manuscripts, without collations, in parallel columns with Geoffrey's text, to see just what verbal similarities there are, and just how much Geoffrey could have taken from *Nennius*. But first a brief word about the *Nennius* manuscripts is necessary.

The earliest, the Chartres MS. No. 98 — said by Mommsen [1] to be IX–X century, does not contain this paragraph, so it does not affect us. The Vatican MS. Reginæ 1964, of the XI century, is of obvious importance as the earliest witness to the existence of this paragraph before Geoffrey, though the manuscript is clearly corrupt and "in parts unintelligible." A daughter manuscript of the XII century now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, with the number 6274, 1 (11,108 in Mommsen) follows it exactly in this paragraph. The other manuscript of primary importance is in the British Museum, Harleian MS. 3859, said by some to be also of the eleventh century, but Sir E. Maunde Thompson and Mr. Gilson of the British Museum both date the handwriting "in the first part of the XIIth century." This Harleian MS. is followed closely by MS. Cotton, Vespasian D XXI, XII century, which also agrees verbally in other places with the earliest Chartres manuscript. If we accept the division into three types or classes of MSS., first proposed by Schoell,[2] and lately endorsed by Professor Liebermann,[3] we shall accept the Harleian MS. and the Vatican MS. as "types" of two classes or editions respectively of the *Historia Britonum*. Either one of them (possibly, of course, both) might have been known to Geoffrey. The third class, with a type manuscript in the Cambridge Public Library, Ff, I, 27.2, third quarter of the XII century, and therefore later than Geoffrey, is "not only marked by many errors but by quite patent

[1] *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, Auc. Antiq.* XIII, Pars I; *Chronica Minora* ed. Theodorus Mommsen, Vol. III, Fasc. i; Berlin, 1894. *Historia Britonum Cum Additamentis Nennii;* cf. p. 112 for the list of MSS. with dates.

[2] *De Ecclesiasticæ Britonum Scotorumque Historiæ Fontibus;* Berlin, 1851; pp. 29–37.

[3] "Nennius the Author of the *Historia Brittonum*" in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, Manchester, 1925; pp. 25–44, esp. p. 33.

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interpolations and additions,"[1] so that it and its lineal descendants follow after Geoffrey, and may even have interpolated names, etc., from Geoffrey.[2] Leaving out, therefore, this manuscript and its group of successors, all later than Geoffrey, and which may well have borrowed from him, we are left with the two above-mentioned earliest manuscripts which were certainly written before Geoffrey, and which are, with equal certainty, of primary importance in establishing any text of *Nennius*. We now place these, phrase by phrase, in parallel columns on either side of Geoffrey's text, so that any borrowing of ideas or phrases may be manifest at a glance.

Nennius Harleian 3859	*Hist. Reg. Brit.* Un. Li. Cambr. 1706	*Nennius* Vatican Reginae 1964
Aeneas post Troianum bellum	Eneas post troianum bellum excidium urbis	Æneas igitur post traianum bellum
cum Ascanio filio suo	cum ascanio filio suo diffugiens.	cum ascano filio suo
venit ad Italiam	italiam nauigio adiuit. Ibi cum a latino rege honorifice receptus esset inuidit turnus rex rutilorum & cum illo congressus est. Dimicantibus ergo illis preualuit eneas	venit ad Italiam
et superato Turno	peremtoque turno regnum italie	et superato Turno
accepit Laviniam filiam Latini filii	& lauiniam filiam latini	labinam filiam latini regis italiae
Fauni, filii Pici, filii Saturni in coniugium	adeptus est.	in coniugium. filii fauni. filii pici. filii saturni.
	Denique suprema die ipsius superueniente. ascanius regia potestate sullimatus.	
Aeneas autem Albam condidit	condidit albam super tyberim.	Ascanius autem albam condidit
et postea uxorem duxit		et postea uxorem duxit
et peperit ei filium nomine Silvium	genuitque filium cuius nomen erat siluius	et peperit labina Aeneae filium nomine silvium.
	Hic furtiue ueneri indulgens.	
Silvius autem duxit uxorem	nupsit cuidam nepti lauinie.	ascanius autem duxit uxorem
et gravida fuit	eamque fecit pregnantem.	quae concipiens grauida facta est

[1] "Nennius and the 'Historia Britonum,'" in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, April, 1917, by Sir Henry Howorth, p. 104. Cf. the subsequent papers in the two succeeding issues: October, 1917, and April–October, 1918.

[2] Cf. the suggestion of Sir Henry Howorth, *op. cit.*, p. 107, that "The reference to Rowena in the Capitula seems almost certainly derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth, who alone, so far as we know, mentions her." Also, Liebermann, *loc. cit.*, p. 31, n. 75.

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et nuntiatum est Aeneae
quod nurus sua gravida esset

et misit ad Ascanium filium
suum, ut mitteret magum
suum ad considerandum
uxorem, ut exploraret quid
haberet in utero, si masculum vel feminam.

et magus consideravit uxorem et reversus est.

propter hanc vaticinationem magus occisus est ab Ascanio,
(A)
quia dixit Ascanio, quod masculum haberet in utero mulier et filius mortis erit
quia occidet patrem suum
et matrem suam

et erit exosus omnibus hominibus.
sic evenit:

in nativitate illius mulier
mortua est
et nutritus est filius

et vocatum est nomen eius
Bruto.
Post multum intervallum

iuxta vaticinationem magi,
dum ipse ludebat cum aliis,

ictu sagittae occidit patrem
suum non de industria, sed
casu.

Cumque id ascanio patri
compertum esset.

precepit magis suis explorare quem sexum puella
concepisset.

Certitudine ergo rei comperta

(A)
dixerunt magi ipsam grauidam esse puero

qui patrem & matrem interficeret.
Pluribus quoque terris in exilium peragratis
ad summum tandem culmen
honoris perueniret.

Nec fefellit eos uaticinium
suum. Nam ut dies partus
accessit. edidit mulier
puerum
& in natiuitate eius mortua
est.
Traditur autem puer ille
obstetrici,
& uocatur brutus.

Postremo cum ter quini anni
emensi essent.

comitabatur iuuenis patrem
in uenando,
ipsumque inopino ictu sagite interfecit.

Nam dum famuli ceruos in
occursum eorum ducerent
brutus telum in ipsos dirigere affectans. genitorem
sub pectore percussit.

et nuntiatum est Aeneae
quod nurus sua grauida erat
pregnans.
et misit ad ascanium filium
suum, ut mitteret magum
suum ad considerandum
uxorem suam, ut exploraret quid haberet in utero
masculum vel feminam.

Et uenit magus.
consideravit uxorem.

et dixit ascanio Aeneae filio
quod masculum haberet in
utero mulier;
propter hanc vaticinationem magus occisus est ab
ascanio

sic evenit.

in nativitate illius mulier
(*or* mater) mortua est.
et nutritus est filius.

uocatumque est nomen eius
bruto (*or* britto).
Post multum vero intervallum
iuxta vaticinationem magi
dum ipse luderet cum
pueris.

expulsus est ab italia, etc.

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A careful comparison of these columns brings certain facts into high relief. There are three, or at most four, phrases which are identical in the *Nennius* and in the *Historia* — i.e., the opening one, "*Eneas post Troianum bellum . . . cum Ascanio filio suo*," and, towards the end, "*ictu sagittæ.*" These, together with the general similarity of the passages viewed as a whole, certainly may be taken to prove that Geoffrey not only knew of, but had at hand, a manuscript of *Nennius*, from which he copied as he chose. But comparison also brings out clearly that there is nearly twice as much detail and incident in the *Historia* account. This new material, therefore, was most certainly not derived from *Nennius*. It may have been taken from the native source Geoffrey claimed that he had, or it may have been compiled in part from classical writers — a phrase here, a name there, — or Geoffrey may have "invented" it.

But certain facts stand out. The phrase *post Troianum bellum*, which we find in *Nennius* and Geoffrey, is not in the *Tysilio*. The phrase *ictu sagittæ*, which we also find in *Nennius* and Geoffrey, is again not in the *Tysilio*, as it stands in Geoffrey. Therefore, exactly the phrases which are *verbatim* in Geoffrey and *Nennius*, are not in the Welsh. It is important to observe, also, that though Geoffrey uses the phrase *Æneas post Troianum bellum* of the *Nennius*, he immediately adds, what is not in any MS. of the *Nennius*, but which is exactly the idea of the Welsh, *excidium urbis* — as if he were combining the two accounts in order to elucidate the rather incomplete Welsh. If the Welsh had been translating either Geoffrey or the *Nennius* it is hardly likely that the key word, the name of Troy, would have been taken for granted, and omitted. This omission probably arose from the original Welsh compiler taking the passage out of its context from *his* source, where the subject had been clearly indicated or understood. Geoffrey supplied the omission from *Nennius*, using the opening phrase.[1]

There are thirteen phrases where the thought is much the same

[1] *excidium urbis* is, of course, a phrase occurring in both Virgil and Livy, and Geoffrey may have combined *Nennius's* phrase with one made thoroughly familiar by classical reading. The Welsh is certainly not dependent on the *Historia* here.

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in both *Nennius* and Geoffrey, but the wording in every single case is so different — e.g., *venit ad Italiam* for *italiam nauigio adiuit*, or *superato Turno* for *peremtoque turno*, or *genuitque filius cuius nomen erat siluius* for *et peperit ei filium nomine Silvium*, or *Cumque id ascanio patri compertum esset* for *nuntiatum est Aeneae*, etc., — as either to suggest a careful avoidance, by rewording, of the appearance of copying, or — exactly what Geoffrey claims — the translation from another language of a paragraph that dealt with the same ideas and tradition. Far from the wording being close, as stated by Zarncke and ten Brink, a careful comparison seems to show that the sentences are in wording strikingly dissimilar. This at least raises the question as to whether *Nennius* and the original Welsh account may not have had a common source or tradition, which Geoffrey translated quite independently into his own Latin phrases, using *Nennius* at the same time to fill out his original. Where he did the latter, verbal identity occurs.

However, Geoffrey differs radically from *Nennius* in several statements; and in some of these — notably that Silvius indulged *furtiue ueneri;* that he seduced a niece of Lavinia; that part of the soothsayer's prophecy was that Brutus "should wander for long in exile over many lands"; and that Brutus was "fifteen" when he accidentally shot his father, are not only not in any manuscript of *Nennius*, early or late, but are not in Livy or Virgil, or Eusebius-Jerome, or the *Commentaries* [1] of Servius Grammaticus on Virgil, or any of the sources from which Geoffrey might have drawn, now known to us. Either, therefore, Geoffrey "invented" them, embroidering the story of Eusebius (as translated by Jerome) said by Mommsen to be *Nennius's* source, together with the latter's use of it, or he had another, a native, written account which he translated as he declares.

Now very much is assumed by those who put forward the theory of invention, so freely applied to Geoffrey by the writers cited above in Chapter VII, assumptions which perhaps have not

[1] *Servii Grammatici qui Feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii* recensuerunt Georgius Thilo et Hermannus Hagen, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1884; esp. Vol. II, pp. 107–108. Cf. Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 238 ff.

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been fully faced. Geoffrey, a "magister" at Oxford, a priest seeking preferment, under the patronage of the two leading nobles of the realm, and also of the King himself, whose reputation was never, to my knowledge, attacked by his contemporaries, whose history was accepted, and who, some sixteen years after the publication of the *Historia*, actually obtained preferment,[1] sat down, we are to suppose, with a manuscript of *Nennius* before him, but with *nothing more*, for this passage, bent upon foisting an historical hoax upon all these patrons, and deliberately deceiving scholars and laymen alike. We are to suppose that he caught the drift of the paragraph in *Nennius*, quoted above, together with the two following sentences, and taking the geographical place-names from another context in *Nennius*, and some literary ideas from Virgil, he altered freely and "expanded" this scanty material into *more than twenty manuscript pages of writing* (29 printed pages; cf. below, pp. 223 ff.), giving us a complete historical legend, which afterwards was accepted all over England and the Continent. In other words, though he did select two or three phrases from *Nennius*, copying them verbatim, he reconstructed a whole, elaborate story, adding prophetic verses, geographical details, gigantic aboriginal inhabitants and what-not, solely from his own imagination. Moreover, though giving himself free rein in this way, he nevertheless failed to be consistent in his own story; and though so largely dependent upon imagination, became confused and fell into errors in the use of names and family relationships. Confusions of this sort are quite as likely to arise from careless copying or misunderstanding of a source, as original creation. Yet we are asked to credit Geoffrey on the one hand with brilliant — we may say almost unrivalled — imaginative gifts, and on the other, with inconsistency even in his own imaginings. A man forging *history* imaginatively would certainly make every effort to appear consistent and plausible.

[1] He was made Bishop of St. Asaph in 1152. William of Newburg wrote the first attack against Geoffrey more than fifty years after the *Historia* was written, yet he is sometimes cited as if he were a contemporary. After so many centuries, forty or fifty years have lost their true perspective.

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Furthermore, when we turn to the Welsh MSS. we find in them this same material now under discussion, but there also it is confused, there also it is differently worded, when compared either with *Nennius* or with the *Historia*, introducing names and statements not in either *Nennius* or the *Historia;* and we are asked to believe that no written source of this material survived to Geoffrey's time, though we have proof that it was handed down in Irish, since the Irish *Nennius* states of just these Aeneas and Brutus pedigrees that: "It was in this way that our noble elder Cuanach deduced the pedigree of the Britons from the chronicles of the Romans." [1] Moreover, certain definite statements receive striking and entirely independent corroboration from archæological discoveries utterly unknown either to the compilers, early and late, of the *Nennius*, or to Geoffrey.[2] If Geoffrey had been so daring a fabulist as he has been called, why did a recognized and esteemed *confrère* of Oxford, Geoffrey's own home, also an ecclesiastic and also an historian, Henry of Huntingdon, copy out this same material to send to his British friend Warinus? Why did another historian, Alfred of Beverley, writing "soon after 1143," incorporate it also in another history, referring specifically and repeatedly to a British source? [3] Why did Geoffrey Gaimar, the famous Norman-French poet, translate "les liveres as Waleis" (c. 1150), covering this same material, from a book which Robert

[1] *Leabhar Breathnach Annso Sis, The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius*, tr. and ed. by G. H. Todd & A. Herbert, Dublin, 1848, p. 37. This was not originally translated from Latin into Scotic, but rather reworked from an already existing Irish original by one "Giollo Caoimhghin" who died about 1072. Cuanach, genitive for Cuana, of Fermoy, the authority quoted, died, according to the *Chronicon Scotorum*, in 640. The *Annals of Ulster* quote his chronicle, the *Liber Cuanach*, frequently, e.g., "sic in libro Cuanach inveni" under A.D. 467, 468, 471, 475, 600, 602 and 628; or, "ut Cuana scripsit," A.D. 482, 489; or "secondum librum Cuanach," A.D. 543, or "ut Cuana docet," A.D. 598; or "sic est in libro Cuanach," A.D. 610. Here we have evidence of an early Irish writer compiling and writing this Aeneas-Brutus story in the seventh century.

[2] Cf. *The Phœnician Origin of Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons*, by L. A. Waddell; London, Williams & Norgate, 1924; especially Chapter XIII, and Appendices IV and V; and Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Neglected British History*, reprint from Vol. VIII, *Proc. Brit. Academy*, 1917, p. 8–9. It is impossible in the compass of this volume to discuss in detail all this accumulating evidence.

[3] *Aluredi Beverlacensis Annales sive Historia de Gestis Regum Britanniæ*, Oxford, 1716: "*ut in Britannico legitur*," or, five times, "*Haec secundum Britannicum*," as contrasted with "*Haec Beda*," *etc.* Cf. pp. 8, 26, 51, 55 and 74, with 2, etc.

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of Gloucester *had had translated*, and which Walter Espac gave him? Why did Gaimar, in the same passage where he tells of this source, refer also to another book, "le bon livre de Oxeford, Ki fust Walter l'arcediaen?" Here are three contemporary writers of distinction, also under high patronage, accepting Geoffrey's native records and Geoffrey's *Historia*, together with other written material on the same subject, without the shadow of a reflection upon either Geoffrey's honour as a man, or (according to the imperfect standards of his day), as an historian. Nowadays, where facts or statements appear which are not in Gildas or Bede or *Nennius*, or the known Roman historians, Geoffrey is too often stigmatized as an imaginative forger, his statement of a source discredited, and any evidence that he did copy, or compile, from *Nennius* and Bede held to prove that he could not have had another native source.

Let us now turn to our Welsh account for the above passage in MS. Jesus LXI. This I shall also place in parallel columns with the *Historia* text, italicizing the phrases in Geoffrey that differ from the *Nennius*, and putting in capitals the variations between the Latin and Welsh whenever they occur in either column. The relation between them may then be more easily examined.

The *Historia Regum Britanniæ*	Jesus College MS. LXI, fol. 32^{reo}
Eneas POST TROJANUM BELLUM	After the [city's fall, understood] Eneas fled and Essgannys his son
excidium urbis	with him
cum ascanio filio suo *diffugiens*	and they came in ships to the land
italiam *nauigio* adiuit	of Eidial [Italy]
	THE WHICH IS CALLED THE LAND OF RRYFAIN [Rome]
	AND AT THAT TIME LATTINYS WAS KING IN THE EIDIAL
Ibi cum a latino rege honorifice receptus esset	and HE received Eneas with honour.
INUIDIT turnus rex rutilorum & cum illo congressus est.	Then after Eneas had fought with tyrrv, king of Yttyl,

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DIMICANTIBUS ERGO ILLIS PREVALUIT ENEAS
peremtoque turno
REGUM ITALIE ET
lauiniam filiam latini
adeptus est

and he was killed by Eneas,

ESSGANNYS GOT TO WIFE
Lauinia, daughter to Lattinys.

Denique suprema die ipsius superuenientc.

And after Eneas,

YSSGANNYS BECAME A GREAT MAN,

ascanis regia potestate sullimatus.
condidit ALBAM *super tyberim*

and when Essgannys was elevated to kingly state,
he built A CITY on the shores of the River Taiberys [Tiber]

genuitque filium cuius nomen erat siluius
Hic furtiue ueneri indulgens

And there a son was born to him named ssylhys,
who gave himself to secret fornication

nupsit cuidam nepti LAUINIE.
eamque fecit pregnantem

and seduced a niece,
and got her with child.

Cumque id ascanio patri compertum esset.
precepit magis suis explorare
QUEM SEXUM PUELLA CONCEPISSET

And when Essgannys his father learned this
he ordered THE divinerS to tell him WHOM [or BY WHOM] THE MAID HAD CONCEIVED AND AFTER THEY HAD DIVINED AND

certitudine ergo rei comperta
dixerunt magi ipsam gravidam esse puero
qui patrem et matrem *interficeret,*

had gained a certitude on this point,
THEY said that the maid was with child of a son,
who would kill his mother and his father,

Pluribus quoque terris in exilium peragratis
ad summum tandem culmen honoris peruenirent

and after it happened to him to wander through many lands,
would rise to great honour.

Nec fefellit eos uaticinium suum.

Nor did THE DIVINERS deceive them.

Nam ut dies partus accessit.

And so when the maid's time to give birth was come

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EDIDIT MULIER PUERUM & in natiuitate eius mortua est	she died in childbed. AND THUS HE SLEW HIS MOTHER
Traditur autim puer ille obstetrici. (A)	The boy was named bryttys and was put out to fosterage.
& uocatur brutus *Postremo cum ter quini anni emensi essent.* *comitabatur iuuenis patrem in uenando.*	And when he had been brought to the age of fifteen years, one day he was following his father in hunting,
IPSUMQUE INOPINO ictu sagite *INTERFECIT* *Nam dum famili ceruos in occursum eorum ducerent brutus telum in ipsos dirigere affectans.*	While doing so behold a great stag passed by, Bryttys bent his bow, and shot at the stag, and with that shot he struck his father with an arrow under the top of his breast
genitorem sub pectore percussit.	and he died. AND THUS HE SLEW HIS FATHER ALSO.

A glance will show that the italicized passages in Geoffrey, which mark his departures from *Nennius*, greatly preponderate, as said, over the few phrases which are closely similar. And it is also strikingly clear that just where Geoffrey departs from *Nennius*, he in most cases coincides exactly with the *Tysilio*.

There are, however, certain marked differences between Geoffrey and the Welsh (placed in capitals), and these differences need to be explained. At first sight they seem to preclude direct copying of one from the other, and this is what I believe; but another theory worked out by ten Brink has long held the field. It is that these differences between the *Tysilio* and Geoffrey were due to errors or misunderstandings of Geoffrey's Latin text by the Welsh scribe or translator of the *Tysilio*. The argument, because of its importance, must be examined in detail. It is in brief as follows.

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Nennius distinctly states that Aeneas married Lavinia — *accepit Laviniam in coniugium*, which follows all the sources, Virgil, Livy, Eusebius-Jerome, etc. Geoffrey, however, is not so precise, saying merely *peremtoque turno regnum italie et lauiniam filiam latini adeptus est.* The *Tysilio* text states quite as definitely that "*Ascanius* got to wife Lauinia, daughter to Lattinys." Zarncke was inclined to pass this over as a scribal slip; but ten Brink pointed to a later passage in both Geoffrey and the *Tysilio* where this difference of statement takes on an additional significance. Incidentally, at this point ten Brink dismisses *Nennius* from his consideration as irrelevant,[1] — which was undoubtedly an error, as we shall see.

At the close of the Brutus story (the end of Bk. I, cap. xviii; cf. p. 252 below for the printed texts), Geoffrey recapitulates, giving some additional and comparative historical detail. He writes:

Regnabat tunc in iudea heli sacerdos. & archa testamenti capta erat a phylisteis. Regnabant etiam in troia filii hæctoris. expulsis posteris antenoris. Regnabat in italia siluius eneas eneæ filius auunculus bruti latinorum tertius.

In the final sentence, a new name is introduced, not before mentioned by Geoffrey, viz., "*siluius eneas*, the son of *eneas*, the uncle of brutus, the third [king] of the latins." Geoffrey must have had some source for this name, Silvius Eneas, whom he calls the son of Aeneas and the uncle of Brutus. It occurs in the Roman historians (e.g., Livy, I, 3) and in Virgil; but before comparing the various possible sources with Geoffrey, to see which — if any — he used (which ten Brink did not do), let us first compare the equivalent passage in the Welsh, so as to grasp fully ten Brink's argument. The MS. Jesus LXI, folio 47vo.–48rec. reads:

[1] "Da nach Nennius zur zeit, wo Brutus in Britannien herrschte, Posthumius, sein bruder, in Latium regierte, Tysilio aber ebensowenig wie Galfrid hier eines Posthumius oder eines bruders des Brutus erwähnt, so können wir Nennius in unserer weiteren erörterung unberücksichtigt lassen." *Jahr. f. Rom. und Eng. Lit.*, 1868, IX, p. 264.

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At this time beli the priest ruled in iudea and the ark of the covenant was in captivity to the Pilistewission. And in troyaf there ruled a son of ector the mighty, after he had expelled from it the descendants of Antenor. And in the eidial there ruled ssylhys, the son of Yssgannys, the son of eneas, uncle of bryttys, and this one was the third king after lattinys.

Here we find the Silvius Aeneas of Geoffrey called merely Silvius, and made the son of Ascanius, not the son of Aeneas. However, this Silvius remains the uncle of Brutus, and as he is also called the *third* king, the same man is intended. Taken in connection with the fact that the *Tysilio* in the opening paragraph makes Ascanius, rather than Aeneas, marry Lavinia, ten Brink argues that both these variations of the Welsh from Geoffrey, which he calls "errors" — irrthümer — "are explained when one accepts the fact that the author had before him Geoffrey's *Historia:* they are not explained if one considers *Nennius* as his source" (p. 263). He argues that the phrase of *Nennius* regarding the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia — *accepit in conjugium* — "permits of no misunderstanding, and not less clear is it that the wife whom Ascanius led home (*uxorem duxit*), was not identical with Lavinia." However, Geoffrey does not use the phrase *in conjugium*, but merely that Aeneas "*succeeded to* [or got possession of] the kingdom of Italy and Lavinia the daughter of Latinus" — "regum italie et lauiniam filiam latini *adeptus est.*" Furthermore, Geoffrey has Ascanius beget a son "without having explicitly spoken of his marriage. Could not the Welsh translator," urges ten Brink, "led astray by Geoffrey's brevity, have chanced upon the thought that Aeneas, who had brought a son (Ascanius) with him from Troy, had conquered the kingdom and also Lavinia for just this son?" A misinterpretation of *adeptus est*, therefore, led to the error, according to ten Brink, of making Ascanius marry Lavinia. In brief, therefore, the argument is that the *Nennius* account is not open to misinterpretation while Geoffrey is; and that since the *Tysilio* version is self-contradictory, its author must have drawn from Geoffrey and not from *Nennius*. If the premise be accepted that the *Nennius* account is clear,

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this is a convincing argument; but it completely fails, and indeed, turns against itself, when we discover that it is *only the "corrected" printed text* of *Nennius* which is clear in its statements, and that on turning to the MSS. we find exactly the same kind of confusion and inconsistency in the *Nennius* accounts as marks both Geoffrey's and the *Tysilio's*. Here, as in the whole discussion of Geoffrey's historicity and sources, scholarship has been betrayed by faulty texts, and inferences drawn from them have been long accepted as valid which reference to the MSS. utterly refutes.

Let us, therefore, analyze ten Brink's argument in detail, especially the statement that the "mistakes" of *Tysilio* "are not explained if one considers *Nennius* as his source." In the course of this analysis we shall see how utterly confused and inconsistent are the several accounts of *Nennius*, and that Geoffrey by no means reconciled these inconsistencies, is inconsistent in his own turn, and, though using the *Nennius* accounts, obviously drew from other source material. Moreover, when we turn back to the classical writers who furnished both *Nennius* and Geoffrey with a part of this material, we still find confusion, contradiction and uncertainty. No matter from what source the *Tysilio* drew, whether from Geoffrey, *Nennius*, Jerome, or any other, it would not have been possible to have made a consistent account. Geoffrey, obviously betrayed by his conflicting sources, fell into one set of errors; the *Tysilio* compiler into another, which could not have been derived from Geoffrey alone. Therefore the Welsh account under consideration is not a mere translation of the *Historia*. Moreover, as those portions of Geoffrey's account which are not in *Nennius* or any classical source, run closely parallel with the Welsh, the inference is again clear, that the Welsh and the *Historia* have a special relation. Once more, since in these particular passages the Welsh of Jesus LXI differs in details from the *Historia* (though largely parallel), one account is not a mere copy in translation of the other, but both depend in the main upon a common source.

Turning first to the later sentence in Geoffrey's paragraph,

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we find that Silvius Aeneas is the son of Aeneas, and the uncle of Brutus. A diagram will make the relations clear.

1st wife				2nd wife
[Creusa]	+	Aeneas	+	Lavinia
|				|
Ascanius				Silvius Aeneas
|				(half-*great*-uncle to Brutus)
Silvius				
|				
Brutus				

Nowhere, as we have seen, does Geoffrey state that Lavinia *married* Aeneas, *adeptus est* being ambiguous, and nowhere does he speak of her bearing Aeneas a son. Therefore, Geoffrey alone in his first passage gives no clue as to how *Silvius Aeneas* could be the "son" of Aeneas, and his later paragraph must have been compiled independently of the earlier one.

The Welsh writer of *Tysilio*, according to ten Brink, having first erred by making Ascanius marry Lavinia, now found himself in difficulties with this later sentence in his supposed source, Geoffrey. If Lavinia married Ascanius, there was no second wife for Aeneas, and no other child but Ascanius was possible for Aeneas. Therefore the *Tysilio* writer amended Geoffrey's "*siluius eneas eneae filius*" into "Silvius, the son of Ascanius, the son of Aeneas." But in the next phrase, according to ten Brink, is the conclusive proof that *Tysilio* used the *Historia*, because the Welsh writer *retains* the phrase "the uncle of Brutus" — *auunculus bruti*. In effect, therefore, and in the same sentence, he makes Silvius, who was Brutus's father, also Brutus's uncle, which is impossible. He would not have fallen into this error if he had not been copying Geoffrey; therefore, according to ten Brink, the dependence of the *Tysilio* on Geoffrey, and on Geoffrey alone, is proved by this double error, culminating in the translating of *auunculus bruti*.

We have tried to do full justice to this argument, which looks conclusive without further investigation, and which has been accepted so far as I have been able to discover without a single question or counter argument since it was written. But there

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are several points which ten Brink completely overlooked, and which certainly bear on the validity of his reasoning. These are:

1) Silvius Aeneas is not mentioned by *Nennius:* Silvius, however, the son of Aeneas is (and in the Irish *Nennius* this Silvius is made, in this later paragraph, the son of Ascanius), — as in *Tysilio*. So far, therefore, Geoffrey's Silvius Aeneas is not explained.
2) Geoffrey says that Silvius Aeneas is the *uncle* of Brutus; but he is not: he is the half-great-uncle, or *avunculus magnus* (ignoring the "half" relationship). Geoffrey's account, therefore, is itself inconsistent, and does not follow *Nennius*.
3) Ten Brink used the Stevenson-San-Marte *printed* text of *Nennius*, which was corrected by readings from later manuscripts that appear to have used the *Historia*. The earlier manuscripts, reproduced above, give a different descent from Aeneas in this passage than that in Geoffrey, and are in their turn confused. Because of this confusion, they were editorially emended. We shall see the bearing of this shortly.
4) The second passage in Geoffrey might have been based on a similar second passage in *Nennius*, but it obviously is not. Ten Brink ignores this later passage in *Nennius*, and the difficulties raised by it for his argument.
5) The original Roman historians differ in their accounts of the descendants of Aeneas; Livy, Virgil and Eusebius-Jerome do not agree; and an attempt at reconciliation perhaps explains the confusions of *Nennius* in its three different versions, of Geoffrey in his two accounts, and of the Welsh *Tysilio*, as well as differing Welsh versions in other MSS.

Let us begin with the original Roman historians, to see how their statements were handed down by later writers until the times of *Nennius* and Geoffrey.

Livy, born in 58 B.C. and living to be 76 years old (till the fourth year of Tiberius Cæsar), gives a brief summary of the dispersal of Trojan heroes, as something "*Iam primum omnium satis constat.*" [1] He states that Aeneas's son, Ascanius, succeeded him, although not old enough to rule when his father died — *nondum maturus;* that Ascanius built Alba Longa; that Silvius, his son, born by chance in a wood, reigned next; that he had a son

[1] *Hist. Rom.*, Lib. I, sec. 1 and 3.

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Aeneas Silvius; and this one, next, had a son Latinus Silvius; and that Silvius remained a cognomen of all the Alban kings after that. Livy's descent, in other words, is a direct, unbroken line from Aeneas, through Ascanius and Silvius, to Aeneas Silvius. He speaks of two distinct accounts of Aeneas's war with Latinus, and points to confusion as to the parentage of Ascanius, suggesting that Lavinia might have been Ascanius's mother. A comparative table below gives the descent in graphic form.

Dionysius Halicarnassus, dying about 8 B.C., gives a different account. In Book I of his *Antiquitatum Romanorum*, he tells us (cap. LXV) that Ascanius, Aeneas's son, reigned 38 years; and (in cap. LXVI) that he built Alba Longa. In cap. LXX, he says that Silvius (*not* Silvius Aeneas), the son of Lavinia and Aeneas, who was born after the death of Aeneas — *μετὰ τὸν Αἰνεία θάνατον γενόμενος* (i.e., "posthumous") reigned 29 years. In cap. LXXI Aeneas, his son — *υἱὸς αὐτοῦ* — reigned 31 years. He was the fourth in succession. The fifth was Latinus, who reigned 50 years. In sum, therefore, Dionysius gives the descent, not through Ascanius from Aeneas and Creusa, but through Silvius Posthumus from Aeneas and Lavinia. Aeneas Silvius was therefore the grandson of Aeneas, not the son. Let us put these two accounts in parallel columns for ready reference.

LIVY		DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSUS	
(1) Creusa + Aeneas + Lavinia?		(1) Creusa + Aeneas + Lavinia	
(2) Ascanius a boy — Founds Alba L. No wife given.	(No issue given but *might* have been the mother of Ascanius.)	(2) Ascanius Builds Alba L. No son given.	(3) Silvius Posthumously born.
(3) Silvius Born in wood.			(4) Aeneas (Silvius)
(4) Aeneas Silvius			(5) Latinus (Silvius)
(5) Latinus Silvius			(6) Alba (Silvius), etc.
(6) Alba Silvius, etc.			

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Virgil, Livy's contemporary, speaks of Ascanius, son of Aeneas and Creusa, leading a colony to Alba Longa, and founding a long line of the kings of Alba Longa.[1] Moreover, he and he only, speaks of Silvius Aeneas (like Geoffrey) as the son of Aeneas and Lavinia.[2]

The source which Mommsen, editor of the *Nennius* text in the German *Monumenta*, gives for the *Historia Britonum* in these passages under discussion, is the chronicle of Eusebius (A.D. 267–340), translated from the Greek by Jerome (A.D. c. 331–420), which for centuries in Europe was the great source book for early history and chronology. Beginning with the year after Abraham DCCCXXX, there are a series of entries relating to the Latin kings, which I shall extract and give in sequence. They include much the same material as that in Geoffrey and the *Nennius*, but also omit much that appears in Geoffrey and the Welsh. The fact that Mommsen places parts of these sentences as the source for *Nennius* in his notes, is likely to influence the casual reader into believing that the source for *Nennius* is proved. Nevertheless, though *Nennius* mentions Jerome specifically as one of his sources, he also mentions *traditio veterum nostrorum;* and the fact remains that the Brutus or Britus connection with Britain, in these passages, as well as the Partholon story, the Ægyptian origin of the Scots and their Mediterranean voyage, the Arthur references, etc., are *not* in Jerome, or in any of the Roman sources, and despite the efforts of Heeger[3] and Professor F. Liebermann,[4] etc. have never been satisfactorily explained. Nor has any attempt yet been made to revise these literary criticisms in the light of recent archæological and anthropological findings.

It is too easy to claim as *the* source (not as a *possible* or a *part* source) any paragraph in an earlier historian which bears a limited resemblance to one in a later, and to explain the differences

[1] *Aeneid*, V, 600 ff. [2] *Ibid.*, VI, 763, 769, etc.

[3] Georg Heeger, *Über die Trojanersage der Britten*, München, 1886.

[4] F. Liebermann, "Nennius the Author of the *Historia Brittonum*," in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, Manchester, 1925, pp. 25–44. This material is dismissed as "teeming with blunders and oversights," or "sheer invention." (P. 34.)

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or additions as "inventions." The following sentences *cannot*, in my opinion, be the whole source for either *Nennius*, Geoffrey or the Welsh:

Primus rex Latinorum post captam Troiam Æneas. Ante eum Ianus, Saturnus, Picus, Faunus regnaverunt annis circiter CL.

Latinorum secundus Ascanius, ann. XXXVIII. . . . Ascanius Æneæ filius Albam urbem condidit. . . . Ascanius derelicto novercæ suæ Laviniæ regno Albam condidit: & Silvium Posthumum fratrem suum Æneæ ex Lavinia filium summa pietate educavit.

Ascanius Iulium filium procreavit: a quo familia Iuliorum orta. Et propter ætatem parvuli, quia necdum regendis civibus idoneus erat, Silvium Posthumum fratrem suum regni reliquit heredem.

Latinorum tertius Silvius Posthumus, ann. XXIX. Silvius Posthumus, quia post mortem patris editus ruri fuerat educatus, & Silvii & Posthumi nomen accepit: a quo omnes Albanorum Reges Silvii vocati sunt.

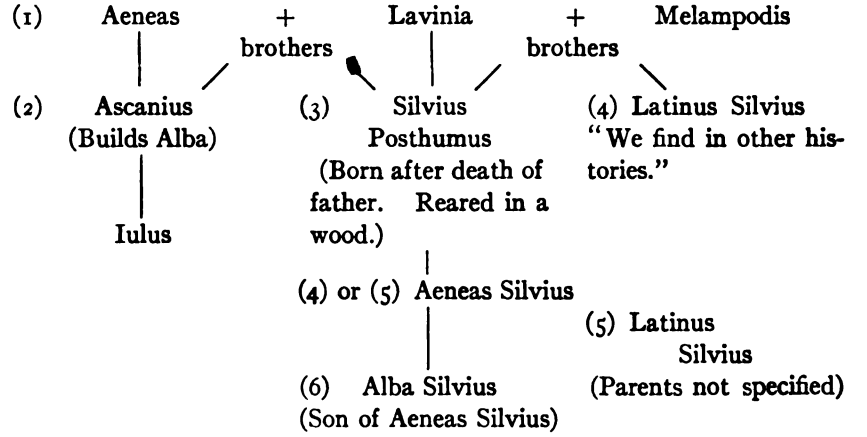
Mortuo Heli Sacerdote, Arca Testamenti ab alienigenis possidetur, ac deinde in domo Aminadab facit annos XX.

Latinorum quartus Æneas Silvius, annis. XXXI. In alia historia reperimus quartum Latinum Silvium regnasse Laviniæ & Melampodis filium uterinum fratrem Posthumi: & quintum, qui nunc hic quartus ponitur, Æneam Silvium Posthumi filium.

Latinorum quintus Latinus Silvius, ann. L.

Latinorum sextus Alba Silvius, Æneæ Silvii filius, ann. XXXIX.[1]

Reducing the descent from Aeneas in these sentences to the same graphic form, we have the following, with one alternative.


(1) Aeneas + brothers
Lavinia + brothers
Melampodis
(2) Ascanius (Builds Alba)
Iulus
(3) Silvius Posthumus (Born after death of father. Reared in a wood.)
(4) Latinus Silvius "We find in other histories."
(4) or (5) Aeneas Silvius
(5) Latinus Silvius (Parents not specified)
(6) Alba Silvius (Son of Aeneas Silvius)

[1] *Chron. Euseb.-Jerome; sub annis.*

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This, excluding the alternative, follows Dionysius rather than Livy. Now, whatever their sources, the different editors of *Nennius* do not seem to have correctly interpreted them because the several accounts are hopelessly confused, as we shall see by comparison. These writers must almost certainly have used *either* one or more of the above accounts, which were the only ones available, or *some independent source* not now known to us. In the earliest manuscript, that in the Vatican, given above on the right-hand side (p. 162) we find three separate accounts of the descent from Aeneas, which may now be reproduced graphically in sequence as they appear in the text as follows:

FIRST ACCOUNT

Eneas + Lavinia
|
Ascani
|
Silvii
(Posthumus)
(Born in wood)
(Descendants)
Romulus and Remus

Here it is distinctly stated that Brutus, who was consul in Rome, conquered Spain, and later subdued the island of Britain, whose inhabitants were the sons of the Romans, descended from Silvius Posthumus — *silvis posthumo orti.* Then follows an explanation of the name Silvius, i.e., "born in a wood," and "after his father, Aeneas's death," adding with characteristic lack of sequence: "*et bryttones qui de eo nati sunt; sed a bruto bryttones. et de bruti stirpe surrexerunt.*" In other words, the Britons were descended from Silvius Posthumus, but also through Brutus. The descent, therefore, is *not* through Ascanius, and Brutus is made a descendant of Silvius Posthumus — in what degree is not stated.[1] This first account seems much the earlier and less sophisticated of the three.

A second account follows immediately. As the first account was preceded by the words, "*De romanis vero et graecis trahunt*

[1] Cf., however, Waddell's interpretation, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

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ethimologiam," the one may originally have come to Cuana, or some other early British writer, written in Latin, and the other written in Greek. Zimmer (p. 241 ff.) has suggested the Dares Phrygius *Historia de excidio Troiae;* but this supposition does not even supply us with all the necessary names.

SECOND ACCOUNT

[Creusa] + Aeneas + Lavinia
(in conjugium)
|
Ascanius + (wife unnamed) Silvius
(Builds Alba)
|
Bruto
(vel britto)

Here Brutus is made directly the son of Ascanius, and Aeneas sends his mage to determine in advance the sex of the child. Lavinia at the same time bears Aeneas a son named Silvius.

The third account is a mere chronological summary, and no relationships are given.

THIRD ACCOUNT

Aeneas — 3 years reign
Ascanius — 33 years reign
Silvius — 12 years reign
Posthumus — 38 years reign, whose brother was Bruto.
Heli, *etc.*, — Archa test., *etc.*

The second and third accounts differ from the Roman sources, and introduce Brutus or Brittus, who is not in the Roman histories.[1]

[1] I am well aware that Zimmer (pp. 248, 249, 250), and others following him, are satisfied that Britus and Brutus have coalesced, as it were, because anciently pronounced the same, and that we have to do here "mit Klügeleien von Klosterbrüdern"; but I remain unconvinced. How explain the folk-lore of a Trojan, Cretan or Greek origin, hastily assembled, e.g., by Harold Bayley, *Archaic England*, Phila. 1920, esp. Caps. III & V, pp. 312 & 350; or L. A. Waddell's important contributions in *The Phœnician Origin of the Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons*, esp. Chapters 7, 8, 13, 14, 18, etc.? The general thesis, with a mass of material, has not yet been sifted and digested, but it has the greatest historic value. Professor Liebermann designates the confused echoes of this material

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Posthumus, placed after Silvius, and not after Aeneas, is made in the third account the *brother* of Brutus. The names are given in order, but we are not here told that any one is the son of his predecessor — though Posthumus is specifically called the brother of Britto, who previously (second account) had been born to Ascanius. That would, by inference, suggest that Posthumus was the son of Silvius. However, he is made the half-brother of Ascanius and the uncle of Brutus in this second account. The second and third accounts cannot be reconciled, therefore. A concluding sentence makes the confusion worse: "*Posthumus (vel silvius) autem frater eius: apud latinos regnabat*"; — *frater eius* being Bruto. We may ask, how many conflicting accounts is this writer trying, but failing, to reconcile?

In the Harleian manuscript of *Nennius* we have a different series given in two accounts. Where the Vatican manuscript,

in *Nennius*, which cannot be reduced to his "verbal descent" formulas, as adornment, by the writer Nennius himself, of his sources, "with rhetorical flourishes," or states that he fills "out gaps by sheer invention." *Essays in Medieval History, etc.*, p. 34, and note 114. These "sheer inventions" are "suggested by Roman poetry (chiefly Virgil), the Vulgate . . . saints' legends, Celtic mythology [with its basis in fact, as so often discovered], popular tales, folk-lore, heroic story (Arthur), dynastic and national traditions." But when have the last five categories not had some basis in fact? And how will dismissing them as worthless ever uncover the substratum of truth? Of Aurelius Ambrosius, Professor Liebermann writes that "our compiler serves us with a nauseous farrago . . . of folk-lore, national prophecy, magicians' tales, and bardic legend." (P. 40.) Taken in the right way, we believe that these elements may serve just as useful an historic purpose as any entries in some chronicle. How, for instance, and to cite one example only out of many, can one escape the evidence of the following: "Even for the traditional birthplace of Brutus the Trojan being located in the Tiber province of Latium, some evidence also is now forthcoming which connects Latium directly with both Troy and Ancient Britain. The Roman tradition of Æneas the Trojan — and the traditional great-grandfather of Brutus — preserved by Virgil relates that Æneas, in his flight from Troy after the great war, carried with him on his ship, his 'household guardian gods (penates)' from Troy to Latium in Italy (Aeneid I, 382). Now, in Latium were unearthed two prehistoric shrines [one is illustrated] which might possibly be the actual ones brought by Aeneas there. They are of the same hut-like form as the sacred buildings figured on Hitto-Sumerian seals of the Sun-cult along with Crosses and Swastikas, and *the surface of the Latium shrine, is also covered by Crosses and Swastikas of exactly the same pattern, which occurs on the solar amulets of Troy and on the rock-sculptures and ancient solar monuments and coins in the British Isles* [also illustrated]. And the prehistoric inscriptions in Britain, now deciphered for the first time in Chapter XVIII are of the Trojan type, and invoke God and his archangel by the same names as the Trojan. This establishes the fact that the same solar religion with identical symbols as the Trojan was introduced into Latium, the birth province of Brutus, as was introduced by Brutus and his Trojan Britons into Early Britain." Waddell, *op. cit.* above, pp. 148–149 — the italics are his; cf. pp. 255–261, etc.

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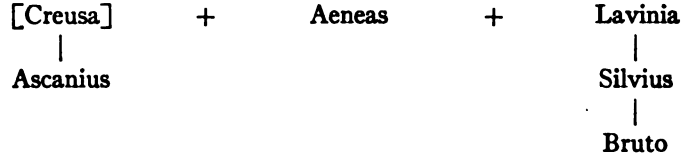
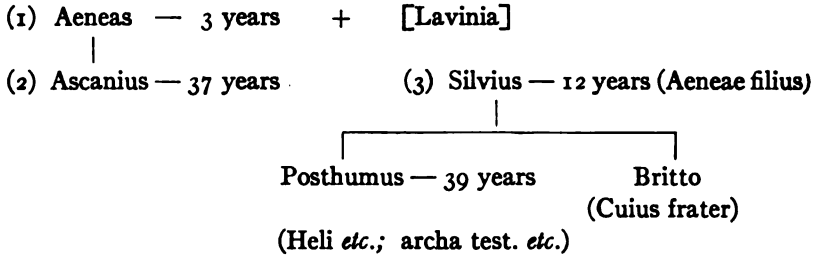
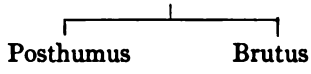
in the second account, gives the descent Eneas > Ascanius > Brutus, the Harleian gives (first account):



The second account in the Harleian, paralleling the third in the Vatican, gives:



Here the descent 

is switched from the line of Ascanius to the line of Lavinia; and the Silvius *might* be Silvius Aeneas, though not so stated. No Silvius Aeneas is mentioned. The curious concluding phrase is also present: *Postumus frater eius apud Latinos regnabat.*

Let us now return to the supposed dependence of Geoffrey upon *Nennius*, taking up later that of the Welsh manuscripts upon Geoffrey.

Geoffrey's lines of descent are perfectly clear. In the opening paragraph it runs Aeneas > Ascanius > Silvius > Brutus. This could not be derived from any account in the Vatican manuscript, nor from any in the Harleian. In the later paragraph Geoffrey speaks of Silvius Aeneas, the son of Aeneas; and he calls him the "uncle" of Brutus, which, if we insist that his two accounts should be consistent, is an error, as Silvius Aeneas would be the half-great-

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uncle (*avunculus magnus*) of Brutus. But Silvius Aeneas does *not* appear in the Vatican manuscript of *Nennius*, in either paragraph, nor in the Harleian, — the Silvius who is mentioned there as the son of Lavinia by Aeneas, being specifically Silvius Posthumus. Silvius Aeneas *nowhere* appears as the son of Aeneas and Lavinia except in Virgil (cf. esp. *Aen.* VI, 760–770). Did Geoffrey break away from *Nennius*, to correct his account from Virgil? Furthermore, Dionysius Halicarnassus and Eusebius-Jerome each make Silvius Posthumus the son of Aeneas and Lavinia, while Aeneas Silvius, Posthumus's son, is therefore the grandson of Aeneas and Lavinia. In that generation, according to the first descent of Brutus through Silvius and Ascanius, Silvius Aeneas would be the uncle of Brutus. However, Geoffrey has left out Silvius Posthumus, so his statement is incorrect. Moreover, Virgil's genealogy cannot be reconciled with the other historians, or with that of *Nennius* in any of the accounts.

In the Harleian manuscript, in both accounts, Brutus or Brittus is made the son of Silvius, the son, *not* of Ascanius, but directly of Lavinia by Aeneas. Whether this Silvius is Silvius Posthumus, or Silvius Aeneas, is not stated.

The accounts in the two earliest MSS. of the *Nennius* cannot be reconciled, therefore, and Geoffrey could not have used either of them as his source unless he changed them. Clearly the idea of direct descent, Aeneas > Ascanius > Silvius > Brutus is not to be derived from *Nennius*. The reason that Zarncke and ten Brink thought that Geoffrey could have done so is because Stevenson, and following him San-Marte, altered what they considered a mistaken reading. Seeing that the *Nennius* accounts disagreed with the earlier Latin sources, though these were themselves at variance, and not stopping to study these earlier variations, these editors *altered their printed text*, and substituted the name of Ascanius for that of Aeneas, relegating the correct reading to a foot-note, which both Zarncke and ten Brink ignored.[1]

[1] *Nennius und Gildas*, herausgegeben von San-Marte, Berlin, 1844, p. 33, line 4, and note 1.

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What, then, are we to think of Geoffrey's dependence upon *Nennius*, and through *Nennius* on the Roman sources? Geoffrey has not only a much fuller account than *Nennius*, but he differs from him so radically as to leave no doubt that he did not follow him. Nevertheless, because the passages have a marked similarity of context, and three phrases verbatim, all the critics have jumped to the hasty conclusion that Geoffrey used *Nennius* throughout, "inventing" the differences. Eusebius-Jerome, Dionysius, Virgil and Livy know nothing of Brutus, the son of Silvius, who, after various vicissitudes, peoples Britain with his followers; while the first three do not mention a son of Ascanius named Silvius. However, Livy, by making the line of descent go direct through Ascanius, does — viz., Silvius "born in a wood." This phrase would identify him with the Posthumus Silvius, son of Aeneas by Lavinia, posthumously born, and reared in a wood, according to Dionysius and Eusebius-Jerome. This Posthumus Silvius's son, in *all* the historians, is Silvius Aeneas — but Virgil makes the latter Aeneas's son by Lavinia! [1] With all these variations in the primary Roman authorities, it is no wonder that the compilations of *Nennius* give differing and confused accounts, and that Geoffrey, also, was not consistent.

The third account in the Vatican manuscript has nothing whatever to do with the opening story of Silvius's escapades and the birth of Brutus, quoted above. It is placed several paragraphs later, and is a bare chronological outline. If Geoffrey used any MS. of *Nennius* at all, therefore, as the basis for his "invention," he must have re-arranged the earlier account as given in the Vatican manuscript. However, even this is not at all likely, because he leaves out any mention of Posthumus as Brutus's brother; and he does parallel this third account of the Vatican *Nennius* with his own historical summary at the end of Book I, cited above. Furthermore, as said, he does not copy the *Nennius* passage, but introduced a name (Silvius Aeneas) found nowhere in any

[1] Bk. VI. 763–5. Cf. Gellius ii, 16; Edouard Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis*, Buch VI, Leipzig, 1916; 2nd ed., p. 317; and H. E. Butler, *The Sixth Book of the Aeneid*, Oxford, 1920, pp. 237–8, with references.

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Nennius account, as well as other material, and he is inconsistent with his own earlier story, and leaves an hiatus unexplained. It emphatically looks as if Geoffrey, *Nennius* and the Welsh all used a common source (or sources), each working up the material independently. To make this important point clear, we place the later passages, also in parallel columns, italicizing differences.

Vatican *Nennius*	Geoffrey's *Historia*, fol. 13rec.
	A *Regnabat* tunc in *iudea* heli sacerdos & archa testamenti capta erat *a phylisteis*. Regnabant etiam in troia filii hæctoris, expulsis posteris antenoris.
Aeneas autem regnavit tribus annis apud Latinos. Ascanius autem regnavit annis. XXXIII;	
post quem Silvius regnavit annis. XII.	*Regnabat in italia* siluius *eneas*, *eneæ filius* *auunculus bruti* *latinorum tertius*
Postumus annis. XXXVIII. *a quo Albanorum reges Silvii appellati sunt; cuius frater erat bruto;* quando A vero regnabat bruto in bryttannia, Heli sacerdos *iudicabat* in israhel: et tunc arca testamenti ab *alienigenis possidebatur; Postumus (vel silvius) autem frater eius. apud Latinos regnabat.*	

Once again, the utter dissimilarity of these passages is striking, and even where a closely similar idea is expressed, as, for instance, the reference to Eli, we find complete verbal diversity — *Regnabat* for *iudicabat*, *iudea* for *israhel*, *a phylisteis* for *ab alienigenis*, and *capta erat* for *possidebatur*. Nor has either the idea or the wording of the supposed source of *Nennius*, — e.g., Eusebius-Jerome, — been copied, though *Nennius* has one verbal agreement

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— *ab alienigenis* — e.g. — "*Mortuo Heli Sacerdote, Arca Testamentis ab alienigenis possidetur, ac deinde in domo aminadab fecit annos XXII.*[1] *Nennius* in the *Prologue* refers generally to Jerome as a source; but Geoffrey does not, and it is doubtful if he used him. It would seem once again as if a superficial resemblance had led to the easy conclusion that Geoffrey must have used *Nennius*, where an actual comparison shows departures at almost every turn in just the passages supposed to be most alike; and a great quantity of native material utterly unknown to *Nennius* is designated "invention." It is demonstrable that *Nennius* had, and used, some native sources, e.g., unquestionably for Arthur, — and he quotes "ex traditione veterum *nostrorum*." Having just referred to the Roman historians and to "the annals of the Scots and Saxons," the "our" — *nostrorum*, must refer to a native British or Welsh tradition. If *Nennius* had a native source, and Geoffrey claims to have had one also, and they both supply traditional stories and names not in Roman histories — each supplementing and adding to the other, why jump to the conclusion that they are both merely inventing, and that Britain is the only country known to us with an ancient civilization that *did not have its traditional history?* Would it not be wiser to look for it, rather than to neglect what remains simply because it has survived in confused fragments? It would seem as if verbal critics were more concerned to establish the existence of confusion, than to discover the facts which are so unfortunately recorded.

The conclusion is obvious, therefore, that Geoffrey, though he knew *Nennius*, and occasionally borrowed a convenient phrase from him, did not *depend* upon him. He had another source, and he had additional material. Even if he attempted to reconcile known sources, or to combine them, there are still numerous statements, and a host of names to account for. The probabilities are that he had a relatively complete account of the Trojan legend or story of the Britons, which once had its roots in actual history,

[1] Cf. p. 178 above.

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and which reached him already cast in literary form. We have seen above that similar material was known to an Irish transcriber before 1100, who gives as his authority Cuana, who died c. 640, who in turn knew of this tradition, or story. The simplest and most logical explanation is that Geoffrey compared this literary story with *Nennius*, Virgil, and perhaps Livy, and partly translated, partly wrote out his own version with literary embellishment in the manner of Livy, supplying the speeches of military leaders and the imaginative touches of local colour which turn a chronicle into literature.

Returning now to the relation of the Welsh *Tysilio* with Geoffrey, we have seen (p. 168 above) that the Welsh, though much closer to Geoffrey, also has certain points of difference. If the *Tysilio* were translating Geoffrey, these differences must be accounted for. One of them ten Brink bases on a misreading of *adeptus est* in Geoffrey, and a second is an outgrowth of this original error, namely, the making of Brutus both the son and the nephew of the same man, Silvius. All the others ten Brink ignores.

Let us examine this one Welsh Chronicle critically in relation to the sources in the passages used by Zarncke and ten Brink, — always remembering that numerous other Welsh Chronicles differ from the *Tysilio*, and that therefore arguments which apply to it in matters of "verbal descent," cannot apply to the others. We shall refer to these shortly.

In the two paragraphs under discussion, the *Tysilio* adds the following phrases not in Geoffrey or *Nennius*. In the first:

1) the which is called the land of Rome —
2) and at that time Lattinys was king in Italy —
3) Essgannys got to wife Lavinia.
4) Yssgannys became a great man.
5) the diviners (in the plural).
6) whom [or *by whom*] the maid had conceived.
7) And after they had divined . . .
8) Thus he slew his mother.
9) and thus he killed his father also.

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The *Tysilio* omits what is in Geoffrey:

1) That Turnus was *envious* —
2) That *therefore* Aeneas and Turnus *fought* (repeated), and that *Aeneas prevailed* —
3) That Aeneas *obtained the kingdom of Italy and Lavinia.*
4) That Silvius seduced a niece *of Lavinia* —
5) That *the woman gave birth to a boy* —
6) That *he* (Brutus) *himself unexpectedly killed his father with the shot of an arrow.*

In the second, later, paragraph, we find the *Tysilio* differing as follows:

1) a son of ector *the mighty*, for *filii hectoris.*
2) *Silvius*, for Silvius Aeneas.
3) Son of *Ascanius*, for Aeneas.
4) Adds — *the son of Aeneas.*
5) and this one was the third king after lattinys, for *latinorum tertius.*

Here are twenty verbal differences in two brief paragraphs between Geoffrey and the *Tysilio;* and in important points, such as the marriage of Ascanius, the fact that Silvius married a niece of *Lavinia*, and the name of Silvius (Silvius Aeneas), as well as in minor literary expressions, these differences are highly significant. If it were not for the apparent confusion of making Silvius both the father and the "uncle" of Brutus, there would be little hesitation in saying that the authors of these two related passages did not depend either one upon the other, but upon a common source. Let us therefore once more examine this second paragraph, as it occurs in Geoffrey, *Nennius*, *Tysilio* and other Welsh manuscripts, to see just what the various interrelations may be. Now Geoffrey, as we have seen, is often independent of *Nennius*, and he must have had other sources, or have invented practically the whole of Book I, as well as parts of the particular passages under discussion. If he "invented," then the Welsh, if this version and others had agreed with Geoffrey, might have been presumed to have followed Geoffrey. If this version and others do

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not follow Geoffrey, and are also independent of *Nennius*, they either "invented" also (and we must have a series of Welsh scribes, all gifted literary romancers like Geoffrey), or they worked up their own sources, which were similar to Geoffrey's — which latter is surely the more reasonable conclusion, and one which my study compels me to draw.

Neither Zarncke nor ten Brink, using as they did the revised, or corrected printed text of San-Marte, recognized that Geoffrey in his first paragraph departed from *Nennius*. Nor did they notice that the two earliest *Nennius* manuscripts, e.g., the Harleian and Vatican, differed in their accounts of Brutus's descent from Aeneas in this opening paragraph. Nor, finally, did they compare Geoffrey's *second* paragraph under discussion, with either of the corresponding *Nennius* paragraphs, with the resulting confusions arising from the differences in these respective first paragraphs. No attempt was made to explain Geoffrey's departures from, or elaborations of, *Nennius*, and from all other known sources for this passage; and the whole argument as far as the Welsh *Tysilio* was concerned, hangs on the use of *avunculus bruti*. Therefore we may put the matter in this way:

1) The *Tysilio* differs from Geoffrey.
2) Geoffrey differs from *Nennius*.
3) *Nennius* is inconsistent.
4) Geoffrey is inconsistent in a different way.
5) *Tysilio* is inconsistent in still a third way.
6) The two earliest Welsh manuscript chronicles (Dingestow Court and Peniarth 44) are respectively different from the above, and inconsistent in a fourth and fifth way.
7) Ten Brink supposed that the *Tysilio's* egregious "error" arose from a misreading of Geoffrey. It is much more plausibly a following of either the Vatican MS. *Nennius* version, thereby becoming at least consistent in following the inconsistencies of that version of *Nennius*, or of earlier Welsh traditions similarly embodied in other MSS., Welsh and Irish.
8) The other Welsh versions do not appear to depend on Geoffrey, but seem to be independent efforts to solve the same difficulties raised by the inconsistent sources.

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9) One obvious conclusion is that three Welsh versions are not translations of Geoffrey. Other Welsh manuscripts omit this second passage entirely — which some, of course, might call merely a failure to translate, but which is not borne out in the context of these MSS., as, e.g., the Cotton, Cleopatra B. V. (cf. fol. 10 vo.–11 rec.).

The *Tysilio* writer is supposed to have made "errors" based on the text of the *Historia* alone, mistakes which "are not explained if one considers *Nennius* as his source." [1] The first of these is to have misconceived Geoffrey's *adeptus est*, and therefore to have made Ascanius marry Lavinia. Now, though it is possible that this is so, it does not explain numerous other departures from the *Historia*, as we have seen, which are not dependent in any way on ambiguities in Geoffrey's Latin. And as it happens, exactly this same mistake was made in the nineteenth century by the first editor of the Vatican MS. of *Nennius*. The reader, by referring to p. 162 above, may see the text in the right-hand column. The account springs back and forth from Eneas to Ascanius in a confusing way, and two phrases separated by another brief one, begin with the same words — *Ascanius autem* — each phrase, moreover, stating that Ascanius *uxorem duxit*, the second repeating the first. Between them occurs a phrase, following immediately after *Ascanius . . . uxorem duxit*, stating that Lavinia bore a son named Silvius to Eneas — *Et peperit labinia aeneae filium. nomine silvium.* Then follows the repetition — *Ascanius autem duxit uxorem quae concipiens*, etc. with the account of the birth of Brutus, the diviners being called in by Eneas, etc. This *Nennius* account is obviously a compilation, confusing varying sources in its turn. Since Silvius, the father of Brutus, was usually thought of in this connection as the son of Ascanius, not the son directly of Eneas, as in the text, it would be very easy to miss the *aeneae* in the intruding phrase, and to make Lavinia the wife of Ascanius. This is exactly what the Rev. W. Gunn did in his translation of this passage — unconsciously repeating, perhaps, the similar error made many centuries before.

[1] Ten Brink *loc. cit.*

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On page 5 of his text,[1] we read as follows: "After the death of Latinus, Eneas obtained the kingdom of the Romans, and Lavinia brought forth a son, who was named Silvius. Ascanius founded Alba, and afterwards married. His wife, Lavinia, became pregnant, and Eneas being informed of it, ordered his son to consult a magician," etc. Might not the compiler of the *Tysilio* have made a similar error, based on a similar confusion of sources? A return to the MSS. therefore, shows how this error might have arisen, not from the *Historia*, but direct from *Nennius* in one of its variations. This explanation is, perhaps, easier to grant, than the other, namely, a misreading of the *Historia*, in view of so many differences between the *Historia* and the Welsh in this passage. It may even explain Geoffrey's own ambiguity of phrase, he recognizing, as he compared the *Nennius* with his *vetustissimus liber*, the discrepancy of the Welsh and classical accounts. I shall return to this in a moment.

In the later paragraph discussed above, Geoffrey introduces Silvius Aeneas, without previous explanation or mention of him, and calls him the son of Aeneas, not agreeing with any account in *Nennius*, or in any Roman historian, but following Virgil — and he makes him *latinorum tertius*, and *avunculus Bruti*.

Neither the Welsh, nor *Nennius*, mentions Silvius Aeneas. The Latin MSS. do mention Silvius Posthumus as the son of Aeneas by Lavinia, and also (in the Harleian MS.) a *Silvius Aeneae filius*. Ten Brink ignored these later paragraphs. Once more, I shall place these paragraphs, from the several *Nennius* MSS. in parallel columns.

Harleian MS.	Vatican MS.	Latin Version of Irish *Nennius*. (Mommsen "Nennius Interpretatus," p. 153, col. b)
Aeneas autem regnavit tribus annis apud Latinos. Ascanius regnavit annis XXXVII. post quem Sil-	Aeneas autem regnavit tribus annis apud Latinos. Ascanius regnavit annis .XXXIII; bus post quem	Aeneas tribus annis, Ascanius XXXIIII,

[1] *The "Historia Brittonum," etc.*, London, 1819.

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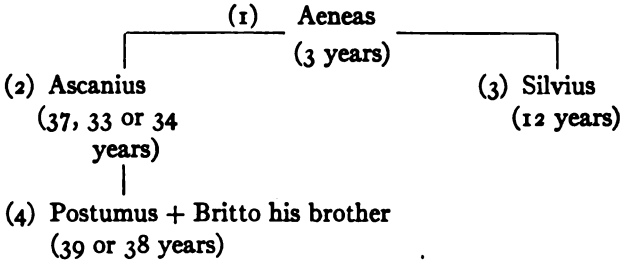
Harleian MS. (*cont.*)	Vatican MS. (*cont.*)	Latin Version of Irish *Nennius*. (*cont.*)
vius Aeneae filius regnavit annis XII. Postumus annis triginta novem, a quo Albanorum reges Silvii appellati sunt, cuius frater erat Britto.	silvius regnavit annis .XII. Postumus annis .XXX. VIII. A quo albanorum reges Silvii appellati sunt. cuius frater erat bruto.	Silvius annis XII. Silvius nomen omnium regum ex eo. his et Brutus fratres fuerunt, ambo filii Ascanii, filii Aeneae. Postumius regnavit apud Romanos XXXIX annis. Britus in Britannia, Postumius frater eius regnavit apud Romanos ut diximus.

Reducing these to the same graphic form, we have uniformly in each case:



Nothing could be clearer than the statement in all these MSS. (and in the later ones, which follow them) that Brutus is the *brother* of Posthumus, one MS. of the Irish version of the *Nennius* even going to the trouble of repeating explicitly, *ambo filii Ascanii, filii Aeneae*. The Vatican MS., moreover, as we have seen, in its second account, gives the descent in just this way, viz., Aeneas > Ascanius > Brutus, with a Silvius born of Lavinia, a (half) brother of Ascanius, and the (half) uncle of Brutus. The second account, therefore, in the Vatican MS. version, and the third in the later paragraph, do not conflict, but are consistent in the relationships and order of succession. The title Posthumus is not applied to the son of Aeneas by Lavinia in the second account, and no second son of Ascanius (actually S. Posthumus) is there mentioned.

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Now this series in the later paragraph presents difficulties to Geoffrey or to any writer who had just written the opening story of Aeneas > Ascanius > Silvius > Brutus. Geoffrey decided, apparently following Virgil, that the Silvius, "the son of Aeneas" intended, could not be the Posthumus Silvius of Eusebius-Jerome, Dionysius (if he knew him), and other classic authors, because the *Nennius* states explicitly here that Silvius Posthumus is the Silvius who is the son of Ascanius. So Geoffrey appealed to Virgil and called him Silvius Aeneas. But, since Geoffrey's *vetustissimus liber* apparently calls this Silvius the uncle of Brutus, Geoffrey incorporated this phrase, passing over the extra generation which his earlier account required. He also ignored the fact that his earlier story had made Silvius, son of Ascanius, the *third* king after Latinus, apparently retaining this phrase also from his *vetustissimus liber*. He therefore made both Silvius Aeneas and Silvius (Posthumus) the third king of the Latins, a second inconsistency. It is quite obvious that, faced with a choice, Geoffrey was prepared to depart from his *Nennius* MS., or Eusebius-Jerome (if he had a MS. of it), in favour of his *vetustissimus liber*. For another example, in Book II, cap. viii, he states that Sylvius Alban reigned *post Sylvium Latinum*. This is not the descent given in Eusebius-Jerome, and the statement does not appear in any *Nennius* MS. where Alban Silvius is nowhere mentioned; but, it does appear in the Welsh and conforms to the genealogy given in Livy (I, 3). Here we have very good evidence that Geoffrey depended upon a source which was not the *Nennius*, and had a *vetustissimus liber*, as he said.

Now, the *Tysilio* writer was confronted with the same difficulty in dealing with his conflicting sources. The "Silvius, son of Aeneas" of his source, and the Silvius, son of Ascanius could not both be the third king after Latinus. He knew, perhaps, from the first, and apparently earliest, account in the Vatican MS., and from Eusebius-Jerome or Dionysius, etc. that Silvius Posthumus was a son of Lavinia. If Silvius Posthumus, therefore, was Ascanius's son, Ascanius must have married Lavinia, and she

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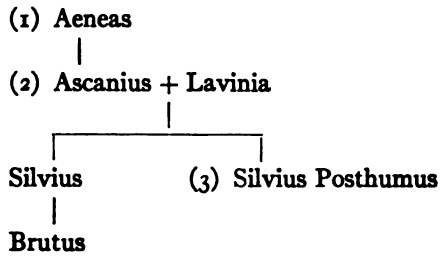
must have had two sons, one of whom would be the uncle of Brutus. Moreover, according to Livy, a son was born posthumously to Ascanius. Therefore, even in his opening account, we see that he realizes that his Silvius, the father of Brutus, had a brother, because he tells us that this Silvius "seduced a niece." To have had a niece, he must have had either a brother or sister, presumably the former. It is Geoffrey who added the words "of Lavinia" — *cuidam nepti lauinie* — which are not in the Welsh text. So we get the following descent in the second Welsh account:



And we find "Silvius, the son of Ascanius, the son of Eneas, uncle of Brutus, and this one was the third king after Latinus," in the Welsh text. This, of course, is no more consistent than Geoffrey, or the various *Nennius* accounts themselves, none of which can be harmonized; but it is both logical and dependent on the Vatican MS. and Irish tradition, based originally on Livy. Geoffrey, as also the *Tysilio*, makes both Silvii the third king, which cannot very well be. It is interesting to note that the Dingestow Court MS. says in this later paragraph: "And in the eỳdal silvius eneas was the third king *after eneas*, uncle to brutus, his father's brother." [1] This straightens out the sequence, making Silvius Aeneas the fourth king of the Latins, or after Latinus. Incidentally, how can the above be a translation of Geoffrey's sentence? The Peniarth 44 MS. — the next oldest Welsh account has a slight variation, also apparently sufficiently independent of Geoffrey's phrases: "And in Italy, Silvius Eneas ruled, the uncle

[1] MS. page 23, ll. 6–8. Some of the later *Historia* MSS. try to remedy this difficulty. Cf. e.g., p. 16 above, with note 2.

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of Brutus, the third king after Latinus." [1] These ideas are not at all in the *Nennius*. Would they not be exactly the phrases which Geoffrey might have seen in his *vetustissimus liber*, giving him the three statements not in any *Nennius* account, namely: (1) the name "Silvius Eneas," (2) "the uncle of Brutus," and, (3) "the third king" — which he combined with the account in the *Nennius?*

Let us sum up this discussion. The use of unreliable translations, and composite, interpolated and corrected texts of *Nennius*, had misled the earliest critics of the *Tysilio* into thinking that the latter could only have derived from the *Historia*. Examination of the MSS. involved has shown that the various editions of the *Nennius* are compilations from conflicting sources, which are not to be reconciled; and that Geoffrey, making one attempt, and perhaps using Virgil, nevertheless was both inconsistent and inaccurate in different ways. Both Geoffrey and the Welsh give evidence of knowing the *Nennius*, *and also another source*, dealing with the same material. Some of this contains independent support from the Irish *Nennius*, where it differs from the extant Latin copies but coincides with the Welsh and with Geoffrey. Of this material in the Irish copies of *Nennius*, Mommsen himself wrote: "*quae de Lavinia et de rege Turno . . . . Vergiliana sunt cum Hieronymianis et fabulis Hibernicis permixta*,[2] and Professor Liebermann, who decides that the theory of an earlier *Historia Britonum* which *Nennius* copied and to which he added merely "afterthoughts, alterations and additions," is now exploded, nevertheless admits (in a foot-note), the presence of "Celtic mythology, popular tales, folk-lore, heroic story (Arthur), dynastic and national traditions." [3] It is just this element of fable, of popular tradition, which is being justified in so many ways by archæology and anthropology, and which cannot be dismissed on a purely literary basis as mere "Klügeleien von Klösterbrüdern," and imaginative romancing.

[1] Folio 18, ll. 9–11.

[2] *Historia Britonum*, in *Mon. Hist. Brit., An'ct. Antiq.*, tome XIII, Para. I, p. 114. Italics mine.

[3] "Nennius the Author of the *Historia Brittonum*," *op. cit.*, pp. 30 & 34, note 114.

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CHAPTER XI

FURTHER ANALYSIS OF CRITICISM: CONCLUSION

THE FOREGOING will, perhaps, have served to illustrate not only that the arguments of Zarncke and ten Brink are not conclusive, but also that the Welsh MSS. need to be examined, that Geoffrey's text needs to be studied afresh in comparison with them, and that the kernels of real tradition, folk-memory and history can, and should, be extracted by a complete critical comparison and analysis. Professor Liebermann, to begin with, is certainly correct in rejecting the claim, first made in 1811 by Peter Roberts, repeated by San-Marte in 1854, and implied by Professor Petrie in 1917, that the *Tysilio* is the actual *vetustissimus liber* that Geoffrey used. And Professor Liebermann is also undoubtedly right when he points out that the *Tysilio* text as we have it, is a translation from Latin.[1] This, we repeat, is exactly what the colophon states.[2] It adds, however, that the Latin original was in its turn derived from the Welsh, and it makes no reference to the *Historia*, and claims Walter as the original translator. Professor Liebermann, without the slightest reference to other Welsh colophons, or to the statements of Gaimar and Alfred of Beverley,[3] both Walter's and Geoffrey's contemporaries, dismisses the colophon with the phrase:

"A double deception like that makes it impossible to put any faith in the concluding sentence: 'and in my old age I translated it back from Latin into Welsh.' The critics have wasted their time puzzling their wits[4] why this odd fellow did not simply copy

[1] "Die angebliche Entdeckung einer brythonischen Geschichte aus Römerzeit; Galfrid von Monmouth und Tysylio"; in *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Band 144, Neuen Serie 44, Berlin, 1922, esp. pp. 32, 33.

[2] Cf. p. 536 of text, and p. 150 above.

[3] Cf. p. 167 above.

[4] The reference is to ab Ithel, *Brut y Tywysogion*, in *Rolls Series*, p. xxi, who discusses the Red Book colophon, entirely different from this one, and which Professor Liebermann confuses with the *Tysilio*.

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the alleged work of his youth; the stupid invention deserves no consideration."[1] This is not serious criticism. Furthermore, Professor Liebermann states that "the most elementary source-criticism"—aber schon elementarste Quellenkritik—proves that the *Tysilio* "translated" Geoffrey (p. 35). Now this was an unfortunate phrase in view of the fact that Professor Liebermann used San-Marte's German translation of Peter Roberts's English rendering of a Welsh text printed 128 years ago, said to reproduce a MS. which it did not reproduce. The old errors are repeated by Professor Liebermann, without reference to the Welsh sources. His statements, moreover, are followed by illustrations, which are not only not based upon the Welsh MSS. (either Jesus LXI or XXVIII), or the printed Welsh text in the *Myvyrian*, but not even upon any Latin text of the *Historia*, whether printed or in MS. For example, Professor Liebermann states that "Zum zweistirnigen Götzen lässt T den Namen JANUS [II.14] fort, der allein den Januarbrauch des Textes erklärt." (P. 33.) Professor Liebermann implies that the double-faced Roman god's name *Janus* is required to keep the sense of Geoffrey's passage, and so has to be retained in the Welsh, or the sense would be destroyed. Hence its appearance in the Welsh proves a dependence upon Geoffrey. But Professor Liebermann was misled by the German text of San-Marte, which he was using. The name *Janus* does not appear in our Welsh MSS. Geoffrey writes:

. . . *Mortuus est etiam aganippus. rex francorum. Cordeilla ergo filia regni gubernacula adepta. sepeliuit patrem in quodam subterraneo quod sub sora fluuio infra legescestriam fieri preceperat. erat autem subterraneum illud conditum in honore bifrontis iani.* (Cf. p. 270).

There is no pun here, and no explanation of the fact that Janus is double-faced, nor any further explanation. San-Marte has:

Cordalia nahm jetzt die Oberherrschaft von Brittanien in ihre Hand. Lear ward in einem unter dem Fluss Soar zu Leicester gebauten Gewölbe

[1] "Solch ein doppelter Betrug entzieht allen Glauben dem Schlussatze. . . . Umsonst haben sich Kritiker den Kopf zerbrochen wieso dieser Sonderling nicht einfacher sein angebliches Jugendwerk abschrieb: die plumpe Erfindung verdient keine Beachtung." P. 35.

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begraben, welches er prächtig zur Ehre des zweistirnigen Gottes hatte errichten lassen." (P. 495.)

The Welsh of Jesus LXI, fol. 36rec. reads in literal translation as follows:

And then Kordaila got the rulership into her own hands, and then she caused her father to be buried in a cave, which was made beneath the river which is called ssoram at kaer Lvr. This house of earth was made in honour of the god called biffrons.

Roberts had this last phrase correctly enough, as he says "which had been magnificently constructed in honour of the god Bifrons." (P. 45.) Nowhere does the Welsh have the name Janus, and Professor Liebermann was misled by the German "zweistirnigen Gottes," which was original with San-Marte, and was probably derived from reading Roberts's notes, for neither Welsh nor English has any such phrase as "two-faced god."

This whole passage in the Welsh reflects a very old tradition, and does not read like a fiction even in Geoffrey. His agile mind might have seen the possibilities in the Welsh phrase, "a god called biffrons," and thinking of Janus, he might have explained the name Biffrons as *bifrontis Jani*. In any case, Rome was not the only land which had two-faced gods. Dr. Waddell has pointed out that ancient British rock sculptures and "prehistoric" coins figure two-headed or bi-faced gods exactly similar to Sumerian and Hittite, i.e., Phœnician, seals and coins; and that these portrayed the "Resurrecting Sun-God (two-headed as before)." [1] Roberts suggested years ago that Geoffrey's Janus might have been a misreading of the old Welsh *Huan*, the Sun, first latinized to *Huanus*, and then made Janus.[2] We have to do here with the distant echoes of a very old tradition well worth further exploration.

Similarly, our critic says that the *Tysilio* "errs through ignorance" because "Rutupi portum (IX.i: Richborough) dass

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 239, 246–7, 249–50, etc. with illustrations. Cf. also Dr. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 323; and Dr. A. H. Krappe, *Balor with the Evil Eye*, 1927, p. 8.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 354.

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er [i.e., *Tysilio*] IV.16 unübersetzt aufnimmt, setzt er falsch 'Southampton.'" Now the phrase *Rutupi portus* occurs three times in the *Historia:*

IV.9 — *Cæsar revocatisque caternis cum instante vento in Rutupi portum applicuit.*

IV.16 — *Cum igitur in Rutupi portum applicare incoepisset Vespasianus,* . . . etc.

XI.1 (not IX.1) — *Modredus . . . Arturo in Rutupi portum applicanti obviam venit.* (Text of San-M.)

The corresponding Welsh has:

IV. 9 — And then Ilkassar prepared a fleet and landed at the port of Rwydon.

Rwytun is the Isle of Thanet, and has nothing to do with Richborough or *Rutupi portus*. San-Marte follows Roberts correctly, "Hafen von Rwydon." Roberts suggests in a note that the Welsh prince, Afarwy, who was treacherously helping Cæsar, may have lived in, or retired for safety to, Thanet, and Cæsar on returning to Britain sent to him there. Professor Liebermann ignores this passage.

IV.16 — And when his fleet [Vespasian's] was fully ready, they made landfall at the port of rydipi.

This is obviously a reference to *Rutupi portus*, but does not necessarily translate the *Historia* (cf. p. 325). San-Marte leaves out the words, "the port of," not in Roberts, but in the Welsh, and spells it Rhydypi, also following Roberts. The passage proves that the Welsh knew of *Rutupi portus*.

XI.1 — And Medrod went with that multitude with him to Norddhamtwn to try to prevent Arthyr's landing.

The Welsh clearly had *Norddhamtwn* — or Northampton, not *Southampton*, as Professor Liebermann states. However, as San-Marte *has* Southampton — "mit denen er nach Southampton

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zog" — Professor Liebermann copied this. We shall see that the Welsh regularly used Northampton for Southampton because of a persistent scribal error, which caused the Welsh Porthampton = Southampton, to be read Northampton. In this passage, the Welsh has Mordred with his army of "Picts and Scots and Goidels and every tribe that hated Arthyr" go "to Northampton [i.e., Southampton] to try to prevent Arthyr's landing." This phrase is not in Geoffrey at all, who says that Mordred with his host went to meet Arthur, who *had landed* in Richborough (in *Rutupi portum*). The place of the ensuing conflict is specifically mentioned as on the shore in the Latin; but Mordred, being defeated, is able to flee *the next night* to Winchester — *insequenti nocte*. Now, Winchester is about 15–20 miles from Southampton, and a scattered and defeated army could have reached the town in one day. But Richborough (*Rutupi portum*) is more than 120 miles from Winchester, and no defeated army could have covered any such distance in one day. Geoffrey is certainly wrong, therefore, in writing *Rutupi Portus*, and the Welsh is correct in giving Southampton as the place for Arthur's landing.

On examination, therefore, these illustrations given by Professor Liebermann prove the exact opposite of his contention, and "source-criticism" here does not bear out his statements. This is even more obvious in the one further illustration put forward to prove that the *Tysilio* translated Geoffrey, namely, the fact that three times the *Tysilio* writer "misunderstands" Geoffrey's *Hamtonia*, meaning Southampton, and writes, Northampton [III.5. IX.2. X.2] "und einmal setzt er für *Hamtonia nuncupatur portus* [IV. 13.] den Unsinn 'heute Hafen Hamons genannt'" (p. 33), — quoting freely San-Marte's "der seitdem bis heutigen Tages Hafen des Hamon genannt wird" (p. 517).

Now Professor Liebermann failed to consider how this error in the Welsh could have arisen, nor, apparently, did he read attentively the Latin text of the *Historia:* he merely dismisses the whole business as a "stupid misunderstanding" of Geoffrey's *Hamtonia*. But in the three places cited above by him

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(those indicated in square brackets), Geoffrey *did not once write Hamtonia* for Southampton — and it is difficult to see how Professor Liebermann could have misread the passages if he looked at them, as they are correctly given in the printed texts. Yet he writes: "G. erwähnte viermal Southampton als *Hamtonia*" (p. 35). The phrases, in San-Marte's Latin text, and in Giles's text, as also in the MSS., are identical, and are as follows:

III.5 — *ad portum Hamonis* . . .
(San-M. p. 34; Giles, p. 42).

IX.2 — *ad portum Hamonis* . . .
(San-M. p. 123; Giles, p. 159).

X.2 — *suo portum Hamonis* . . .
(San-M. p. 140; Giles, p. 180).

The phrase also occurs in three other places not cited by Professor Liebermann, viz.,

V.10 — *in portum Hamonis* . . .
(San-M. p. 67; Giles, p. 86).

also — *ad portum Hamonis* . . .
(San-M. p. 68; Giles, p. 86).

XII.7 — *in portum Hamonis*
(San-M. p. 168; Giles, p. 218).

Geoffrey therefore does not use the name *Hamtonia* for Southampton, as Professor Liebermann states; but instead, *portus Hamonis*, or Hamon's port. However, Geoffrey knew that the name for Southampton was *Hamtonia*, as is proved by the remaining passage cited, viz., Bk. IV, cap. xiii, which also shows clearly that though Geoffrey did know that *Hamtonia* was the right name for Southampton, nevertheless he did not use it in this or the seven above-cited places because he was following a native original which did not use the name *Hamtonia*. The account in Book IV, xiii, is as follows: The British King, Gwydr (Latinized to *Guiderius*) refused to pay the tribute to Rome, and Claudius Cæsar came against him, and besieged Portchester. The Welsh then continues (cf. p. 321 below): —

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And when Gwydr heard it, he prepared a great host, went to Kaerberis, and promptly fell upon the men of Ryfain and more of them were killed by Gwydr himself than by the greater part of the host together. And then came Hamon, the deceiver [*Hamon dwyll6r*], who from the hostages of the Bryttaniait at Ryfain had learned the language. He threw aside his own arms and took the arms of one of the Bryttaniait who had been killed, and came among the armies, and when he got the chance, killed the king, and from there slunk in and out until he reached his own army, and he threw away that armour and put on his own arms. And when Gwairydd learned of his brother's death, he took off his own harness and put on his brother's royal armour, and incited his men to fight manfully, and to put the men of Ryfain to flight. And then Hamon and the larger part of the army with him fled to the place called porth Hamon, or porth Hamwnt as it is called to this hour; and there Hamon was killed.

This story, with the naming of a town from some hero who died there, is typical of many throughout this chronicle. *Hamon dwyll6r* — "the deceiver," is also typically Welsh, and is not in the Latin, unless *twyll6r* suggested Lelius (the *Livius* of the printed texts being incorrect) as a near equivalent to Geoffrey. The *Historia* has for the latter part of this passage the following:

Aruiragus igitur arbitrans claudium cum eo diffugere. festinauit sequi eum nec cessauit de loco in locum fugare. donec occupauit illos super ripam maris quæ nunc de nomine hamonis eiusdem. hantonia[1] *nunccupatur. Erat enim portus applicantibus congruus: nauesque mercatorum appulse. Quas igitur cum ingredi affectasset hamo superuenit aruiragus: ipsumque subito interfecit. Portus autem ille ab illo tempore usque in hodiernum diem portus hamonis appellatur.*

In this setting, it is very difficult to know how to interpret Professor Liebermann's statement that the *Tysilio* writer puts for *Hamtonia nuncupatur portus* — "den Unsinn 'heute Hafen Hamons genannt.'" It seems perfectly clear that Geoffrey was expanding in typical fashion his source, which gave the Hamon story and derived the name *porth Hamon* from the hero who was killed there. It also seems perfectly clear that Geoffrey adopted

[1] Griscom E. 17 reads, undoubtedly correctly, *que nunc de nomine eiusdem ipsius hamonis hamtonia nuncupatur.* (Fol. 13*rec*, col. a).

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this name — viz., *portus Hamonis* — uniformly throughout his book, as it occurs wherever Southampton is referred to. And it is equally clear that he knew that Southampton was *Hamtonia — quæ nunc de nomine hamonis eiusdem. hamtonia nuncupatur* — yet persisted here and throughout in following his source, which calls it — as in our Welsh MSS. — *porth Hamon.* Having interjected in the first sentence the modern or accepted name for Southampton, viz., *nunc hamtonia nuncupatur*, Geoffrey adds, as in the Welsh: *Portus autem ille ab illo tempore usque in hodiernum diem portus hamonis appellatur.* The *Tysilio* writer, instead of writing the "stuff" or "nonsense" that Professor Liebermann calls it, is entirely consistent, is not dependent on Geoffrey or the *Historia* text, and even if he be held to have translated Geoffrey, is entirely accurate in so doing — *in hodiernum diem portus hamonis appellatur.* In other words, even if the *Tysilio* translated Geoffrey's Latin, it did not turn *nunc Hamtonia nuncupatur* into "now called Hamon's port," but the later phrase, at the end of the Latin paragraph.

The mistake of explaining Porth Hamon as *North*ampton, an inland town, instead of the seaport Southampton, seems easily accounted for if one consider the word in its manuscript form. Northampton is clearly inconsistent, as the text calls for ships landing at a sea-port. Now the Welsh, quoted above, gives Porth Hamon, which in *every* case appears as *portus Hamonis* in Geoffrey, as cited above. In III.5 the Welsh says that Beli ordered a road to be built "from kaer Vyniw [St. David's] on the coast, to port hamon, that is Norddamtwn." The last three words are not in the *Historia*, and are a scribal elucidation in the Welsh. Now, the initial capitals 𝔓 and 𝔑 can easily be confused in XII and XIII century writing, it being customary to make the 𝔑 with a rounded hump. If the hump of the 𝔓 had a flourish, and the stem were short, a scribe might easily read *N*orthampton for *P*orthampton. This error, despite its necessary and obvious inconsistency for the sense of the text, is uniform throughout Jesus LXI and its copy, Jesus XXVIII, and is certainly more

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naturally explained in this way than as a misunderstanding of Geoffrey's *portus Hamonis*, which, in the context of the Hamon story, is both natural and clear.[1]

To sum up, therefore, we have only to turn from the faulty texts and translations upon which Professor Liebermann relied, and return to the MSS. themselves, to find that many of his conclusions are either left without support or are completely reversed. This specific illustration which he cites to prove that the author of the *Tysilio* merely copied Geoffrey with "stupid misunderstanding," indicates, instead, that he must have drawn from a Welsh, not from a Latin original; for the confusion of place names could not possibly have arisen from a misreading of Geoffrey, and is easily and naturally explainable as the scribal misreading of a Welsh MS. The above are all the illustrations given by Professor Liebermann to prove that "schon elementarste Quellenkritik erlaubt den Beweis, dass T aus G nur übersetzt."

With Professor R. W. Chambers, also, the same misfortunes attended his using the translations. He has raised a most interesting problem as to the relation between the *Tysilio* text and Geoffrey's Latin, based largely on the sentence in the account of Cæsar's invasion, *palis ferreis atque plumbatis. & ad modum humani femoris grossis*, which appears to be taken from Bede. However, though his argument seems impressive on the basis of this one sentence, it is doubtful whether the same finality would have been conveyed if he had compared the whole passage relating to Cæsar's invasion, as it appears in the Welsh, with Geoffrey's Latin. The Welsh not only omits much that in Geoffrey appears to be little more than rhetorical expansion, typical of his method of literary embroidery, but the Welsh

[1] This error appears in a number of the Welsh MSS., so it cannot be attributed to the lateness or corruption of the Jesus LXI MS. The Dingestow Court MS., p. 75, gives the clue, perhaps, because we find for the concluding sentence: "And from then to this day that porth is called Nordhamtwn in English, and porth hamo in kymraec." Peniarth 44, fol. 58*rec.* and *vo.*, has first nordhamtwn, and concludes: "And then Gweirydd came upon their heads and then killed him, and from then until today his name remained upon that port, and it was called porth hamo." Cleopatra B. V., fol. 41*rec.* has: "And then fled Hamon and the greater part of his entire host with him to ỳmporth hamont and there before he could get to his ships hamo [hamon] was killed."

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radically changes the order, introduces statements and names not in Geoffrey, and seems to be independent of the actual text of Geoffrey. My own study has convinced me that the similarities must be explained, not by direct translation, or borrowing of the one from the other, but rather by their common use of the same source, or sources. That Geoffrey knew and occasionally copied Bede cannot be disputed; but he was not alone in this, and may well have drawn also from other sources which had themselves drawn from Bede, or from the same material from which Bede drew. Recognition of this may have led Geoffrey to introduce what he felt to be a happy phrase of Bede's (or *Nennius's*) into the account which he was translating from the Welsh, and elaborating. In any event, close comparison will show the many differences between the Latin and the Welsh, and makes it seem very unlikely that the Welsh could have been a translation of the Geoffrey text, however free. Only one or two illustrations can be given briefly at this point to show the need, so repeatedly urged in these pages, for close and unprejudiced attention to the sources themselves, and not to second or even third-hand statements.

Professor Chambers, as quoted above, shows the similarity of phrase between Bede and Geoffrey's Latin in one sentence in the account of Cæsar's invasion, viz., the statement about the iron stakes in the Thames, "of the size of a man's thigh." He does not point out that this one sentence, as given above, is the only phrase in the whole *Historia* account of several pages which has any similarity with Bede. Now, this one phrase is not in any known source that Bede had — in fact, it is stated by Professor Chambers to be "derived, not from Orosius or from Cæsar, but from his own [Bede's] information." [1] What the source of "his own information" is, neither Professor Chambers, nor Bede's editor, Plummer, suggest. It evidently came originally from an eye-witness, who knew the truth of the statement, for Bede writes: "quarum uestigia sudium ibidem usque hodie uisuntur,

[1] *History*, Vol. IV, 13; April, 1919, p. 36.

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et uidetur inspectantibus, quod singulae earum ad modum humani femoris grossae, et circumfusae plumbo inmobiliter erant in profundum fluminis infixae." [1] From his account of himself we know that Bede never travelled or went far from the monastery at Jarrow, so he was not the eye-witness. Moreover, it would seem highly unlikely that the eye-witness should have been contemporary with Bede, as iron or lead-covered stakes would hardly have been left, or have survived, in a ford of the Thames for nearly eight hundred years since Cæsar's day. Bede had a source, therefore, and a native source, dependent upon neither Cæsar nor Orosius.

Bede speaks of lead-covered stakes; Geoffrey and the *Tysilio* of *iron* stakes. The Chartres and Harleian MSS. of *Nennius* also speak of *iron* stakes. Therefore, urges Professor Chambers, Geoffrey merely combined the accounts in Bede and the *Nennius*, and since the *Tysilio* follows Geoffrey, the Welsh is a translation of the *Historia*, and not "genuine British tradition."

Now, Geoffrey probably did combine the accounts of *Nennius* and Bede, but he combined them *with his source* as can be shown in just these passages cited. As is usual in such questions of verbal interrelations, the matter is complicated, so I shall quote Professor Chambers in full.

After the above discussion of the sentence from Bede, with the change to *Nennius* for *iron* rather than lead-covered stakes, Professor Chambers quotes the familiar misreading of the *Nennius*, viz., "*Bellinus . . . filius erat Minocanno.*" Suetonius had originally mentioned in his *Life of Caligula* (cap. 44), one Adminius, son of the British king, Cymbeline — *Adminio Cynobellini Britannorum regis filio.* Orosius, reading mistakenly, or from a corrupt MS., wrote — dropping off the first syllable *Ad:* — "*Minocynobellinum Britannorum regis filium.*" [2] This, apparently, *Nennius* read, dividing the long name as given above, into *Minocynni Bellinus filius regis*, and so, by a series of scribal errors, derived

[1] *Hist. Eccl. Gentis Angl.*, ed. Plummer, Oxford, 1896, I, p. 14.
[2] *Historiarum*, Lib. VII, cap. v; *Pat. Lat.* Tom. XXXI, col. 1070.

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a new king of the Britons, viz., Bellinus, at the time of Cæsar's invasion. "And this *Bellinus*," writes Professor Chambers, "appears in Geoffrey, and, further reduced to *Beli*, in the *Brut Tysilio*" (p. 37). Professor Chambers then summarizes as follows: — "We can, in fact, almost see Geoffrey putting his *History* together. It is certain that he knew Bede, and that he knew '*Nennius*.' Bede tells us that the stakes were as thick as a man's thigh; '*Nennius*' tells us they were iron pikes. Geoffrey compromises by saying they were made of iron, and the thickness of a man's thigh. Bede makes Cassivellaunus the British leader; Nennius says Bellinus, son of Minocannus, was king. Geoffrey compromises by leaving Cassivellaunus king, but mentions Bellinus as one by whose counsel the whole kingdom was governed. And the *Brut Tysilio* agrees with Geoffrey." (P. 37.)

Now, unfortunately for this argument, neither a *Beli* nor a *Bellinus* is mentioned by the *Tysilio* in the whole of Cæsar's invasion account; nor does the name anywhere appear in the printed Welsh text of the *Brut Tysilio* in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* (2nd ed., p. 430, col. a). The name Beli does appear in Manley Pope's English edition (p. 60), without collation marks or any sign that it is an interpolation, and also in San-Marte's German translation (p. 513), equally without collation marks. Both of these are derived from Peter Roberts, who adds to the *Tysilio* list of Caswallon's followers, "and Beli, the master of the palace and all their forces." This Roberts marks with note six, referring to the Book of Basingwerk MS., from which he drew this phrase, and which, therefore, he interpolated into the *Tysilio* text. This passage occurs in that later section of the Book of Basingwerk MS., which is in Guttyn Owain's handwriting, and the interpolation may have been Guttyn's own, put in to conform with the *Historia* account. The argument, for any comparison with the *Tysilio*, therefore, breaks down.

Geoffrey, in this passage, is obviously comparing accounts, and supplementing from *Nennius* and Bede, but his main story comes from the native British version. A brief comparison will show this.

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The first two sentences in the Welsh, equivalent to Book IV, cap. iii (cf. p. 308) in the Latin, read as follows: —

And so after Ilkassar [Cæsar] had seen Kasswallawn's letter and his answers, he fitted out a fleet, and came to the mouth of the Temys. And against him came Nynniaw, his [Kaswallon's] brother; and Afarwy, his nephew, prince of Llyndain; and trahayant, Earl of Kerniw; and Kradawc, king of Alban; and Gwerthaet, king of Gwent; and Brithael, king of Dyfed.

Note that Caswallon's brother is Nynniaw, or Nennius, and that his nephew is Afarwy, the prince of London. This follows correctly the preceding accounts. Caswallon had three brothers, Llud, Llevelys and Nynniaw; Llud, the eldest, had ruled as paramount king, and when he died, he left two sons, Afarwy and Tenefan, who "were not of age to rule the kingdom," so their uncle, Caswallon, Llud's brother, was consecrated in their stead.

The equivalent passage in the *Historia*, translated for convenience, reads (for text cf. p. 308): —

"Having seen this, Caius Julius Cæsar made ready his fleet, and awaited a favourable wind so that he might carry out himself what he had commanded Cassibellaunus to do. As soon as the wind stood fair he hoisted his sails, and approached the mouth of the river Thames with his army; and just as the boats came close to shore, behold Cassibellaunus with all his forces comes up, and arriving at the town of Dorobellus he sought counsel there from his chief men how to keep the enemy at a distance. There was with him Belinus, chief of his troops, by whose advice the whole kingdom was governed. There also came thither his two nephews, namely, Androgeus, Duke of London, and Tenuantius, Duke of Cornwall. There were also three kings subject to him, Cridous, king of Albania, and Gueithaet of Venedocia, and Brittahel of Demetia: who, as they had led the others to favour fighting, gave it as their counsel to go at once to the camp of Cæsar, and, pressing him vigorously, to expel him before he could capture any city or town, for if he should get possession of a fortified place in the country, they said that it would be difficult to force him out since he would know whither he and his men could retreat."

Here we have a typical example of Geoffrey's rhetorical expansion, and also of his methods of compiling. Nynniaw, or

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Nennius, has dropped out, and instead appears *Belinus princeps militiae ejus, cujus consilio totum regnum tractabatur.* Nothing of this is in the Welsh, nor in Bede or Orosius; but the *Nennius* has, as we have seen, a hopelessly corrupt passage, turning *oppidum Dorobellum* into *Dolobellum, qui erat proconsul regi Brittannico, qui et ipse Bellinus vocabatur, et filius erat Minocanni.*[1] Moreover, the Irish *Nennius* which Geoffrey might have seen, states specifically that "Now Bellinus was king of the island of Britain at that time."[2] Therefore, Geoffrey introduces him as Caswallon's general, and though he credits Belinus practically with ruling the kingdom — *cujus consilio totum regnum tractabatur* — he drops him forthwith, and Belinus never reappears upon the scene again.

However, Geoffrey, having dropped Nennius [Nynniaw] from this list, now falls into inconsistency, and proves that he was depending upon some narrative similar to the *Tysilio.* The Welsh account continues directly after the above quoted sentences:

> They [i.e., the above-mentioned kings] came without delay to the castle of Doral, at once they came down to the beach, and manfully they fought on all sides. And then Nyniaw and Ilcassar met, and Ilkassar raised his sword aiming at Nynnyaw's head; but he caught it on his shield, until the sword stuck in it, but he [Cæsar] could not pull it out on account of the thickness of the armies pressing them. And when Nynyaw got his sword, no one stood up under his blows.

Geoffrey, with typical expansion and the addition of vivid details with which all his fights are enlivened, writes: —

> They sought the shore on which Julius had erected a camp and his tents, where they drew up in battle array, and began to engage the enemy with javelin strokes and fierce sword play; and immediately here and there the wounded fell in heaps receiving weapons in their vitals, and the ground was soaked with the blood of the dying as if it had been drenched with the incoming tide of the sea. While therefore, the opposing armies were engaged, it happened that by good fortune Nennius and Androgeus, with the men of Canterbury and the citizens of the town of Trinovant over which

[1] *Hist. Brit.*, ed. Mommsen, p. 162.

[2] *Leabhar Breathnoch*, etc., Todd, p. 58; cf. Mommsen, *loc. cit.* "*Nennius Interpretatus.*"

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they commanded, came upon the troop where the Emperor was. As they thus met, the imperial cohort was almost routed by the Britons attacking in dense formation. And as they redoubled the commingling of blows, fortune gave Nennius the chance of encountering Cæsar, etc.

There follows a long-winded account of the fight between Nennius and Cæsar, instructive of Geoffrey's literary methods, and ending with the flourish: "Whomsoever he [Nennius] himself struck with it, he either cut off his head, or left to perish of his wounds." The point is that we have here, not only the same story in all its essentials, but we find Nennius, whom Geoffrey had before *failed to mention*, turning up unexplained, and taking his place in the story exactly as in the Welsh. Belinus, who came from the *Nennius* source, and who is not in the Welsh, has disappeared, while the brother of Caswallon, Nynniaw, enters the narrative because he appeared in Geoffrey's native source, and is essential to the story — the dramatic features of which did not lose in the retelling at Geoffrey's hands.

A close analysis of this account of Cæsar's invasion reveals similar striking examples of the dependence of Geoffrey on a source, written from a native point of view, with incidents and a knowledge of British affairs totally unknown to Cæsar or to the accounts dependent on Cæsar's narrative. Such a study, made at second-hand as far as the Welsh was concerned, led Professor Petrie to write in rejoinder to Professor Chambers: "The basis of Dr. Chambers's paper is the accepted system of verbal criticism, which is so valuable in dealing with the descent of MSS., but is it equally applicable to the *Tysilio*-Geoffrey question? The conditions of this problem seem to me to render verbal criticism as a whole misleading, and to throw us entirely on substantive criticism of the subjects related. Here in *Tysilio* we have a record which is expressly stated to have been translated from the Breton (or Welsh) into Latin, and, after many years, again translated from Latin into Welsh; and this was done by a writer familiar with the other sources. His thoughts would naturally fall in with phrases in which the same facts were already

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known to him; he would naturally use those translations of names already familiar in kindred writers, just as a modern translator uses the English forms of foreign names of people and places. When this process has passed twice over the material, and it has suffered copying for five centuries, what value can we place on small verbal detail? . . .

"That Geoffrey is a compilation is agreed on all hands. That the later writers may have had a considerable reflex action on the words of the double translation of *Tysilio*, and may even have led to some small traces of fresh matter, is highly probable. But that does not affect the substantive facts." [1]

In concluding this whole discussion, therefore, I also wish to appeal to the "substantive facts." The critics of Geoffrey's text, of his statements of a native source, and especially of the Welsh MSS., have revealed themselves, on examination, to be inconclusive and often superficial. The primary manuscript sources, whether Latin or Welsh or Irish, have not been studied; nor has the accumulating mass of evidence from archæology and anthropology been brought to bear on the basic facts of the problem. It would require a separate volume to do this, and I have deliberately refrained from appealing to more than the manuscript evidence and earlier criticism. It may be well, however, to indicate by a single illustration the strength and convincing character of the archæological evidence, which is now increasingly available and which awaits the study of historians. It should be remembered, moreover, that *one* conclusive piece of evidence for statements in Geoffrey's *Historia*, known to be in no other sources, and which, therefore, cannot have been Geoffrey's invention, at the same time proves that he had, and used, a source, — in this case almost certainly a written one. The material for this illustration was first most generously communicated to me by the Rev. J. W. Hayes, and has been made known to Professor Petrie, Messrs P. Norman, F. W. Reader, and others.

In Book V, cap. iv, of the *Historia* (cf. p. 334 below), Geoffrey

[1] *History*, April, 1919, p. 41.

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details an incident in the conflict between the British leader Asclepiodotus, and the Roman General Livius Gallus, associate of the recently-murdered Alectus, which, all scholars agree, occurs in *no other history*. It is, therefore, either an "invention" of Geoffrey, or an incident which he drew from a native source. The significant sentences from the Cambridge MS. follow, leaving aside for the moment the accounts in the Welsh MSS.

Nec mora diruerunt muros. atque sibi introitum fecerunt. stragemque romanis dabant. At romani cum sese interfici sine intermissione uidissent: suaserunt gallo ut sese & ipsos deditioni traderet. & misericordiam asclepiodoti rogaret ut / uiui abscedere sinerentur. Interfecti etenim omnes fere fuerant preter unam solam legionem que adhuc utcumque resistebat. Assensum ergo prebens gallus: tradidit se atque suos asclepiodoto. Cumque ipse misericordiam de illo habere captaret uenerunt uenedoti. & facto agmine decollauerunt omnes una die super torrentem infra urbem. qui postea de nomine ducis britannice nantgallun. saxonice uero galabroc nuncupatus fuit.[1]

For our purpose, the outstanding points in this exceedingly important paragraph are as follows: — Livius Gallus, the Roman Commander in Londinium, or London, was attacked by the British leader Asclepiodotus, and the British overwhelmed the Roman garrison, and killed all but one legion. These appealed for mercy, and while Asclepiodotus was delaying the grant of their freedom, the Venedoti, or North Wales men, fell upon them on the bank of a small stream outside the walls of London and cut off their heads, killing them all in one day's massacre. This stream, Geoffrey adds, has been called since then in Welsh, *nantgallun*, and in Saxon, *galabroc*. *Nant* in mediæval Welsh means brook, or stream; and the brook, apparently, was called after Gallus, the murdered Roman leader, in both Welsh and Saxon.

Now, it so happens that the little river, the Walbrook, ran through what is now Finsbury Circus, down the street which goes by the name of "London Wall," past All Hallows' Church and the Bank of England, across Cannon Street and over the

[1] Camb. MS. 1706, f. 43, rec.-vo.; cf. p. 336.

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site of the Cannon St. R. R. Station, into the Thames just north of Southwark Bridge. Numerous excavations have been made along the bed of the Walbrook by Col. Lane-Fox (later General Pitt-Rivers), Mr. Francis W. Reader, and others. Every such excavation has disclosed numerous *skulls*, but practically no other human bones have been found with them.

In an article in *The Anthropological Review*,[1] Col. Lane-Fox wrote: "Nothing is more clearly proved than that the heads (those found in the bed of the Walbrook) were severed from the bodies before they were thrown into the positions in which they were found." The writer had *no* explanation to offer concerning the presence of these skulls, and merely commented: "Upon the whole . . . both the Celts and the Romans are known to have practised decapitation." Geoffrey's account having been entirely disregarded, it was therefore overlooked. Mr. Reader, in a letter of Dec. 10th, 1918, to the Rev. Mr. Hayes, which the latter kindly communicated to me, lists some of the skulls still preserved, viz., General Pitt-Rivers found 17, now probably at Oxford; the Guildhall Museum has preserved 13 "out of a large number," etc. Mr. Reader examined these skulls "for marks of weapons, but could find nothing"; and Mr. Hayes wrote me that he had seen eight of these and that "the curious point is that these skulls bore no sign of (1) javelin holes, (2) axe marks, or (3) cracks made by any instrument of war, but appeared to be the skulls of decapitated persons, such as Geoffrey's incident would suit. One thing is certain, viz., that these skulls were not those of burials, as no other bones of the bodies belonging to them were found." [2]

In an article, "Recent Discoveries in Connection with Roman London," [3] Messers Norman and Reader wrote: "This occurrence of human skulls at the bottom of the Walbrook, coupled with the scarcity of other bones, is a fact which it is difficult to account for" [without Geoffrey's *Historia!*]. "Record has been kept of a considerable number, while many more appear to have been

[1] Vol. V, 1867, pp. lxxi-lxxxiii; cf. p. lxxx.
[2] Letter of 18 Feb., 1926.
[3] *Archæologia*, Vol. LX, p. 176.

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found but disregarded . . . . . recently we have been informed by Mr. Lodge, who had charge of the erection of Finsbury House, that upwards of 100 were discovered on that site at the bottom of the stream filling, while other bones were almost wholly absent. No effort was made to preserve these."

So far, Geoffrey's story is substantiated in a most remarkable way, especially in his striking and decisive detail of the beheading of the Roman soldiery. One point remains to be established, and that is, the time when these skulls were thrown into the Walbrook river. If they can be shown to date approximately from the time indicated by Geoffrey's narrative, namely, the third century A.D., then the proof would seem to be conclusive. Citing "Pile Structures near London Wall," [1] by Mr. Reader, who had no knowledge then of the *Historia* passage, the Rev. Mr. Hayes wrote that, "no coins were found later than Marcus Aurelius; mostly of the third century; also of Diocletian, Vespasian and Severus." Note that this is exactly the period which Geoffrey gives for the slaughter of the Romans, Carausius, Alectus, Asclepiodotus, etc., and the Roman legionaries had the coins of the Roman Emperors of that period, *but none later*. Summing up, Mr. Reader himself wrote: "The coins show strong presumptive evidence that the wall was not built later than the early part of the third century, and perhaps by the Emperor Severus." [2] The building of a wall is mentioned by Geoffrey, but as he confuses it with the more famous border-wall erected by Hadrian, his account has been derided. However, the evidence for a source, a source accurate even in details, and a native British source, seems conclusive from the evidence of these skulls.

A comparison of several of the Welsh MSS. accounts of this passage is instructive, both for their several additions and for omissions of detail. The reader may judge for himself whether they are all "translations" of Geoffrey's Latin.

It will be seen that no single one of these five Welsh accounts gives all the points made by Geoffrey. Our Jesus LXI MS.

[1] The *Archæological Journal*, Vol. LX, p. 202. [2] P. 203.

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Dingestow Court MS. p. 91 vo. followed closely by Havod MS. 1 *Myv. Arch.*, p. 570, Note 308	Peniarth 44 fol. 68 vo.	Red Book MS. *Text of the Bruts* p. 106, ll. 21–26	*Brut Gruffyd Ab Arthur*, *Myv. Arch.* p. 507, b, from Panton MS. 9, transcribed by the Rev. Evan Evans "from a very old copy of the British History on Vellum." (Now apparently lost, but similar to Llanstephan MS. 1. Cf. Appendix II.)	Cotton, Cleopatra B. V. fol. 39 vo.
And according to that counsel they waited upon the will of Asclepiodot and the brytannyiet. and as they were taking counsel about this release, the men of Gwynedd attacked them, and on the one stream [ffrwt] that runs through lunden, killed Gallus the prince and all his companions. and from his name that [place] from that time to this day is called in kymraec nant y keiliawc, gallobroc in saesnec.	And so while he was willing to show [lit. *make*, or *do*] mercy towards them, the men of Gwynedo rushed upon them and upon a little river called in cymraeg nant Gallδn and in saesnec called GalloBroc they killed them in one day.	And as they were taking counsel about this release, the gwynedd men attacked them, and on a stream [ffrwt] that runs through London and killed gallus the prince and all his companions. And from his name that place from that [time] to this day is called in Cymraec nant y keiliawc [cock's dell]. and galbroc in saesnec.	And while the king was taking counsel about being merciful to them, the men of Gwynedd arose, arrayed [themselves], and on the shores of a little brook [*nant*] where they were, they cut off the heads of the Romanmen. And from this that brook is called in Kymraec nant Gallgwn and in Saxon GalloBroc.	And while the king was taking counsel about this, the men of gwyned arose, arrayed themselves on the banks of a rivulet and attacked the men of Rome and killed their heads [i.e., *cut off their heads*] without leaving one of them alive, and for this cause that stream is called in kymraec. nant gallgwn from then until today. and in saesnec galles broc or .[last word is *nell* = or, indicating an explanatory note, not completed by the copyist].

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account will be found on p. 336, and it is the simplest and most condensed of them all. Such comparisons are instructive; and the cumulative evidence of many such passages, corroborated by archæology, and other comparative study, will render untenable the position of those who dismiss all such matters as the result of Geoffrey's imagination, or the echoes of an "oral tradition," eight hundred and fifty years old, or more.

I cannot escape the conviction that when scholars return to these primary sources, early British history will be found by them to have survived in legendary or story form, and that it can be recovered by diligent search and investigation. King Arthur and his wars, pre-Roman British kings, the movements and civilizations of ancient peoples and races, lie just the further side of these old stories and the dusty manuscripts that recount them. As the inheritors of that rich and fascinating past, it is for us to interpret these traditions, to decipher the inscriptions of those distant forefathers, and to realize that the Isle of Britain's place amongst the world of men reaches far behind Cæsar's day, into a splendid, if still obscure, antiquity.

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PART II

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NOTE TO THE TEXTS

THE following Latin text is a faithful reproduction of a MS. in the University Library, Cambridge, No. 1706, old number Ii. i. 14. The usual manuscript abbreviations are extended throughout; otherwise the MS. is reproduced exactly as it stands. Scribal errors, omissions, etc., are reproduced without any attempt at editing; and under-dotted letters are indicated, as it is not always possible to determine whether these are the work of the original scribe, or of later editors. Marginal and interlinear corrections, or erasures, are ignored where it is safe to say that these were later; where doubt exists, the fact has been noted in the footnotes. Every difference, including capitalization, has been given in the variant readings, printed separately from the other two Latin MSS. used, the Stadtbibliothek, Bern, MS. No. 568, and Lord Harlech's MS. No. 17. The paragraphing and punctuation of the Cambridge MS. have been observed throughout.

The English translation placed below the Latin texts, is made from the Welsh MS. in the Jesus College Library, Oxford, No. LXI. Where this MS. is defective, missing letters in names and occasional words have been supplied from a copy of it made in 1695, also in the Jesus Library, and numbered XXVIII. These additions are put in italic type. As the Welsh mutations would confuse the English reader, and at the same time might have significance in effecting ignorant Latin translators or scribes, the radical form is retained, and the actual mutation is placed in small superscript letters before all proper nouns. The spellings of names are reproduced exactly as given in the MS., however unintelligent. Every effort has been made to follow the Welsh closely, and the translation is as literal as it can be made. Asterisks indicate notes, which will be found at the end of the texts, pages 537–548, by referring to the page and line.

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GAUFRIDI MONEMUTENSIS HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIÆ

Cvm[1] mecum multa & de multis sepius animo reuoluens in *r.i*
hystoriam[2 a] regum britannie[b] inciderem. in mirum contuli
quod infra mentionem[c] quam de eis gildas.[d] & beda[e]
luculento tractatu fecerant nichil de regibus qui ante incarna-
tionem christi inhabitauerant nichil etiam de arturo[f] ceterisque
compluribus.[g] qui post incarnationem successerunt repperis-
sem.[f h] cum & gesta eorum digna æternitate[3 i] laudis constarent &
a multis populis quasi inscripta iocunde & memoriter predicaren-
.tur.[4 j] Talia mihi & de talibus multociens[k] cogitanti optulit
walterus[l] oxenefordensis[5 m] archidiaconus uir in oratoria arte.[n]
atque in exoticis[o] hystoriis[6 p] eruditus[q] quendam britannici[r]
sermonis librum uetustissimum. qui a bruto[s] primo rege bri-
tonum.[t] usque ad cadualadrum[u] filium caduallonis[v] actus om-
nium continue & ex ordine perpulcris[w] orationibus proponebat.
Rogatu itaque illius ductus tam & si infra[x] alienos ortulos.
falerata uerba non collegerim.[f] agresti tamen stilo propriisque
calamis contentus. codicem illum in latinum sermonem trans-
ferre curaui. Nam si ampullosis dictionibus paginam[7] illi-
nissem tedium legentibus ingererem dum magis in exponendis
uerbis quam in hystoria[8 y] intelligenda ipsos commorari opor-
tet.[9 z] Opusculo igitur meo roberte[10 a'] dux claudiocestrie[11]
faueas. ut sic te doctore te monitore corrigatur. quod non ex
galfridi[12 b'] monemutensis fonticulo censeatur exortum[13] set sale
minerue tue conditum illius | dicatur editio quem[14] henricus *f. 1 vo.*
illustris rex anglorum[15 c'] generauit[16] quem philosophia liberalibus

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[1] *Cum.* [2] *hystoriam.* [3] *eternitate.* [4] *predicarent.* [5] *oxinefordensis.* [6] *historiis.* *Bern*
[7] *paginem.* [8] *historia.* [9] *oporteret.* [10] *Stephane.* [11] *rex anglie.* [12] *gaufridi.* [13] *extortum.*
[14] *cuius.* [15] insert *awnculus.* [16] *extitit.*

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[a] *historiam.* [b] *brittannie* [c] *mensionem.* [d] *Gildas.* [e] *Beda.* [f] *Arturo.* *Harlech*
[g] *quam pluribus.* [h] *repperisse.* [i] *eternitate.* [j] *predicentur.* [k] omit *multociens.*
[l] *Walterus.* [m] *oxinefordensis.* [n] insert *eruditus.* [o] *exotiis.* [p] *historiis.* [q] *usus.*
[r] *brittannici.* [s] *Bruto.* [t] *brittonum.* [u] *cadawaladrum.* [v] *cadwallonis.* [w] *pulchris.*
[x] *inter.* [y] *historia.* [z] *oporteret.* [a'] *Rodberte.* [b'] *Galfridi.* [c'] *Anglorum.*

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artibus erudiuit quem [1] innata probitas in milicia militibus [a] prefecit unde brittannia [2] insula [b] tibi nunc temporibus nostris ac si alterum henricum adepta interno congratulatur [c] affectu. Tu [d] quoque galeranne [3] consul mellenti [4] altera regni nostri columpna [5] operam adhibeas [6] tuam ut utriusque moderatione communicata, editio in medium producta pulchrius [7] elucescat. Te etenim ex illius [8] celeberimi [9] regis karoli stirpe progenitum [10] mater phylosophia [11] in gremio suo excepit scientiarumque suarum subtilitatem edocuit. ac deinde ut in militaribus clareres exercitus [12] ad castra regum direxit; [13] ubi commilitones tuos audacter supergressus [14] & terror hostium existere [15] & protectio tuorum esse paternis auspiciis addidicisti. Fidelis itaque protectio tuorum existens me tuum uatem codicemque ad oblectamentum tui editum sub tutela tua recipias ut sub tegmine tam patulæ [16] arboris recubans. calamum musæ tue [17] coram inuidis atque improbis tuto modulamine resonare queam; [d]

Bern [1] *quam.* [2] *britannia.* [3] *Roberte.* [4] *claudiocestrie.* [5] *columna.* [6] *adibeas.* [7] *& pulcrius.* [8] *illo.* [9] *celeberrimo.* [10] *rege henrico progenitum.* [11] *philosophia.* [12] *exercitiis.* [13] *derexit.* [14] *supergrassus.* [15] *insistere.* [16] *patule.* [17] *muse mee.*

Harlech [a] omit *militibus.* [b] omit *insula.* [c] *gratulatur.* [d] omit all that follows through *resonare queam.*

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Britannia[a] insularum optima in occidentali[b] occeano inter galliam[c] & hiberniam sita. octingenta[1][d] milia in longum. ducenta[e] uero in latum continens, quicquid mortalium usui congruit[g] indeficienti fertilitate ministrat. Omni etenim genere metalli fecunda campos late pansos habet colles quoque prepollenti culture aptos in quibus frugum diuersitates ubertate glebe temporibus suis proueniunt. Habet &[2] nemora uniuersis fera- | rum generibus repleta quorum in saltibus & alternandis animalium pastibus gramina conueniunt[h] & aduolantibus[3] apibus flores diuersorum colorum mella distribuunt. Habet etiam prata sub aeriis montibus ameno situ[i] uirentia.[j] in quibus fontes lucidi per nitidos riuos leni murmure manantes. pignus suauis soporis[4] in ripis accubantibus irritant.[k] Porro lacubus atque piscosis[l] fluuiis irrigua[5] est & absque meridiane plage freto quo ad gallias nauigatur. tria nobilia flumina. tamensis uidelicet & sabrine. nec non & humbri. uelut[m] tria brachia extendit quibus transmarina comercia[6][n] ex uniuersis nationibus eidem nauigio feruntur. Bis denis etiam bisque quaternis ciuitatibus olim

1. ii — *f. 2 rec.*

[1] *octoginta.* [2] omit *&.* [3] *ad uolandum.* [4] *saporis.* [5] *irrugua.* [6] *commertia.* — *Bern*

[a] *Brittania.* [b] *octidentali.* [c] *Galliam.* [d] *.dccc.* [e] *.cc.* [f] *conti* written twice struck out in later hand. [g] *congruit usui.* [h] insert *& uolatilibus.* [i] *sita.* [j] *uirencia.* [k] *irrigant.* [l] *pscosis.* [m] *uelud.* [n] *commercia.* — *Harlech*

Bryttaen, the best of the islands, which used to be called the white island,* situated as it is* in the western ocean between ffraink and I*wer*ddon, [extends] eight hundred miles in its length and two hundred in its width, and whatsoever men must needs use it supplies them in unfailing plenty. And with this it is full of numerous wide-spreading plains and noble hills, and havens to which from overseas come foreign products in great variety. And there are also in it forests and thickets full of various kinds of animals and wild beasts, and many swarms of bees gathering honey among the flowers. There are with this fair pastures at the foot of wind-swept mountains, and bright, clear springs, and further, there are lakes and rivers full of various varieties of fish. Moreover, there are in it three noble rivers, namely, the temys, and the hymyr, and the hafrenn. These, like three arms, divide the island; and along them come various kinds of articles of barter from countries overseas. And further, of old there were adorning it three and thirty noble

f. 31 rec. — *f. 31 vo.*

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decorata erat quarum quædam[1a] dirutis meniis[2] in desertis locis squalescunt quædam[1b] uero adhuc integre templa sanctorum cum turribus perpulcra[c] proceritate erectis[d] continent in quibus religiosi cetus uirorum ac mulierum obsequium deo iuxta christianam traditionem[3e] prestant. Postremo quinque inhabitatur[f] populis normannis uidelicet atque britannis.[g] saxonibus. pictis. & scotis.[h] Ex quibus britones olim ante ceteros[i] a mari usque ad mare insederunt. donec ultione diuina propter ipsorum superbiam superueniente.[4] pictis. & saxonibus cesserunt. Qualiter uero & unde applicuerunt. restat nunc parare ut in subsequentibus explicabitur.

Bern [1] *quedam.* [2] *menibus.* [3] *tradicionem.* [4] *ipsorum superueniente superbiam.*

Harleck [a] *quedam;* insert *uero adhuc.* [b] *quedam.* [c] *perpulchra.* [d] *erecta.* [e] *tradicionem.* [f] *inhabitantur.* [g] *brittannis.* [h] *scottis.* [i] insert *annos.*

chief cities, some of which are today wasted, their walls uprooted; while others are still inhabited, with holy temples in them for the praise of God.* And so it is peopled by five nations, the bryttaniait, the norm*an*iaid, the ssaesson, the ffichtiait, and the yssgott*iaid*. And of all these the Bryttaniaid were the first to settle it, from mor rrydd* [the Channel] as far as
f. 32 rec. the sea of Iwerddon, until the vengeance of God came upon them for their sins, which we shall presently show. And here endeth the prologue of Eneas yssgwyddwynn.

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Eneas post troianum bellum excidium urbis cum ascanio [a] filio suo [b] diffugiens. italiam nauigio [1] | adiuit. Ibi cum a latino rege honorifice receptus esset inuidit turnus rex rutilorum & cum illo congressus est. Dimicantibus ergo illis preualuit eneas peremptoque [2] turno regnum italie & lauiniam filiam latini adeptus est. Denique suprema [c] die ipsius [3] superueniente. ascanius [d] regia potestate sullimatus. [4 e] condidit albam super tyberim. [5 f] genuitque filium cuius [g] nomen erat siluius. Hic furtiue ueneri indulgens. nupsit cuidam nepti [6] lauinie. eamque fecit pregnantem. Cumque id ascanio patri [h] compertum esset. [7] precepit magis suis explorare quem sexum puella concepisset. Certitudine ergo rei comperta dixerunt magi ipsam grauidam esse. puero qui patrem & matrem interficeret. Pluribus quoque [8] terris in exilium peragratis [9] ad summum tandem culmen honoris perueniret. Nec fefellit eos uaticinium suum. Nam ut dies partus [10] accessit. [11] edidit mulier puerum [i] & in *i. iii f. 2 vo.*

[1] *nauigio italiam.* [2] *peremtoque.* [3] *illius.* [4] *sublimatus.* [5] *tyberim.* [6] *nepte.* *Bern*
[7] *fuisset.* [8] *Pluribusque.* [9] *peragratis in exilium.* [10] insert *sui.* [11] *accessisset.*

[a] *Aschanio.* [b] omit *suo.* [c] *supprema.* [d] *Aschanius.* [e] *sublimatus.* [f] *tyberim.* *Harleck*
[g] *cui.* [h] *patri aschanio.* [i] *filium.*

After the town was taken, Eneas fled, and Essgannys his son with him, and they came in ships to the land of Eidial, which is called the land of rryfain. And at that time Lattinys was king in the Eidial, and he received Eneas with honour. Then after Ene*as* had fought with [th]tyrrv, king of Yttyl, and he was killed by Eneas, Essgannys got to wife *La*uinia, daughter to Lattinys. And after Eneas, Yssgannys became a great man, and when Essgannys was elevated to kingly state, he built a city on the shores of the river [P]Taiberys [Tiber]. And there a son was born to him named ssylhys, who gave himself to secret fornication and seduced a niece, and got her with child. And when Essgannys his father learned this, he ordered the *f. 32 vo.* diviners to tell him by whom* the girl had conceived. And after they had divined and had gained a certitude on this point, they said that the maid was with child of a son, who would kill his mother and his father, and after it happened to him to wander through many lands, would rise to great honour. Nor did the diviners deceive them. And so when the maid's time to give birth was come, she died in childbed. And thus he slew his

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natiuitate eius mortua est. Traditur [a] autem puer [b] ille obstetrici: & uocatur brutus. Postremo cum ter quini anni emensi essent. comitabatur iuuenis patrem [c] in uenando: ipsumque inopino ictu sagite [1 d] interfecit. Nam dum [e] famuli ceruos in occursum eorum ducerent brutus telum in ipsos dirigere affectans. genitorem sub pectore percussit. Quo mortuo expulsus est ab italia indignantibus parentibus ipsum tantum facinus fecisse. Exulatus ergo adiuit partes grecie & inuenit progeniem heleni filii priami quæ [2 f] sub potestate pandrasi regis [3] grecorum in seruitutem [4] tenebatur. Pirrus [5] etenim filius achillis post euersionem troie predictum helenum compluresque [g] alios secum
f. 3 rec. in | uinclis [6 h] abduxerat. Et ut necem patris sui in ipsos uindicaret: [i] in captionem teneri preceperat. Agnita igitur ueterum [k] prosapia. moratus est brutus [l] apud [k] eos. In tantum autem [l] militia [7 m] & probitate uigere cepit. ita ut [n] regibus & principibus pre omni iuuentute patrie amaretur. Erat enim inter sapien-

Bern [1] *sagitte.* [2] *que.* [3] insert *in.* [4] omit *in; seruitute.* [5] *Pyrrus.* [6] *uinculis.* [7] *milicia.*

Harlech [a] *Traditus;* insert *est.* [b] omit *puer.* [c] *patrem iuuenis.* [d] *sagitte.* [e] *cum.* [f] *qui.* [g] *quam pluresque.* [h] *uinculis.* [i] insert *conciuium.* [k] *Brutus.* [l] *aput.* [l] omit *autem.* [m] *milicia.* [n] insert *a.*

mother. And the boy was named [v]bryttys and was put out to fosterage. And when he had been brought to the age of fifteen years, one day he was following his father in hunting, while so doing behold a great stag passed by, *Bry*ttys bent his bow, and shot at the stag, and with that shot he struck his father with an arrow under the top of his breast and he died. And thus he slew his father also. And then after the death of Ssylhys, the men of the Eidial banished [v]bryttys out of his country, for it was not fitting for them to take as king over them one who had wrought such outrage as to kill his mother and father. And after his banishment from there he went
f. 33 rec. as far as [n]groec, and he saw men of the race of Elenys, son of priaf, of the heritors of troyaf, in slavery under [B]Pendrassys, king of groec. For after the fall of troyaf, Pyrr, son of Achilarwy, to revenge his father on them had led this nation with him, and had held them in slavery for a long time. And then when [v]bryttys found they were his own nation, he settled there with them. Thereupon when bryttys had become acquainted with them, and all of them with him, so great was his talent among them that he was approved by the kings and princes; and all this by means of his bearing and his

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tes sapiens inter bellicosos bellicosus. & quicquid auri uel [a] argenti siue ornamentorum adquirebat. totum militibus erogabat. Diuulgata itaque per [b] uniuersas nationes ipsius fama. troiani ceperunt ad eum confluere. orantes ut ipso duce a seruitute grecorum liberarentur. Quod leuiter fieri asserebant. cum in tantum iam infra [1] patriam multiplicati essent. ita ut .vii.[c] milia exceptis paruulis & mulieribus computarentur. Preterea erat [d] quidam nobilissimus [2] iuuenis in grecia nomine assaracus. qui partibus eorum [e] fauebat. Ex troiana namque matre natus erat. fiduciamque in illis habebat maximam ut auxilio eorum inquietudini grecorum resistere quiuisset. Arguebat enim eum frater suus propter tria castella [3] quæ [4 f] sibi moriens pater donarat.[g] & ea auferre conabatur quia ex concubina natus fuerat. Erat autem frater patre & matre grecus. asciueratque [h] regem ceterosque grecos parti sue fauere. Inspiciens ergo brutus [i] & uirorum mul-

[1] *intra.* [2] *nobissimus.* [3] *catella.* [4] *que.* *Bern*

[a] *&.* [b] insert *omnes.* [c] *septem.* [d] *erat* (the second *erat* is struck out in later ink). *Harlech*
[e] *illorum.* [f] *que.* [g] *donauerat.* [h] *ascitaueratque;* insert *sibi.* [i] *Brutus.*

beauty, and his bravery, and his liberality, and his skill in warcraft and his renown. Wisest was he among the wise men and bravest among the warlike. And whatever also fell to him, of gold and silver, or steeds or raiment, *f. 33 vo.* all these he shared among his noble comrades and with any that would take them of him. And thus, when his fame had flown throughout the lands of groec, and all the men of the lineage of [d]troyaf from every place as far as the bounds of groec, had rallied to him, they asked that he should be prince over them and free them from that slavery. And this they said he could easily do, for so great a number had assembled together that there were seven thousand fighting men. They said further,* "And moreover the young man, the noblest in [n][e]grroec on his father's side, and his mother sprung from the stock of [d]troyaf, is relying upon us and hoping to get strong support from us. This is the reason why the men of this land make war upon him, with a brother of his by the same father, because his mother as well as his father is of [r]groec stock; and there is great strife between them because of three castles which the father left to that son at his death, in excess [of those left] to his brother. Of these the men of groec seek to deprive him, because *f. 34 rec.* of his mother's descent from [d]troyaf, therefore do the men of groec hold with the brother against him." And then, after [v]bryttys had seen the ample

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titudinem. & assaraci[a] castella quæ[1b] sibi patebant securius peti-
1. iv tioni[2] illorum adquieuit.[c] Erectus igitur in ducem conoucat
undique troianos & oppida assaraci[3] muniuit. Ipse autem & as-
saracus[4] cum tota multitudine uirorum &[d] mulierum quæ[1b] eis
f. 3 vo. adherebat.[f] ne- | mora & colles occupauit.[e] deinde litteras suas
regi in hec uerba direxit. ¶ Pandraso regi[5f] brutus[6g] dux re-
liquiarum troie.[f] salutem. Quia indignum fuerat gentem preclaro
genere dardani . . . .[7h] aliter in regno tuo[i] tractari quam serenitas nobilitatis eius expeteret sese infra abdita nemorum recepit. Preferebat namque ferino ritu carnibus uidelicet &[j] herbis uitam cum libertate sustentare.[f] quam uniuersis[k] refocillata diuitiis[l] sub iugo seruitutis tue permanere. Quod si celsitudinem potentie[8m] tue offendit. non est ei inputandum[9n] set uenia adhibenda cum cuiusque captiui communis sit intentio[10o] uelle ad pristinam dignitatem redire. Misericordia igitur super eam[p] motus amis-

Bern · [1] *que.* [2] *peticioni.* [3] *assarici.* [4] *assaricus.* [5] insert *grecorum.* [6] *Brutus.* [7] *ortam.* [8] *potencie.* [9] *imputandum.* [10] *intencio.*

Harlech [a] *asaraci.* [b] *que.* [c] *securius adquieuit peticion eorum.* [d] *ac.* [e] *occupant.* [f] insert *grecorum.* [g] *Brutus.* [h] *ortam.* [i] *suo.* [j] *uel.* [k] insert *deliciis.* [l] *diutius.* [m] *potencie.* [n] *imputandum.* [o] *intencio.* [p] *ea.*

number of men and had seen the castles strong and ready for him, easy was it for him to comply with them, and to take the leadership upon himself.

And then after Bryttys had been elevated to be prince of the host of troyaf, he strengthened the castles of Assarakys and filled them with men and arms and food. And when he had finished this, he and Assarakys, taking with them all their host and their goods, started towards the depths of the dense forests, where they fled, and then Bryttys sent a letter to [b]pendrassys, king of groec, in this fashion:

"Bryttys, prince of the remnant of the nation of [d]troyaf, sends this letter to [B]Pend*r*assys, king of groec, telling him that it is not worthy in him
f. 34 vo. to have and hold in captivity a right royal tribe of the line of dardar, nor to confine them more than they deserve because of their nobility. Therefore Bryttys tells him that they hold it better far to live in the wilderness, and to feed like animals on raw flesh and herbs, with freedom, than amid feasting and luxury under slavery. Even if this provoke thy pride of mastery and possession, rather than make war upon them thou shouldest forgive them, for it is both nature and duty that every slave should struggle

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sam libertatem largiri digneris & saltus nemorum quos ut [a] seruitutem diffugeret occupauit eam habitare permittas. Sin autem concede ut ad aliarum terrarum nationes cum diligentia [b] tua abscedant. Pandrasus ergo agnita litterarum sententia [1 c] ultra *1. v*
modum ammiratus [2 d] est ipsos quos in seruitutem tenuerat [3] tanta audacia abundasse [4 e] ut ei talia mandata dirigerent. Conuocato itaque procerum suorum consilio exercitum [f] colligere decreuit [f] ut ipsos persequeretur. Dum autem [g] deserta quibus eos adesse autumauerat per [h] oppidum [i] sparatinum peteret. egressus est brutus [j] cum tribus milibus uirorum. ipsumque nichil huiusmodi premeditatum [f] ex inprouiso inuasit. [k] Audito namque aduentu ipsius. sese in predicto oppido [l] preterita proxima nocte inmiserat ut in [m] ipsos inermes & sine ordine ituros inopinam irruptionem | faceret. Impetu itaque facto *f. 4 rec.*
inuadunt acriter troiani [f] & stragem ingerere nituntur. Porro greci confestim stupefacti in omnes partes dilabuntur. & rege suo precedente fluuium akalon qui prope fluebat transire festinant. At in transeundo infra uoraginem fluctus periclitantur. Quos diffugientes brutus [j] infestat [f] infestatos uero partim in undis partim

[1] *scientia.* [2] *admiratus.* [3] *teneierat.* [4] *habundasse.* *Bern*

[a] *in.* [b] *diligencia.* [c] *literarum sentencia.* [d] *admiratus.* [e] *habundasse.* [f] insert *suum.* [g] insert *per.* [h] omit *per.* [i] *opidum.* [j] *Brutus.* [k] *euasit.* [l] *opido.* [m] omit *in.* *Harleck*

to win back his ancestral dignity and his freedom, and we therefore pray thy forbearance and permission that with freedom we may dwell in the wilderness to which we have fled, or if freedom be denied to them in thy kingdom, permit them to seek in other lands a dwelling place without slavery." And *f. 35 rec.*
when [B]Pendrassys grasped the meaning of the letter, he marvelled greatly that such a message should be sent him, and at once called his council to him; thus was its advice, to gather a great host and go after them into the wilderness. And thus as they passed by outside the castle called Yssbaradings, Bryttys suddenly attacked them with three thousand armed men, and he found them unarmed and he wrought great havoc amongst them. And at once they betook themselves to disgraceful flight, their king in the lead. And they made for the river which is called Ystalon, and so great was their haste and their fear of Bryttys that part of them were drowned, and part were killed on the river bank, and the third part fled. Thus did

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super ripam prosternit. Et nunc hac nunc illac discurrens[f] duplicem[a] necem ipsis ingestam esse letatur. Quod ut antigonus frater pandrasi intuitus est ultramodum doluit. euocauitque[b] uagantes socios in turmam[f] & celeri impetu in seuientes troas[1 c] reuersus est. Malebat namque resistendo interire quam ignauam[d] fugam faciens luteis gurgitibus submergi. Densa igitur acie incedens socios uiriliter resistere hortatur letiferaque tela totis uiribus contorquet[f] set parum uel minime profecit. Nam troes[e] armis muniti erant. ceteri uero inermes. Vnde audaciores insistentes cedem miserandam[f] inferebant nec eos hoc modo infestare[g] quieuerunt.[h] donec cunctis fere interfectis
1. vi antigonum & anacletum[i] eiusdem socium retinuerunt. Brutus uero potitus uictoria oppidum[j] sex centis militibus muniuit. petiuitque nemorum abdita. ubi troiana plebs presidium illius expectabat. At pandrasus ob fugam suam fratisque[k] captionem anxiatus[f] nocte illa populum dilapsum resociare uacauit. Et cum postera lux rediisset obsidere[l] oppidum[j] cum resociato populo progressus est. Arbitrabatur enim brutum immisisse[2 m]
f. 4 vo. se infra[n] ipsum | cum antigono[o] ceterisque captiuis quos ce-

Bern [1] *troias.* [2] *misisse.*

Harleck [a] *dupplicem.* [b] *reuocauitque.* [c] *troias.* [d] *ignauiam.* [e] *troies.* [f] *miserrimam.* [g] *inquietare.* [h] *quiuerunt.* [i] *Antigonum & Anacletum.* [j] *opidum.* [k] *& fratris sui.* [l] *obsedere.* [m] *inuenisse.* [n] omit *infra.* [o] *Antigono.*

he get the victory over them. And when he saw this, Antigonys the brother of [b]pendrassys was greatly grieved; he called his comrades to him and marshalled them, and attacked the men of troyaf, preferring* to be killed
f. 35 vo. with glory than escape with shame. And he exhorted his host to fight bravely, he ordered the attack, and he dealt great blows himself. But little did it serve him, for Bryttys and his men were equipped with arms; but they [the Greeks] were unready and had not time to don their armour, and so Bryttys got the best of them at once, and captured Antigkonys the king's brother. And then Bryttys strengthened the castle of Assarakys and put six hundred fighting men* in it, and with his host returned to the forest to the place which was their dwelling. Pendrassys, worried by his flight and also by his brother's capture, rallied as many of his host as had escaped, and the next day took stand before the castle; for he thought that Bryttys was

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perat. Vt igitur menibus accessit explorato castelli[1] situ[f] distribuit exercitum suum per turmas & per diuersas partes in circuitu locauit. Indixit etiam ut alii egressum[a] inclusis abnegarent alii fluminum cursus[b] auerterent. alii crebris arietibus[c] ceterisque machinationibus[d] murorum compagem dissoluerent. Qui precepta eius[e] effectibus[2] exequentes omni nisu contendebant quibus modis obsessos[f] crudelius infestarent. Superueniente autem nocte audaciores eligebant. qui dum ceteri labore fessi quietem caperent soporis[f] castra & tentoria ab hostium furtiua incursione tuerentur. Et ossessi[3 g] in edito[h] murorum as- *1. vii*
tantes[i] totis uiribus nituntur ut ipsorum machinationes[j] contrariis machinationibus[d] repellant. Et nunc tela nunc sulphureas tedas eicientes[f] sese unanimiter defendere intendunt. Cum autem parata testudine[4 h] muris[5 l] suffoderetur[f] greco igne atque calidarum aquarum aspergine[6] hostes retrocedere cogebant. Cybi[7 m] tandem penuria & cotidiano labore afflicti[f] legatum ad brutum[n] miserunt postulantes ut eis in auxilium festinaret.

[1] *catelli.* [2] *affectibus.* [3] *obsessi.* [4] *testitudine.* [5] *murus.* [6] *aspersione.* [7] *Cybi.* *Bern*

[a] *egressus.* [b] *cursus fluminum.* [c] *ligonibus.* [d] *machinacionibus.* [e] omit *eius.* [f] *obscessos.* [g] *obsessi.* [h] omit *in; medio.* [i] *stantes.* [j] *machinaciones.* [k] *testitudine.* [l] *murus.* [m] *Cibi.* [n] *Brutum.* *Harlech*

therein, and his brother in prison and the other prisoners as well. And when he had come there he divided his host around the castle, especially [setting] the greater part to keep the gates, that none might issue forth; and another part to turn the water from the castle, and a third to make *f. 36 rec.*
machines to fight against it [the fort], and to seek to throw it down. And in obedience to the king's behest every one wrought with the best device he could; and when night came upon them he chose the bravest men to besiege the castle that those who were weary might sleep, before Bryttys and his host should come upon them the second time. And the castellans meanwhile resisted them manfully, shooting and throwing wildfire upon them, by all various devices seeking to drive them away from the wall. And then when they had set the machines against it [the fort] and began to dig under it, the castellans poured the wildfire* and boiling water on their heads, and drove them from the walls. And then when they were wearied by day-long labour, and lack of sleep at night, and hunger and thirst, they sent messengers to [v]bryttys to seek help from him lest they should be forced *f. 36 vo.*

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Timebant enim ne in debilitatem redacti[f] oppidum deserere cogerentur. Brutus ergo opem subuectare affectans[f] internis anxietatibus cruciatur. quia tot milites non habebat quot sibi ad campestre [a] prelium committendum sufficerent. Callido deinde usus consilio proponit castra hostium noctu adire ipsosque soporatos deceptis eorundem [1 b] uigilibus interficere. Quoniam
f. 5 rec. autem id fieri non posse esse ualebat.[c] absque alicuius [2] | greci assensu & auxilio[f] anacletum socium antigoni [d] ad se uocauit illumque euaginato gladio in hunc modum affatus est. Egregie iuuenis finis uite tue antigonique [e] adest. nisi ea quæ [3 f] tibi precipiam [g] executurus. uoluntati mee fideliter adquieueris. Affecto enim in hac sequenti nocte castra grecorum. adire[f] ut ipsos inopina cede afficiam. Set timeo ne eorum. uigiles comperto dolo inceptum [4] meum [h] impediant. Quia ergo uerti arma in illos prius oporteret. desiderarem eos per te decipere ut tutiorem [i] aditum aggrediendi ceteros haberem. Tu uero callide negotium [j] huiusmodi agens in secunda noctis hora uade ad obsidionem & quemque fallacibus uerbis demulcendo dices te antigonum a carceribus meis abduxisse usque ad conuallem nemorum & in eadem illum inter frutices delituisse. Nec longius abire posse propter com-

Bern [1] *eorum.* [2] *alicus.* [3] *que.* [4] *ceptum.*

Harlech [a] *campistre.* [b] *eorum.* [c] omit *esse; callebat.* [d] *Antigoni.* [e] *Antigonique.* [f] *que.* [g] *precepero.* [h] omit *meum.* [i] *tuciorem.* [j] *negocium.*

to give up the castle. And when [v]bryttys heard this, he was perplexed for he knew not how he could succour them, for he had not force sufficient to give battle to them in the field. So he planned to launch a night attack against them, and he thought to kill the pickets, and seek them in their sleep. But this he saw he could not do without the help of men of groec. He therefore called Anak*l*etys, a friend of Ant*i*gonys was he, drew his sword, holding him, gripped him firmly did Bry*tt*ys, and spoke to him thus: "Here, chosen youth, is thy death and end, unless thou doest faithfully the thing I require of thee. This night I will make attack upon the men of groec, and in this way I wish that thou shouldest deceive them, in order that my way
f. 37 rec. against them may be open. Go to their pickets and say that thyself and Antigonys have escaped out of my prison, and that you have left him in a woody glen and there he is, — without being able to go further because of

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pedes.[f] quibus eum inpeditum[1 e] simulaueris. Deinde duces eos ad exitum nemoris quasi ipsum liberaturos. Vbi cum armata manu adero.[f] paratus illos perimere. Anecletus[2 b] igitur uiso gladio *r. viii* qui inter hec uerba [c] morti sue imminebat.[f d] continuo perterritus iureiurando promisit. sese preceptum illum [e] executurum. si sibi & antigono diuturnior[3] uita concederetur. Confirmato denique federe in secunda noctis hora quæ[4 f] iam instabat uersus obsidionem iussum iter arripuit. Cum tandem prope castra incederet. occurrunt [g] undique uigiles qui abdita locorum explorabant. Querunt quoque aduentus ipsius causam.[f h] utrum ad prodendum exercitum aduenisset. Quibus ille ingentem letitiam[5 i] simulans.[f] in hæc[6 j] uerba respondit. Non | equidem pro- *f. 5 vo.*
ditor mee gentis uenio. set carcerem troianorum euadens ad uos orans diffugio.[f] ut mecum ad uestrum antigonum [k] ueniatis. quem ex uinculis bruti [l] eripui. Illum quidem compedum pondere[7 m] detentum paulo ante in exitum.[n] nemoris inter frutices [o] delitere iussi. donec aliquos [p] inuenirem quos adliberandum[8 q] eum conducerem. Dubitantibus autem illis utrum uerum diceret superuenit unus qui eum agnouerat.[r] & salutato ipso[9 s] indicauit sociis quis esset. At illi nichil hesitantes.

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[1] *impeditum.* [2] *Anacletus.* [3] *diuturnio.* [4] *que.* [5] *leticiam.* [6] *hec.* [7] *pondere compedum.* [8] *ad liberandum.* [9] *eo.* *Bern*

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[e] *impeditum;* insert *esse.* [b] *Anacletus.* [c] insert *que.* [d] *imminebant.* [e] omit *illum.* [f] *que.* [g] *occurrerunt.* [h] insert &. [i] *leticiam.* [j] *hec.* [k] *Antigonum.* [l] *Bruti.* [m] *pondere compedum.* [n] *exitu.* [o] omit *inter frutices.* [p] *aliquem.* [q] *ad deliberandum.* [r] *agnouit.* [s] *eo.* *Harleck*

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the weight of the iron which is on him, — and beg them to come with thee to bring him in. If you do this, I shall get my will upon them." And then when Anaklettys saw [v]bryttys showing him his own death, he gave oath to be faithful to [v]bryttys, on condition that Antigonys should go with him. And so they started toward the men of groec, and when he [Anaklettys] reached the pickets, they surrounded him, and asked him if he had come there to betray them. "Not so in truth, but on my back have I carried Andigonys by craft from Bryttys's dungeon, and I left him hiding amid the thorns and briers in the glen below. So come quickly with me to fetch him." And so they were afraid to go with him for fear of treachery, and

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ceteros qui aberant ocius conuocauerunt. & secuti sunt eum usque ad siluam qua antigonum delitere predixerat. Illis denique inter frutices progredientibus emergit se brutus[a] cum armatis cateruis. & facto impetu ipsos ocius perterritos[b] durissima cede[c] affecit. Denique[1 d] profectus est[e] ad obsidionem &[f] diuisit socios suos per tres[g] turmas precepitque ut singule singulas partes castrorum sapienter & sine tumultu adirent nec intromisse[f] cedem alicui ingererent donec ipse cum sua cohorte tentorio[h] regis potitus lituum[2] suum in signum ipsis sonaret.[i]
f. 6 rec. Porro ut ipsos quicquid acturi erant edocuit confestim mittunt se leniter[j] infra castra & iussas partes adepti. promissum signum expectant. Quod brutus eis dare non distulit. postquam stetit ante tentorium[k] pandrasi. quod super omnia adire[l] estuabat. Quo audito enses ocius euaginant. cubilia sopitorum ingrediuntur letiferos ictus ingeminant. Et nullam pietatem habentes. castra in hunc modum deambulant. Ad ge- | mitus ergo[m] morientium euigilant ceteri. uisisque laniatoribus uelut oues ex improuiso[n] a lupis occupate[o] stupefacti fiunt.[p] Nichil enim presidii expectabant[f] cum neque arma capiendi neque fugam faciendi congruum spatium[q] haberent. discurrunt &[3 r] sine armis inter armatos quo impetus eos[f] ducebat[f][s] set irruentibus ceteris[f] continuo dilacerantur. Qui semiuiuus euadebat auiditate fuge festinans scopulis uel fruticibus[4] allidebatur[f] & in-

Bern [1] *Deinde.* [2] *littuum.* [3] *etiam.* [4] *fructicibus.*

Harlech [a] *Brutus.* [b] *perterritus.* [c] *morte.* [d] *Deinde.* [e] omit *est.* [f] omit &. [g] omit *tres.* [h] *tentoria.* [i] *sonaret ipsis.* [j] insert *recepit.* [k] insert *regis.* [l] omit *adire.* [m] *uero.* [n] *inprouiso.* [o] *occupato.* [p] *sunt.* [q] *spacium.* [r] *etiam.* [s] *ducebant.*

f. 37 vo. one who knew him said that he was speaking the truth. Then in close order, the watch went with him to the place where he had said Antigonys was, and then Bryttys rushed out upon them and killed them without leaving one. And then they went on in order, and they reached the middle of the host, and no one spoke a word on the march until Bryttys and his men had surrounded the king's tent. Then Bryttys blew his horn at the door of the tent and began to kill them in their sleep. And then from the cries of the slain the others awoke, who did not know whither to flee, until all were

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felicem animam cum sanguine emittebat. Qui solo clipeo uel quolibet alio tegmine munitus inter eosdem scopulos incidebat timore mortis celer sub obscura nocte cadebat. Cadenti quoque uel brachia uel crura frangebantur. Cui neutrum horum contingebat inscius quo fugam faceret in prope fluentibus fluuiis [a] submergebatur.[1] Vix aliquis illesus abibat. quin aliquo infortunio periclitaretur. Oppidani quoque agnito [b] commilitonum aduentu egressi cladem quæ [2c] dabatur dupplicabant.[3d] At brutus [e] *r. x* tentorium regis ut predictum est nactus.[f] ipsum uincere [4] & conseruare uacauit. Deliberabat enim se magis uita illius [f] quam morte adepturum quod affectauerat. Turma autem quæ [2c] cum eo erat non cessabat stragem facere.[f] quæ [2c] partem quam sortita fuerat usque ad internicionem deleuerat. Vt igitur noctem in hunc modum [g] consumpserunt & sub luce aurore [h] tanta ruina patuit populi.[f] brutus [e] maximo [5] gaudio fluctuans. sociis peracte cedis. spolia peremptorum iuxta libitum suum tractare permit- | tit.[6] Deinde cum rege oppidum ingreditur. expecturus [7i] *f. 6 vo.* dum gazas distribuerent. Quibus inpertitis [8i] muniuit iterum castellum & cadauera dari sepulturæ [9k] precepit. Resociatisque cateruis. ad nemora cum leta remeauit uictoria. Quæ [2c] ut [l] tantam letitiam [10m] animis cunctorum infudit.[f] inclitus dux maiores

[1] *submergebantur.* [2] *que.* [3] *duplicabant.* [4] *uincire.* [5] *matutino.* [6] *permisit.* *Bern*
[7] *exspectaturus.* [8] *impertitis.* [9] *sepulture.* [10] *leticiam.*

[a] *fluuiis fluentibus.* [b] *cognito.* [c] *que.* [d] *duplicabant.* [e] *Brutus.* [f] *ipsius.* [g] *in hunc modum noctem.* *Harleck*
[h] *aurora.* [i] *expectaturus.* [j] *impertitis.* [k] *sepulture.* [l] *cum.*
[m] *leticiam.*

slain. And when the castellans knew this, they sallied forth. And when Bryttys got inside the tent of the king he seized and bound him, thinking that he would get more profit from this than from killing him. And so after the night was past, and the dawn had come, Bryttys called his men around him and divided the spoil of the dead among them, whatever each one wished. And so to the castle came Bryttys, and with him the king, a *f. 38 rec.* prisoner; and he strengthened the castle with men and arms. And when the victory was theirs, Bryttys called his council in order to learn what it would advise him to demand of the king, — "For his body is in our pos-

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natu conuocauit quæsiuitque[1 a] ab illis quid a pandraso[b] petendum laudarent. Nam cum in potestate eorum positus esset[c] per omnia petitioni[2 e] ipsorum[d] adquiesceret si liber abire sineretur. Mox illi diuersis affectibus diuersa cupientes. pars partem regni ad inhabitandum petere[e] hortatur pars uero licentiam abeundi[f] & ea quæ[3 f] itineri suo utilia forent.[g] Cumque diu in ambiguo extitissent surrexit unus ex illis[4] mempritius[h] nomine rogatoque silentio. audientibus ceteris ait. Vt quid hesitatis partes in his quæ[3 i] saluti uestre reor esse habenda? Vnum petendum est. licentia uidelicet eundi[j] si uobis posterisque uestris eternam pacem habere desideraveritis[k] Nam si eo pacto uitam concesseritis pandraso ut per eum partem greciæ[5 l] adepti inter danaos[m] manere uelitis[c] numquam diuturna pace fruemini. dum fratres & filii & nepotes eorum quibus æternam[6 n] intulistis[o] stragem. uobis uel[p] inmixti[7] uel uicini fuerint. Semper enim necis parentum suorum memores[c] æterno[8] uos[q] habebunt odio. Quibusque etiam nugis incitati[r] uindictam sumere nitentur. Nec uobis pauciorem turbam[s] habentibus ea uis est ut tot ciuium
f. 7 rec. inquietationi[9 t] re-|sistere queatis. Quod si decertatio[10 u] inter uos accesserit[c] numerus eorum cotidie augebitur. uester[v] uero

Bern [1] *quesiuitque.* [2] *peticioni.* [3] *que.* [4] omit *ex illis.* [5] *grecie.* [6] *externam.* [7] *immixti.* [8] *eterno.* [9] *inquietacioni.* [10] *decertacio.*

Harlech [a] *Quesiuit.* [b] *pandaso.* [c] *peticioni.* [d] *eorum.* [e] omit *petere.* [f] *que.* [g] *suo forent necessaria.* [h] *menpricius.* [i] *hiis que.* [j] *abeundi.* [k] *desideratis.* [l] *grecie.* [m] *amaos.* [n] *hesternam.* [o] *intulisti.* [p] *nobis;* omit *uel.* [q] *eterno nos.* [r] *excitati.* [s] *turmam.* [t] *inquietacioni.* [u] *decertacio.* [v] *uestrum.*

session, and whatever may be asked of him he will give for his freedom." And the council said to him that it was better to take ransom from him than to dwell among enemies. And after long dispute a wise man named Membyr arose, asked silence, and spoke thus, "O brother Lords, how long will ye hesitate as to what I think is most likely to be for your future interest, namely, decision to go away from here, so that you and your heirs may have perpetual peace. For if you free king Pendrassys and take from him
f. 38 vo. a part of [r]groec to dwell in, never shall you have secure peace; for so long as there is a man of [r]grroec alive, they will remember last night until they take vengeance either on yourselves or on your children for this raid. My

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minuetur. Laudo igitur ut petatis ab illo filiam suam primogenitam quam innogen[a] uocant. ad opus ducis nostri & cum ea aurum. & argentum. naues. & frumentum. & quodcumque itineri uestro[b] necessarium erit. Et si id impetrare poterimus.[c] licentia[c] sua alias nationes petamus.[d]

Vt his[e] & consimilibus finem dicendi fecit. adquieuit ei tota multitudo[f] atque suasit ut pandrasus in medium adduceretur. & nisi huic petitioni[1 g] faueret. seuissima morte dampnaretur. Nec mora adductus est. & in cathedra celsior ceteris positus. Edoctus quoque quibus tormentis affligendus erat. nisi faceret quæ[2 h] iubebantur.[c] in hunc modum respondit. Quoniam aduersi[i] dii me meumque fratrem anacletum[j] in manus uestras tradiderunt. parendum est. petitioni[1 g] uestre. ne uitam quæ[2 h] nobis arbitrio uestro & adimi & concedi potest.[c] si repulsam passi[k] fueritis amittamus. Nichil enim. uita prestantius[l] nichil iocundius censeo. Nec est mirandum.[c] si illam exteris[m] rebus redimere uelim. Quamquam tamen inuitus preceptis *1. xi*

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[1] *peticioni.* [2] *que.* *Bern*

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[a] *in nogen.* [b] *nostro.* [c] *licencia.* [d] *petemus.* [e] *hiis.* [f] *adquieuit tota ei multitudo.* [g] *peticioni.* [h] *que.* [i] *aduersarii.* [j] *antigonum.* [k] omit *passi.* [l] *prestancius.* [m] *externis.* *Harleck*

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counsel to you therefore is that you take to lawful wife her that is called Enogen, his eldest daughter, and with her, gold and silver, and ships and wine and grain, and all things needful, and also his consent that we go to other lands, to whatever place God may send us, in freedom, for fear of the slavery of the men of groec upon us and our children." And so to his reasoning all agreed. And then it was ordered that king Pendrassys should be brought into their midst; and Bryttys said that should he not do all things asked of him, he would get his death. And when he came forth there was set for him a seat higher than all others, and then he spoke like this. "The infernal gods have given me and *A*ntigonys, my brother, into your hands, and lest I lose my life I must submit to you, which I promise *f. 39 rec.* to do, to buy of you myself and Antigonys, my brother. Nor is it strange that I should obey you, for it is blameless in me to give my well-loved

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uestris obediam solatium habere uideor. quia[1] filiam meam tante probitatis adolescenti daturus sum.[f] quem ex genere priami & anchise creatum. & nobilitas quæ[2 a] in ipso pululat.[3 b] & fama nobis cognita declarat. Quis etenim[c] alter. exules troiæ[4 d] in seruitutem tot & tantorum principum positos eorundem uinculis[e] eriperet?
f. 7 vo. Quis cum illis regi grecorum resisteret. | aut cum tam paucis tantam armatorum copiam prelio prouocaret. initoque congressu regem eorum uinctum duceret?[f] Quia ergo tantus iuuenis tanta probitate mihi resistere potuit do ei filiam meam innogen. Do etiam aurum & argentum. naues frumentum.[g] & quicquid itineri eius[5] necessarium esse dixeritis. Et si a proposito uestro diuertentes cum grecis commanere uolueritis.[f h] terciam partem regni mei[6 i] uobis ad inhabitandum concedo. Sin autem.[f] promissa mea effectu prosequar. Et[7] ut securiores sitis. uobis quasi obses manebo dum omnia perfitiam.[8 j] Conuentione itaque facta diriguntur legati per uniuersa grecie litora[9 k] colligere naues. Que ut collecte fuerunt. trecente[l] uiginti quattuor[10 m] numero presentantur.[f n] & [11] omni genere farris onerantur. Filia bruto[o] maritatur.

Bern [1] *quod.* [2] *que.* [3] *pullulat.* [4] *troie.* [5] omit *eius.* [6] *terciam mei regni partem.* [7] omit *Et.* [8] *perficiam.* [9] *littora.* [10] *xx. iiii.* *or* [11] omit &.

Harlech [a] *que.* [b] *pullulat.* [c] *enim.* [d] *troie.* [e] *in uinculis.* [f] *deduceret.* [g] insert *uinum & oleum.* [h] omit *Et si — uolueritis.* [i] *regni mei partem.* [j] *perficiam.* [k] *littora.* [l] ccc. [m] *& uiginti quatuor.* [n] *presentatur;* omit &. [o] *Bruto.*

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daughter to yonder Young man. For I know that he comes of the line of [B]Priaf and Enssisses, and his fame and bravery show it at this hour. Who but he could have freed the exiles of troyaf, when they had been so long enslaved, and captive under so many princes? Who but he, with such small forces as he had, could face the king of groec, give him battle in the field, and put him to flight, and at last capture and bind him? For this I will give my daughter to him, and give with her gold, silver, precious treasures, wine and oil and wheat and gems and ships aplenty, and however much you shall need of other things, and Enogen, my daughter. Or if you
f. 39 vo. wish to dwell here, I will give you a third of my kingdom; and will remain with you a prisoner till you have received everything promised." And then messengers were sent to every port of [n]grroec to collect ships and bring them to one port. In all their Number was three hundred and twenty-four ships,

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Quisque prout dignitas expetebat. auro & argento donatur. Peractis cunctis. rex liber a carcere.[f] troes[a] ab eius potestate secundis uentis abscedunt.

At innogen[b] in excelsa puppi[1] stans sepius inter brachia bruti[c] in extasi collabitur.[d] Fusisque[2][e] cum singulti[3] lacrimis[e] parentes ac patriam deserere conqueritur. Nec oculos a litore[4] auertit.[f] dum litora[5][g] oculis patuerunt. Quam brutus blandiciis mittigans.[6][h] nunc dulces amplexus nunc dulcia basia innectit. Nec ceptis suis desistit.[i] donec fletu fatigata sopori summittitur.[i] Inter hæc[7][j] & alia duobus diebus & una nocte prospero uentorum flatu concurrerunt.[8][k] applicueruntque in quandam insulam uocatam leogetia quæ[9][l] antiquitus ab[10] incursione piratarum[m] uastata a nemine[n] inhabitabatur In illam | ergo misit brutus trecentos[o] armatos ad explorandum[p] quid *f. 8 rec.*
inhabitaret. Qui neminem reperientes.[11] feras diuersi generis infra saltus ac nemora inuentas cede afficiunt. Venerunt ad[q] ciuitatem desertam. in qua templum diane repererunt.[12] In eodem imago[r]

[1] *pupi.* [2] *Fusis quoque.* [3] *singultu.* [4] *littore.* [5] *littora.* [6] *mitigans.* [7] *hec.* *Bern*
[8] *cucurrerunt.* [9] *que.* [10] *in.* [11] *repperientes.* [12] *repperierunt.*

[a] *troies.* [b] *in nogen.* [c] *Bruti;* omit *in extasi.* [d] *collabtur.* [e] *Fusis quoque lacrimis* *Harleck*
cum singultu. [f] *littore conuertit.* [g] *littora.* [h] *mitigans.* [i] *submittitur.* [j] *hec.*
[k] *cuccurerunt.* [l] *que.* [m] *pirratarum.* [n] *amenitate.* [o] *ccc.* [p] *explorandam.* [q] insert
quandam. [r] *ymago.*

and at once they were loaded with such things as were named above, and all kinds of fruits; and then the king was set at liberty. And when they had embarked upon the ships, Enogen stood in the lowest bottom of the ship, between Bryttys's hands, weeping and sobbing for longing for her country. Bryttys soothed and spoke her fair, until, wearied out with weeping, sleep fell upon her. And so for two days and a night they sailed with the wind behind them and came to an island named *le*getta; and it was barren, with no one inhabiting it, after it had been laid waste by a tribe called the Pirattas. And here Bryttys sent three hundred fighting men on *f. 40 rec.*
shore to see if there were any one there, and when they saw no one there, they hunted the various animals. And when night came upon them, they came to a ruined town, vast and ancient, and there was an image of [dd]diana,

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dee responsa dabat. si forte ab aliquo peteretur. Onerati tandem reperta [a] uenatione. reuertuntur ad naues suas.[f] patrieque situm. & ciuitatem consociis predicant. Suggerunt duci templum adire.[f] atque litatis donis a [b] numine loci inquirere quæ [1 c] patria eis sedem certe [2] mansionis preberet. Communicatoque [d] omnium assensu.[e] assumpsit brutus [f] secum geronem [g] augurem. & xii.[cim 3 h] maiores natu. petiuitque templum cum omnibus quæ [1 e] ad sacrificium [i] necessaria erant. Quo ubi uentum est circumdata [4 i] timpora uitis.[5] ante aditum ueterrimo ritu [k] tribus diis. ioui uidelicet & mercurio nec non & diane tres focos [l] statuerunt. Singulis singula [m] libamina dederunt. ipse brutus [n] aram [6 o] dee uas sacrificii plenum uino & sanguine [p] candide ceruæ [7 q] dextra tenens erecto uultu ad effigiem numinis silentium [r] in hæc [8 s] uerba dissoluit. Diua potens nemorum terror siluestribus ac spes.[9 t] Cui licet anfractus [10 u] ire per ethereos. Infernasque domos ter-

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Bern [1] *que.* [2] omit *certe.* [3] *duodecim.* [4] *circumdatus.* [5] *uiitis.* [6] *ante aram.* [7] *cerue.* [8] *hec.* [9] *apes.* [10] *amfractus.*

Harlech [a] omit *reperta.* [b] *ac.* [c] *que.* [d] insert *consilio.* [e] omit *assensu.* [f] omit *brutus.* [g] *gerionem.* [h] *duodecim.* [i] *sacrificandum.* [j] *circumdatus.* [k] *ueteri monitu.* [l] *fores.* [m] *Singula singulis.* [n] *Brutus.* [o] *ante aram.* [p] *sangune.* [q] *cerue.* [r] *silencium.* [s] *hec.* [t] *apris.* [u] *amfractus.*

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which gave answers to those who asked, and any one who sought information from her received it. And the next morning, they returned to the ships with their loads of game of many kinds, and told [v]bryttys what they had seen in that island, and urged him to go to that temple to sacrifice to that goddess, and to ask of her where he should find a place to dwell in. And upon the advice of these men, Bryttys took with him Gerion, the diviner, and twelve of his elders* and carrying everything needed, they went to the temple. And when he reached it, Bryttys put on a chaplet of vine leaves on his head, and came to the door of that old temple. And in the ancient
f. 40 vo. law sacrifice was made to the three gods, namely, Iubiter, and Merkywri, and Diana. And then Bryttys alone came before the altar of the goddess; and in his left hand there was a vessel full of wine, and in his right hand a horn filled with the blood of a white hind; and he raised his face to the image, he spoke like this: "O thou that art the mighty Queen of the chase, and

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restria iura[1] [a] resolue. Et dic quas terras nos habitare uelis. Dic certam sedem qua te uenerabor in euum. Qua tibi uirgineis templa dicabo choris. Hec ubi nouies dixit.[b] circuiuit aram quater fuditque uinum quod tenebat in foco. atque procubuit. super pellem ceruæ[2] [c] quam ante aram extenderat. Inuitato somno.[f][3] [d] tandem obdormiuit. Erat tunc quasi tertia[4] noctis [e] hora qua dulciore [f] sopore mortales | premuntur. Tunc uisum *f. 8 vo.*
est illi deam astare ante ipsum & sese in hoc[5] [g] modum affari. Brute sub occasu solis trans gallica regna; [h] —
Insula in occeano est habitata gigantibus [i] olim. ~~ ~~
Nunc deserta quidem gentibus apta tuis.[6] ~~ ~~ ~~ ~~
Illa tibi fietque tuis locus aptus in æuum.[7] [j] ~ ~~ ~~ ~~
Hec erit[8] & natis [k] altera troia tuis. ~~ ~~ ~~ ~~ ~~ ~~
Hic de prole tua reges nascentur. & ipsis. ~~ ~~ ~~ ~~
Totius terræ[9] [l] subditus orbis erit. ~ ~~ ~~ ~~ ~~ ~~ ~~

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[1] *iure.* [2] *cerue.* [3] *sompno.* [4] *tercia.* [5] *hunc.* [6] Add line: *Hanc pete namque tibi sedes erit illa perennis.* [7] Omit this line. [8] *Hic fiet;* omit &. [9] *terre.* *Bern*

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[a] *uua.* [b] *dixisset.* [c] *cerue.* [d] *Inuitatoque sompno.* [e] *hora noctis.* [f] *dulciori.* [g] *hunc.* [h] insert before next line: *Insula in occeano est undique clausa mari.* [i] *gygantibus.* [j] omit this line; insert *Hanc pete. namque tibi sedes erit illa perhennis.* [k] *Hic fiet natis.* [l] *Tocius terre.* *Harlech*

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that art the guardian of the forest boar, O thou to whom it is permitted to range the paths of the air and the halls of hell, tell me what land I shall have to dwell in, and to worship thee through the ages and the years, — and I will build a temple to honour thee." And when he had said this nine times, he went four times around the altar; then poured the wine into the jaws of the goddess, and laid himself down on the pelt of a white hind. And when it was the third hour of the night, the time of sweetest sleep, he deemed that he saw the goddess before him and speaking to him like this: "Bryttys," said she, "under the setting of the sun, beyond the lands *f. 41 rec.*
of ffraink, there is an island in the ocean, on every side protected by the sea, in which giants lived aforetime, — but now it is empty. Go thou thither, for it is meet for thee and thy Descendants. And it shall be for thy sons a second [d]troyaf, and there shall be born kings of thy lineage, to whom the whole world shall bow." And when he had seen that vision, Bryttys awoke,

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Tali uisione expergefactus dux in dubio mansit.[a] an somnus[1 b] fuerat quam[2 c] uidit an dea uiua uoce predixerat patriam quam aditurus erat. Vocatis tandem sociis indicauit per ordinem quod sibi dormienti contigerat. At illi maximo gaudio fluctuantes hortantur ut ad naues repedent. Et dum uentus secundus esset. citissimis uelis uersus occasum[3] eunt.[4 d] ad inquirendum quod[e] diua spoponderat.[f] Nec mora remeant ad socios altumque[5 g] ingrediuntur. Sulcantes equora cursu triginta[h] dierum uenerunt ad affricam nescii adhuc[i] quorsum proras uerterent.[j] Deinde uenerunt ad aras phylistinorum.[6 k] & ad lacum salinarum & nauigauerunt inter russicadam[l] & montes zarec.[7 m] Ibi ab incursione piratarum[n] maximum passi sunt periculum. Victoriam tamen adepti spoliis eorum &
1. xii rapinis ditati sunt. Porro flumen malue[o] transeuntes.[p] appli-
f. 9 rec. cuerunt in mauritaniam. Deinde penuria | cibi[8] & potus coacti. egressi sunt ex nauibus & dispositis turmis uastauerunt patriam a fine usque ad finem. Refertis uero nauibus petierunt columnas[9 q] herculis ubi apparuerunt eis monstra maris uocata sirenes.[r] Quæ[10 s] ambiendo naues fere ipsas obruerunt. Vtcumque[t]

Bern [1] *sompnus.* [2] *quem.* [3] *occeanum.* [4] *eant* — the word may be written over. [5] *altum equor.* [6] *philistonorum.* [7] *zaree.* [8] *cybi.* [9] *columpnas.* [10] *Que.*

Harlech [a] *fuit.* [b] *sompnus.* [c] *quem.* [d] *occeanum eant.* [e] *quid.* [f] *sposponderant.* [g] insert *mare.* [h] *xxx.* [i] omit *adhuc.* [j] *pras uerteni.* [k] *philistinorum.* [l] *miscicadam.* [m] *azare.* [n] *pirratarum.* [o] *naule.* [p] *transseuntes.* [q] *columpnas.* [r] *syrenes.* [s] *Que.* [t] *Utrumque.*

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and was bewildered as to what he had seen. And they went to the ships with joy, and hoisted sail, and cleaving the waves of ocean within the ninth day they reached the Affric, and from thence, they knew not what land they should head for, and from thence they came to the altars of the Velystynion.* And there they met great peril fighting with the piraniaid, which were a cruel tribe. But these Bryttys overcame nevertheless, and he was enriched by their spoil. From hence they sailed until they came to the land of *Mawr*itania, and there for lack of food and drink they had to land
f. 41 vo. and plunder the whole island. And from hence they came to the caves* of erkwlff the mighty, where many of those sea beasts that are called mermaids gathered around them, and nearly sank their ships. And from thence they

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tamen elapsi [1] [a] inuenerunt quattuor [b] generationes [1] de exulibus troie ortas. quæ [2] [c] antenoris fugam comitate erant. Erat eorum dux corineus dictus uir modestus. consilii [3] optimus. magne uirtutis & audaciæ [4] [d] Qui si cum aliquo gigante [e] congressum faceret. ilico obruebat eum ac si cum puero contenderet. Agnita itaque ueteris originis prosapia. associauerunt illum sibi nec non & populum cui presidebat. Hinc [5] [f] de nomine ducis postmodum cornubiensis uocatus. [6] bruto [7] [g] in omni decertatione [8] pre ceteris auxilium prestabat. Deinde uenerunt ad aquitaniam [9] & ostium [10] [h] ligeris ingressi anchoras fixerunt. Morati sunt ibi septem [11] diebus situmque regni explorauerunt. Regnabat tunc [i] in aquitania [12] goffarus [j] pictus eiusdem patriæ [13] [k] rex. Cui ut fama [l] indicauit externam [m] gentem cum magna classe in fines regni sui applicuisse. misit legatos ad inquirendum utrum pacem uel guerram aduectasset. [n] Nuntii [o] ergo ut [14] [p] classem petebant obuiauerunt [q] corineo egresso iam cum ducentis [r] uiris ut infra

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[1] *uenerunt ad tyrrenum equor. Ibi iuxta littora inuenerunt* or *.iiii. generationes.* [2] *que.* *Bern*
[3] *consilio.* [4] *audacie.* [5] *Hic.* [6] *cornubiensis postmodo uocatus est.* [7] *Bruto.*
[8] *decertacione.* [9] *equitaniam.* [10] *ostrum.* [11] *.vii.* [12] *aquitaniam.* [13] *patrie.* [14] omit *ut.*

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[a] insert *uenerunt ad tyrennum equorum. Ibi iuxta littora.* [b] or *iiii.* [c] *que.* [d] *audacie.* *Harlech*
[e] *gygante.* [f] *Hic.* [g] *Bruto.* [h] *hostium.* [i] omit *tunc.* [j] *gofforius.* [k] *patrie.*
[l] *familia sua.* [m] *extraneam.* [n] *affectasset.* [o] *Nuncii uero.* [p] omit *ut.* [q] *petentes nunciauerunt.* [r] *.cc.*

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came unto the tyren sea; and on that shore there met them four clans of exiles of troyaf, who had fled from there with Antenor; and a great man was prince over them, who was stronger and braver than any one, who was named Koroneys. And it was not more difficult for him to fight a giant than a year-old boy. And after they became acquainted, and learned that both were of one kindred, they marched together and Korinays paid homage to bryttys. And in all battles and fighting he strengthened Bryttys better than any one. And then they came to Ackwitania, and cast anchor in the port of Lingyrys [the Loire] for seven days, to see the condition of the country. And a man was king there called Koffarffichdi* [Koffar the Pict]; *f. 42 rec.* and when he heard of the descent of the fleet upon his country, he sent messengers to them to learn what they wanted, whether peace or war. And so as the messengers were going toward the ships, [g]korinays, who was hunting, met them, and the messengers asked who gave him permission to hunt

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nemora uenationem [a] adquireret. Mox allocuti eum. quærunt [1 b] cuius licentia saltus regis ingressus feras necaret. Statutum enim ab antiquo fuerat neminem sine principis iussu [c] prosternere. [2]
f. 9 vo. Quibus cum corineus repondisset. [3 d] licentiam [e] hui [4 f] rei | nequaquam debere haberi. [g] irruit unus ex illis himbertus [h] nomine. & curuato arcu sagittam in ipsum direxit. Vitauit eam corineus cucurritque [i] in himbertum [j] & arcu [5 k] quem tenebat caput ei in frusta [6 l] contriuit. [m] Diffugierunt [n] ergo ceteri uix ex manibus [o] eius elapsi goffario [7 p] necem [8] socii sui nuntiauerunt. [q] Contristatus ilico dux pictauensium [r] collegit exercitum grandem. ut in ipsos mortem nuntii sui uindicaret. At brutus diuulgato eius aduentu [s] naues munit. [t] mulieres & paruulos infra ipsas iubet manere. Ipse cum tota multitudine cui uigor florebat. obuius excertui [9 u] progreditur. Inito [10 v] certamine. [w] dira [x] pugna utrobique comittitur. [11 x] Et cum multum diei in agendo cedem consumpsissent. [y] puduit corineum aquitanos [y] tam audacter resistere. nec troianos cum triumpho insistere. Vnde resumpta audacia [12]

Bern [1] *querunt.* [2] *eas prosternere.* [3] *respondisset.* [4] *huius.* [5] *arcum.* [6] *frustra.* [7] *gofforio.* [8] *mortem.* [9] *exercitui.* [10] insert *tandem.* [11] *committitur.* [12] *audatia.*

Harlech [a] *uenacionem.* [b] *queruntt.* [c] insert *eas debere.* [d] *respondisset.* [e] *licenciam.* [f] *huius.* [g] *adhiberi.* [h] *Mibercus.* [i] *occurritque;* insert *ocius.* [j] *Mibercum.* [k] *arcum.* [l] *frustra.* [m] *concidii.* [n] *Diffugerunt.* [o] *uix e manibus.* [p] *atque Gofforio.* [q] omit *sui; nunciauerunt.* [r] *pictauiensium.* [s] *aduentu eius.* [t] *munire.* [u] *excercitui.* [v] insert *tandem.* [w] *dura.* [x] *committitur.* [y] *equitanos.*

in the king's forest. And he said that he had sought permission from no one to hunt wherever he willed. Whereupon one of the messengers, who was called mynbert, drew his bow and let drive an arrow at Korinays, but he dodged the arrow, quickly seized Mynnbert, and pulled the bow roughly out of his hand, and struck him on the head with it so that all his brains stuck to the bow. The other messenger barely escaped by the strength of his swiftness of foot, and that one told [G]Koffarffi*ch*di how mymbert had been slain. And then Koffarffichdi collected a great force intending to take revenge upon [g]korineys for killing his messenger. And when [y]bryttys
f. 42 vo. heard this, he strengthened his ships, and put the women and children aside, and came with all his fighting men to land against Koffarffichdi, and fiercely did they fight. And Korineys took great shame to see that the gwas gwniaid [Gascons] withstood them, and that he did not see the men

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seuocauit suos [a] in dexteram partem prelii & facto agmine celerem [b] impetum in hostes fecit. Et ut infra eorundem turmas sese densa acie intromisit. non cessauit hostes prosternere. donec penetrata cohorte cunctos [c] in fugam coegit. Fortuna amisso gladio ei [d] bipennem aministrauerat. [1 e] cum qua quamcumque [2 f] attingebat a summo usque ad imum disiungebat. Miratur brutus. mirantur socii. mirantur etiam hostes audaciam uiri & uirtutem. Qui bipennem inter fugientes cohortes librans. [3] timorem non minimum [g] cum his [h] uerbis inferebat. Quo fugitis timidi? Quo fugitis segnes? Reuertimini o reuertimini. [i] & congressum cum corineo facite. Proh [i] pudor. Tot milia me solum diffugitis? [j] | At tamen habetote solatium [4] fuge uestre quod ego *f. 10 rec.*
uos insequor. [5] quociens [6] soleo tirrenos [7] gygantes [8 k] in fugam propellere. qui [l] ternos atque quaternos ad tartara detrudere. At hæc [9 m] uerba illius reuertitur quidam consul uocacabulo [10] *1. xiii*
suhardus cum trecentis [n] militibus & inpetum [11 o] fecit in eum. Cuius ictum corineus pretenso clipeo [p] excipiens non oblitus est bipennem [q] quam tenebat. set erecta illa percussit eum in summitatem galeæ [12 r] percussumque [13] a summo usque ad imum [14] in

[1] *administrauerat.* [2] *quecumque.* [3] *uibrans.* [4] *salacium.* [5] *insequar.* [6] *qui toliens.* *Bern*
[7] *tyrrenos.* [8] *gigantes.* [9] *Ad hec.* [10] *nomine.* [11] *impetum.* [12] *galee.* [13] *peccussitque.*
[14] insert &.

[a] *ad se uocauit socios.* [b] *scelerem.* [c] *cuntos.* [d] *ei amisso gladio.* [e] *administra-* *Harlech*
uerat. [f] *quemcumque.* [g] *minimam.* [h] *hiis.* [i] *pro.* [j] *fugilis.* [k] *qui toliens soleo tyr-*
renos gygantes. [l] omit *qui;* insert &. [m] *Ad hec.* [n] *consul nomine swardus cum .ccc.*
[o] *impetum.* [p] *clypeo.* [q] *non est oblitus bypennis.* [r] *summitate galee.*

of troyaf prevailing over them; and then Korineys called his own men to him, he set them as a separate force on the right of the army, and killed those people without resting, and put them to flight, leaving only the slain behind him. For when he took his two-edged axe in his hand, he killed whomever he met, for he clave them from their crowns down to the ground. And greatly marvelled his enemies to see him do so. And these words he said to them, "Whither are ye flying, ye feeble cowards? Fight with [Ch]Korineys. Out upon you — for shame to fly for fear of one man! It is safe for you to fly, for I would put to flight even giants." After he said this, Earl ssiart, with a hundred men at arms, turned back, but Korineys attacked them, and heaving up his axe, struck him on the crest of his helmet *f. 43 rec.*

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ambas partes dissecuit. Set &[1 a] confestim irruens in ceteros bipennem rotat. stragem non minimam[b] facit. Et nunc hac nunc illac discurrens. nec ictus recipere diffugit.[c] nec hostes prosternere quiescit.[c] Huic brachium cum manu amputat. illi[d] scapulas a corpore[2] separat. Alii caput[e] ictu truncat alteri[f] crura[g] dissecat. Omnes in illum solum. & ipse solus in omnes irruebat. Quod brutus[h] aspiciens motus amore uiri cucurrit[3 i] cum una turma ut ei auxilium subuectaret. Tunc oritur clamor inter diuersas gentes tunc crebri ictus inferuntur. tunc in utraque parte fit cedes durissima.[j] Nec mora uictoria potiuntur[k] troes. & regem goffarium[l] cum pictauensibus suis in fugam propellunt. Qui uix euadens. partes galliarum adiuit. ut[4 m] cognatis & notis succursum[5] haberet. Erant tunc temporis .xii.[n] reges in gallia quorum regimine tot[6 o] patria pari dignitate regebatur. Qui benigne suscipientes eum.[j] promittunt sese unanimiter expulsuros ex finibus aquitaniæ[7 p] externam gentem
I. xiv quæ[8 q] aduenerat. Et brutus[r] ob predictam uictoriam letus |
f. 10 vo. peremptorum spoliis socios ditat ditatos autem iterum in turmas resociat resociatos per patriam ducit. affectans eam penitus

Bern [1] omit &. [2] *corpore* — the usual ꝓ = *per* is in the manuscript, corrected with an *o* written above the word. [3] *cucurit.* [4] insert *a.* [5] *sucursum.* [6] *tota.* [7] *aquitanie.* [8] *que.*

Harlech [a] omit &. [b] *stragemque acerrimam.* [c] *adquiescit.* [d] *isti.* [e] *capud;* insert *uno.* [f] *alii.* [g] insert *a summo.* [h] *Brutus.* [i] *concurrit.* [j] *dirissima.* [k] *paciuntur.* [l] *Goffarium.* [m] insert *a.* [n] *duodecim.* [o] *tota.* [p] *equitanie.* [q] *que.* [r] *At Brutus.*

and split him to the ground, and then with his axe circling about him without rest he hewed his enemies, and every one that met him he killed or maimed at one blow. And then Bryttys saw him in that peril, and brought up his men to his support. And then was there a great battle between them and the various tribes; and straightway after that Koffarffichdi and his army were put to flight. And he went to ffraink to his kindred to seek aid to wreak his rage upon the men of troyaf. For at that time one custom as to dignity, Lordship, and government prevailed throughout the country, for there were twelve kings over ffraink, but king Karwed* was of higher dignity than they. And these received him cordially and promised him help to repel the foreign nation from his country and its bounds. And then, after [V]Bryttys had got the victory, he enriched his men with the
f. 43 vo. spoils of the dead; and then marshalling his men the second time, he

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desolare & naues suas uniuersis diuitiis[a] replere. Accumulato igitur igne ciuitates undique incendit absconditasque opes[b] ab eisdem extrahit.[c] agros etiam depopulat. Stragem[1] miserandam ciuibus atque plebanis infert. uolens infelicem gentem usque ad unum[d] delere. Ac[2] dum tali clade totius[e] fere aquitaniæ[3] [f] partes affecisset uenit ad locum ubi nunc est ciuitas turonorum quam ut homerus testatur ipse postmodum construxit. igitur[4] [g] loca conuenientia refugio[h] inspexit. metatus est ibi castra sua ut si opus accidisset[i] sese infra ipsa reciperet. Vrgebatur namque timore propter aduentum goffarii[j] qui cum regibus & principibus galliæ[5] [k] & maxima armatorum copia prope eundem locum aduenerat. ut cum illo bellum committeret.[6] Peractis deinde castris expectauit[l] ibi goffarium[m] biduo confidens in prudentia sua atque audatia iuuentutis[n] cui presidebat. Gof- *1. xv*
farius ergo audita ibidem presentia[o] troianorum nec noctu nec die cessauit incedere. donec castra bruti[p] prope aspexit. Toruo igitur lumine intuens paulisper subridens in hec uerba erupit.[7] Proh fatum triste. Castra etiam[8] sua in regno meo fecerunt ignobiles exules. Armate uos uiri. armate. & per densatas turmas

[1] *Sstragem.* [2] *At.* [3] *aquitanie.* [4] *Vt igitur.* [5] *gallie.* [6] *committet.* [7] *prorupit.* *Bern*
[8] *etenim.*

[a] *diuiciis.* [b] *Absconditas;* omit *opes,* insert *quoque.* [c] insert *diuicias.* [d] *imum.* *Harleck*
[e] *tocius.* [f] *equitannie.* [g] *Ut igitur.* [h] *conueniencia confugio.* [i] *esset.* [j] *Goffarii.*
[k] *gallie.* [l] *expugnauit.* [m] *Goffarium.* [n] insert *sue.* [o] *presencia.* [p] *Bruti.*

marched to the country, and they took every kind of goods that were in it to the ships with them and burned the cities, and took all their gold and their silver, and whatever else of value that could be carried,— and killed all the people. Then, after he had burned over the whole face of gassgwin [Gascony], from there he went to the place called at this hour the city of tyrri. And there, when he saw a spot fitted by its strength, he measured out a place suitable for tents and raised a stockade about it, in order that they might, if need be, sustain an assault, —for they feared that Koffarffichdi and other kings might come with many armies — and there waited for them.* And then when GKoffarffichdi heard that they were there, he rested neither day nor night till he came to a place where he saw the whole fort. And then he said, "Alas! Alas! what sad shame of fate is this, to see an outland people with their tents pitched in my kingdom. Arm yourselves, O chief-

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incedite. Nec [1 a] mora erit [2] quin seminares [3 b] istos uelut [c] oues capiamus. [4 d] atque captos per regna nostra mancipabimus. Armauerunt itaque se omnes quos secum adduxerat & per duo-
f. 11 rec. dena | agmina statuti uersus hostes suos incedunt. Contra quos brutus etiam [e] dispositis cateruis non [5] muliebriter graditur. set turmas suas quid acture essent sapienter docens. qualiter debeant [f] inuadere & resistere edicit. Vt ergo congressum inceperunt preualuerunt in initio [g] troes. & cedem acerrimam ex hostibus faciunt. Ceciderunt namque ex eis fere duo milia hominum. unde ceteri stupefacti fere in fugam [h] uersi fuerunt. Set ubi maior numerus hominum abundat [6 i] euenire [7] solet triumphum [8] accidere. [9 j] Galli igitur quoniam tricies [k] plures erant ceteris quamquam primo [10] opressi fuerant. tandem tamen resociati [l] impetum fecerunt undique in troas. & illata strage ipsos castra ingredi coegerunt. Victoriam itaque adepti. obsederunt eos infra castra. meditantes se nequaquam prius [m] illinc abscedere antequam ipsi inclusi uel colla uincienda [n] catenis [11 o] traderent

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Bern [1] *Nulla.* [2] *erat.* [3] *semimares.* [4] *capiemus.* [5] omit *non.* [6] *habundat.* [7] omit *euenire.* [8] *triumphus.* [9] *accedere.* [10] *pmo;* abbreviation omitted. [11] *cathenis.*

Harlech [a] *Nulla.* [b] *semimares.* [c] *uelud.* [d] *capiemus.* [e] *eciam.* [f] insert &. [g] *inicio.* [h] *in fugam fere.* [i] *habundat.* [j] *accedere.* [k] *quem triues.* [l] *resociati tamen.* [m] omit *prius.* [n] *uincenda.* [o] *cathenis.*

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f. 44 rec. tains, catch them as sheep are caught in a pen, and we will divide them among us and scatter them all over our country as prisoners and slaves, and thus wreak our wrath and vengeance upon them." And marshalling the men in twelve divisions, he advanced upon the men of troyaf. When Bryttys knew this, he put on his armour, and [so did] his men, and came out against Koffarffichdi, and attacked him fiercely, instructing his men to attack when advantage served and to wait when they must. And thus the men of troyaf conquered and compelled Koffarffichdi and his men to flee at the first rush, and in this flight were slain two thousand of them. But the numbers of Koffarffichdi's men and the ffraink were tenfold larger than those of Bryttys, for every hour others came in. And then they attacked the men of troyaf a second time, and made great slaughter and drove them back again into their castles. And so after the ffraink had won that victory, they sat down about them, thinking to shut them

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uel longa fame afflicti seuissima morte tormentarentur. Sequenti interea nocte corineus iniuit consilium cum bruto[a] se uelle scilicet per quedam diuortia[b] in eadem nocte egredi. & infra nemus quod prope fuerat usque ad diem delitere. Et dum brutus[1 c] diluculo egressus. cum hostibus dimicaret ipse cum cohorte sua a dorso superueniret. & facto impetu stragem[d] ingereret. Placuit itaque bruto sententia[2 e] corinei qui ut predixerat callide egressus est cum tribus milibus occultaque nemorum[3] petiuit. Aduenientе autem postera die statuit brutus[f] suos per turmas & apertis castris pugnaturus egreditur. Occurrunt igitur confestim galli & facto agmine cum ipso[g] congrediuntur. Concidunt illico[4 h] in utraque parte multa milia uirorum dum mutua uulnera | dantur. quia nullus aduersario[5] suo[i] *f. 11 vo.* parcebat. Erat ibi quidam trous[j] nomine turnus bruti[k] nepos quo fortior[l] siue audatior nullus excepto corineo aderat. Hic[6] solus solo gladio suo sescentos[m] uiros peremit set ab[n] irruentibus gallis citius[o] quam deberet[p] interfectus est.[6] De nomine ipsius predicta ciuitas turonis uocabulum nacta est

[1] insert *cum.* [2] *sentencia.* [3] *nemora.* [4] *ilico.* [5] *auersario.* [6] From *Hic solus* to *interfectus est* is omitted. *Bern*

[a] *Bruto.* [b] *quendam diuorcia.* [c] *Brutus;* insert *cum.* [d] *facto stragem impetu.* [e] *Bruto sentencia.* [f] *Brutus.* [g] *ipsis.* [h] *ilico.* [i] omit *suo.* [j] *troes.* [k] *Bruti.* [l] *quorum forcior.* [m] *d.c.* [n] omit *ab.* [o] *cicius.* [p] *debuisset.* *Harlech*

up until they died of famine, or until they could put them to some death *f. 44 vo.* more cruel than that. And that night Bryttys took council with [Ch]Korineys and the decision was that [G]Korineys should go quietly from the camp, and hide in a neighbouring wood, and that next day when [v]bryttys should attack them, he should rise upon the other side, and raise a cry upon them, and make a great slaughter on the ffraink. And this did Korineys; taking with him three thousand armed men, he went out at night and hid in the forest. And the next morning [v]bryttys posted his men with order and skill and gave battle in the field to the ffraink; the ffraink fiercely attacked in turn, so that many thousands fell on both sides. And there was a youth of [d]troyaf lineage, nephew to [v]bryttys, and his name was [D]Tyrri, who, Korineys excepted, was the bravest. For he slew six hundred men with his own sword; but at last the ffraink killed him, and there he was buried, and from his name that place is still

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quia ibidem [a] sepultus fuit. Cum igitur utreque turmæ [1 b] acrius pugnarent superuenit ex inprouiso corineus. & a tergo hostes celeriter inuasit. Audaciores [2] proinde insurgentes ceteri ex altera parte incumbunt.[3] stragemque facere contendunt. Itaque galli solo clamore [4] corinei [5 c] qui a tergo inuaserat [6 d] stupefacti [7] sunt. Et arbitrantes [8] plures aduenisse quam aduenerant campum deserere festinant. quos troes usque ferientes insecuntur.[9] insequendo uero prosternunt. nec prosternere cessauerunt. donec uictoriam habuerunt. Brutus itaque licet tantus triumphus illi [e] maximum intulisset gaudium.[f] dolore tamen angebatur. quia numerus suorum cotidie minuebatur. gallorum autem semper multiplicabatur. In dubio tandem existens utrum diutius eos obpugnaret. preelegit naues suas salua adhuc maiori [10] parte sociorum [f] necnon [11] & reuerentia [12] uictoria [g] adire.[f] atque insulam quam ei diuinus predixerat monitus exigere. Nec plura.[13] petiuit suorum assensu classem suam. & repleuit eam ex uniuersis diuitiis [h] quas acquisiuerat.[14 i] & ipsam ingressus est.

Bern [1] *turme.* [2] *Audatiores.* [3] *incombunt.* [4] *clamare.* [5] *corineiensium qui* etc. [6] *inuaserant.* [7] *stupufacti.* [8] *arbitntes* — the mark of abbreviation omitted. [9] *insequuntur.* [10] *maiore.* [11] *necnon.* [12] insert *cum.* [13] *Ne mora* — later corrected in another hand to *Nec mora.* [14] *adquisierat.*

Harlech [a] *ibi.* [b] *turme.* [c] *coriniensium.* [d] *inuaserant.* [e] omit *illi.* [f] *suorum.* [g] *reuerencia uictorie.* [h] *diuiciis.* [i] *adquisiuerat.*

f. 45 rec. called the city of tyrri, because he was buried there. And then, behold [G]Korineys came upon them when they were unaware and suddenly attacked the rear; and when Bryttys saw this, he nerved himself and his men to bravery; and so loud was the shouting which Korinays raised that the ffraink became disheartened, thinking there were in that place greater numbers than there were, and the ffraink began to leave the field and to flee, and the men of troyaf pursued them until they had the victory over them. And so, though Bry*tt*ys was joyful over getting the victory, he was sad because of his nephew tyrri's death. And thus the number of Bryttys's followers daily lessened, whilst that of the ffraink increased; therefore in council Bryttys was advised to return to his ships while the greater part of his men were still whole, and having also the credit of the victory; and then to go toward the island of which the goddess had told him. And without delay, by the counsel of the nobles, they went upon the ships, taking with
f. 45 vo. them whatever they desired of any valuable thing there was in that land.

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Prosperis quoque[1] uentis promissam insulam exigens.[f] in toto nesio[2 a] littore applicuit. Erat tunc nomen insulæ[3 b] albion quæ[4 c] *1. xvi*
a nemine exceptis paucis hominibus[d] gigantibus[e] inhabitabatur. |
Ameno tamen situ locorum & copia piscosorum fluminum ne- *f. 12 rec.*
moribusque[f] preelecta affectum habitandi bruto[g] sociisque
inferebat.[h] Peragratis ergo[i] quibusque prouinciis. repertos
gigantes[j] ad cauernas montium fugant. Patriam donante
duce.[f] sortiuntur.[5 k] Agros incipiunt colere. domos edificare.[6]
ita ut[l] breui tempore terram ab euo inhabitatam censeres.
Denique brutus de nomine suo insulam brittanniam[7 m] appellat.
sociosque suos brittones.[8 n] Volebat enim ex diriuatione[9] nominis
memoriam habere perpetuam. Vnde postmodum loquela gentis
quæ[4 c] prius[o] troiana siue curuum grecum nuncupabatur.[f] dicta
fuit[p] brittannica.[10 q] At corineus portionem[r] regni quæ[4 c] sorti
sue cesserat. ab appellatione[s] sui nominis corineam uocat. Popu-
lumque suum[t] corineiensem. exemplum ducis insecutus. Qui
cum[u] pre omnibus qui aduenerant electionem prouintiarum[v]
posset habere.[f] maluit regionem illam quæ[4 c] nunc uel[w] a cornu

[1] *ergo.* [2] *in totonesio.* [3] *insule.* [4] *que.* [5] *sorciuntur.* [6] *ædificare.* [7] *britoniam.* *Bern*
[8] *britones.* [9] *deriuatione.* [10] *britannia.*

[a] *in toto nensio.* [b] *insule.* [c] *que.* [d] omit *hominibus.* [e] *gygantibus.* [f] *nemorumque.* *Harlech*
[g] *Bruto.* [h] *differebat.* [i] *quoque.* [j] *gygantes.* [k] *sorciuntur.* [l] insert *in.* [m] *Brittanniam.*
[n] *Brittones.* [o] *que post.* [p] omit *fuit.* [q] *Brittannia.* [r] *corineuus porcionem.* [s] *appella-*
cione; insert *eciam.* [t] omit *suum.* [u] omit *cum.* [v] *prouinciarum.* [w] omit *uel.*

And then they hoisted sail with a fair wind, and made landfall on the strand of tatnais.* For that place was the Alban, which in [ngh]kymraec is called y wenn ynys [the White Island], and no one dwelt there but a few giants; and it had a fair aspect, with many fine rivers abounding in fish, and there were in it also noble forests. And so [v]*b*ryttys and his followers were pleased with the situation of the island; and the giants fled to the mountains. And then by consent of the princes, they divided the island amongst them, and began to plow and to build houses on it and to occupy it; and in a short time it might have been thought that it had been settled for many ages. And then Bryttys desired to call the island by his own name, and that the race inhabiting it should be called bryttaniaid; this also was by reason *f. 46 rec.*
of his own name, for he wished to have eternal renown, until the day of judg-

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brittannie[1] uel per[a] correptionem[2 b] predicti nominis[c] cornubia appellatur. Delectabat enim eum contra gigantes dimicare quorum copia plus ibidem abundabat.[3 d] quam in ulla[e] prouinciarum.[4] quæ[f] consociis[5] suis distribute fuerant. Erat ibi in[6 g] ceteros detestabilis quidam nomine goemagog.[h] stature xii.[i] cubitorum. Qui tante uirtutis[7] existens quercum semel excussam uelut[j] uirgulam[k] corili euellebat. Hic quadam die dum brutus[l] in portu quo applicuerat festiuum diem diis[m] celebraret. subuenit[8] illi[9 n] cum .xx. gigantibus[o] atque durissima[p] cede brittones[10] affecit. At brittones[10 q] undique tandem confluentes preualu-
f. 12 vo. erunt in eos. & omnes preter goemagog[11 h] interferunt.[12 r] | Hunc brutus[l] uiuum[s] reseruari preceperat. uolens uidere luctationem ipsius & corinei.[t] qui cum talibus congredi ultra modum estuabat. Itaque corineus[u] maximo gaudio fluctuans[13] succinxit se. & abiectis armis ipsum prouocat ad luctandum.[v] Inito

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Bern [1] *britannie.* [2] *corruptionem.* [3] *habundabat.* [4] *prouintiarum.* [5] *que consotiis.* [6] *inter.* [7] *uirtututis.* [8] *superuenit.* [9] *illic.* [10] *britones.* [11] *goimagog.* [12] *interfecerunt.* [13] *fluctuans gaudio.*

Harlech [a] omit *per.* [b] *corruptionem.* [c] *nominis predicti.* [d] *habitabat.* [e] *nulla.* [f] *que.* [g] *inter.* [h] *Goemagogh.* [i] *duodecim.* [j] *uelud.* [k] *uirgam.* [l] *Brutus.* [m] omit *diis.* [n] *superuenit ille.* [o] *uiginti gygantibus.* [p] *dirissima.* [q] *Brittones.* [r] *interfecerunt.* [s] insert *&.* [t] *Corinei.* [u] *Corineus.* [v] *ad luctandum prouocauit.*

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ment. And from that time on, the language of that people was called bryttanec. And Korineys put on the part that came to him [the name] kerniw [Cornwall], for he had his choice before all others, and he chose that part of the island because the giants were most numerous there, for to fight with them delighted him more [than anything]. And there was among them a certain monster called Gogmagog,* who was twelve cubits in height, whose power and strength were said to be so great that he could tear from its roots down under his feet the largest oak in the forest as easily as he would pull up a little twig of hazel. And so, as [v]bryttys was fighting upon a feast day in the place where he first came to land on this island, behold
f. 46 vo. Gogmagog came with eleven giants and made a bloody slaughter upon the Bryttaniaid. And then many of them rallied and fought manfully with them, and slew them all except gogmagoc, for Bryttys caused him to be kept alive because it would delight him to see Korineys fight him, for that was his desire also. And so when *Kor*inays saw that monster coming, he thrilled

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deinde [a] certamine instat corineus instat gigas [b] & alter alterum [1] uinculis brachiorum adnectens.[f] [c] crebris [2] afflatibus aera uexant. Nec mora goemagog.[f] [3] [d] corineum maximis uiribus astringens. fregit ei tres costas. duas in dextero [4] latere.[e] unam uero in sinistro. Vnde corineus compulsus in iram [5] reuocauit [f] uires suas. & inposuit [6] [g] illum [7] humeris suis & [h] quantum uelocitas pro [8] pondere sinebat ad proxima littora cucurrit.[i] Deinde sumitatem [9] [j] excelse rupis [k] nactus. excussit se. & predictum letabile monstrum quod super humeros suos ferebat infra [l] mare proiecit. At ille per abruta [m] saxorum cadens. in mille [n] frusta [10] proiectus [o] dilaceratus est. & fluctus sanguine maclauit. [11] [p] Locus autem ille nomen ex precipitatione [12] gigantis [q] adeptus saltus goemagog [d] usque in presentem diem uocatur; diuiso [r] tandem regno.[f] *I. xvii* affectauit brutus [s] ciuitatem edificare. [13] Affectum itaque suum exequens circuiuit totius [14] [t] patrie situm. ut congruum locum [u] inueniret. Perueniens ergo ad tamsem [15] [v] fluuium deambulauit

[1] *alterum alter.* [2] *crebis.* [3] *goemagon.* [4] *dextro.* [5] *in iram compulsus.* [6] *imposuit.* *Bern*
[7] *eum;* insert *in.* [8] *pre.* [9] *summitatem.* [10] *frustra.* [11] *maculauit.* [12] *precipitacione.*
[13] *œdificare.* [14] *tocius.* [15] *tamensem.*

[a] *tandem.* [b] *hinc stat corineus hinc stat gygas.* [c] *annectens.* [d] *Goemagogh.* *Harlech*
[e] *latere dextro.* [f] *in iram compulsus renouauit.* [g] *imposuit.* [h] insert *in.* [i] *cuccurrit.*
[j] *summitatem.* [k] *rupis excelse.* [l] *in.* [m] *abrupta.* [n] *multa.* [o] omit *frusta proiectus.*
[p] *maculauit.* [q] *precipitacione gygantis.* [r] *Diuisio.* [s] *Brutus.* [t] *tocius* [u] omit *locum.*
[v] *Thamensem.*

with delight, and throwing off his armour, challenged the giant to come to grips with him. And they came together, stood face to face, and each one got a hold on the other with much tongue-lashing, until those that were near them were wearied by their breathing. And at once the giant hugged [G]Korinays to him with all his might, until he broke three of his ribs, two on the left side and one on the right side. And then Korineys became enraged, *f. 47 rec.* and took his strength to him and lifted the giant to his shoulder, and ran with him towards a sea-crag and bearing him to its highest peak, threw him over the rock into the sea, so that he went into a thousand pieces, and the waves were discoloured by his blood for a long time. And that place from that day to this is called the giant's Leap, or Gogmagog's jump. And then when the island had been divided, Bryttys desired to build a city. And he went the island's length seeking a place suitable for the purpose. And at last he came to the banks of the river [D]Temys; and he traversed the bank

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litora.[1 a] locumque nactus est proposito suo perspicuum. Condidit ciuitatem itaque[2 b] ibidem. eamque troiam nouam uocauit. Ex hoc nomine multis postmodum temporibus appellata. tandem per corruptionem uocabuli trinouantum dicta fuit. At[c] postquam lud frater cassibellani[d] qui | cum iuliano[e] cesare dimicauit f. 13 rec. regni gubernaculum adeptus est cinxit eam nobilissimis muris necnon & turribus mira arte fabricatis. De nomine quoque suo iussit eam dici[f] kaerlud. id est ciuitas lud. Vnde postea maxima contentio[3 g] orta est inter ipsum & nennium fratrem suum qui grauiter ferebat illum uelle nomen troie in patria sua delere. Quam contentionem[4] quia gildas[h] hystoricus[5 i] satis prolixe tractauit. eam preterire preelegi. ne id quod tantus scriba tanto
1. xviii stilo parauit. uidear uiliori dictamine maculare. Postquam igitur predictus dux predictam urbem condidit. dedicauit eam ciuibus iure uicturis. deditque legem qua[j] pacificice[6 k] tractarentur. Regnabat tunc in iudea heli[7 l] sacerdos. & archa testamenti capta erat a phylisteis.[8 m] Regnabant etiam[n] in troia filii

Bern [1] *littora.* [2] *itaque ciuitatem.* [3] *contencio.* [4] *contencionem.* [5] *hystoricus.* [6] *pacifice.* [7] *helÿ.* [8] *philisteis.*

Harlech [a] *littora.* [b] *itaque ciuitatem.* [c] *Atque.* [d] *cassibellaum.* [e] *iulio.* [f] *uocari.* [g] *contencio.* [h] *Gÿldas.* [i] *historiographus.* [j] *quam.* [k] *pacifice.* [l] *helÿ.* [m] *philisteis.* [n] *eciam.*

along the sands. And when he found a place lovely and filling his desires, he built a city there and called it *troy*af newydd, and thus it was called for a
f. 47 vo. long time; and, then by corruption of that name, it was called tr*yn*ofant. Afterwards it was possessed by [l]llydd, the son of [p]Beli the great, the brother of Kasswallawn, the man who fought with ilkassar. And when this llydd got the kingship he strengthened the city with [grants of] lands and with walls of wondrous art and craftsmanship; and he ordered it to be called from that time forth kaer-lydd, after his own name; and the ssaisson called it *Lwnd*wn. And on this account there was great contention between [L]*Llydd* and rryniaw his brother, because the name of troyaf was blotted out. And then when [r]bryttys had finished the building of the city, and had strengthened it with walls and castles, he consecrated them, and he made inflexible laws for the governance of such as should dwell there peacefully, and he put protection on the city and granted privilege to it. At this time beli the priest ruled in iudea and the ark of the covenant was in captivity to

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hæctoris.[1] [a] expulsis posteris antenoris. Regnabat in italia siluius eneas [b] eneæ [2] [c] filius auunculus bruti [d] latinorum tertius.[3] [e]

Cognouerat [f] autem brutus [g] ignogen [4] [h] uxorem suam. & ex ea genuit tres inclitos filios quibus erant nomina. locrinus.[i] kamber.[j] albanactus.[k] hii [5] postquam pater in .xx.iii.[6] [l] anno aduentus sui ab hoc seculo migrauit. sepelierunt eum infra urbem quam condiderat. & diuiserunt regnum brittannie [7] [m] inter se. & secesserunt [n] unusquisque in loco suo. Locrinus qui primogenitus fuerat possedit [o] partem insule. quæ [8] postea de nomine suo [p] appellata est loegria. kamber [9] autem partem illam quæ [8] [q] est ultra sabrinum flumen [r] quæ [8] [q] nunc gualia [10] uocatur quæ [8] [q] de nomine ipsius postmodum kambria [11] multo tempore dicta fuit. Vnde adhuc gens patrie lingua brittannica [12] sese kambros [13] [s] appellat.[14] At albanactus. iunior possedit patriam quæ [8] [q] lingua nostra his [t] | temporibus appellatur scotia. & nomen ei ex nomine suo [u] albania dedit Illis denique [v] *f. 13 vo.*

11. i

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[1] *hectoris.* [2] *enee.* [3] *tercius.* [4] *Brutus ignogeg.* [5] *Hi.* [6] *xx. iiii.* [7] *britannie.* *Bern*
[8] *que.* [9] *Kamber.* [10] *Gaulia.* [11] *Kambria.* [12] *britannica.* [13] *kambro.* [14] *appellant.*

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[a] *hectoris.* [b] omit *eneas.* [c] *enee.* [d] *Bruti.* [e] *tercius.* [f] *Cognouit.* [g] *Brutus.* *Harlech*
[h] *in nogen.* [i] *Locrinus.* [j] *Albanactus.* [k] *Kamber.* [l] *uicessimo* to *iiii.* [m] *Brittannie.*
[n] *cesserunt.* [o] insert *mediam.* [p] *que ex suo nomine postea.* [q] *que.* [r] *fluuium.*
[s] *Kambro.* [t] *hiis.* [u] *suo nomine.* [v] *deinde.*

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the Pilistewission. And in trroyaf there ruled a son of ector the mighty, after he had expelled from it the descendants of Antenor. And in the eidial there ruled ssylhys, the son of Yssgannys, the son of eneas, — uncle of bryttys, and this one was the third king after lattinys. And then [v]bryttys had, by his wife enogen, three sons, namely locrinys, kamber, and Albanac*tys*. And those three sons, when their father died in the twenty-fourth year after he came to this island, divided the island into three parts. locrinys, for he was the eldest, took the middle of the island, and this part was called lloe*gr*, from his name. Kamber got the other part beyond the hafren, and that part is called Kymry; and Albanakdys got from the river hymyr to cape bladdon, and that [part] is called Yssgotl*ond*, and from his name Alban. And thus all three reigned at the same time. And then came *f. 48 rec.* *f. 48 vo.*

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concordi [a] pace diu regnantibus applicuit humber rex hunorum in albaniam. & commisso prelio cum albanacto. interfecit eum & gen-
II. ii tem patrie ad locrinum diffugere coegit. Locrinus igitur audito rumore associauit sibi kambrum fratrem suum & collegit totam iuuentutem patrie & iuit obuiam regi hunorum circa [b] fluuium [c] quod [1] nunc uocatur humber. [d] Inito ergo [e] congressu compulit. [f] humbrum [2] in fugam. Qui usque ad fluuium [c] diffugiens [f] submersus [f] est infra fluctus. & nomen suum flumini reliquit. [g] Locrinus ergo [h] potitus uictoria spolia hostium sociis largitur. nichil sibi [i] retinens preter aurum & argentum quod infra naues inuenit. Retinuit quoque sibi tres puellas mire pulchritudinis [3] [j] quarum prima filia fuit regis germaniæ. [4] [k] quam predictus humber cum duabus rapuerat dum patriam uastaret. Erat nomen illius estrildis [l] & erat tante pulchritudinis [m] quod non leuiter reperiebatur [5] [n] quæ [6] [o] ei conferri poterat. [7] Candorem carnis eius [p] nec inclitum ebur. nec nix recenter cadens. [8] nec lilia ulla uincebant. Amore itaque illius locrinus captus uoluit cubilia eius inire. ipsamque sibi maritali teda copulare. Quod cum corineo com-

Bern [1] *qui.* [2] *hunbrum.* [3] *pulcritudinis.* [4] *germanie.* [5] *repperiebatur.* [6] *que.* [7] *posset.* [8] *candens.*

Harlech [a] omit *concordi.* [b] *citra.* [c] *flumen.* [d] *humbrum.* [e] *igitur.* [f] *obmersus.* [g] *reliquid.* [h] *autem.* [i] insert *ipsi.* [j] *pulcritudinis.* [k] *fuerat cuiusdam regis germanie.* [l] *eastrildis.* [m] *pulcritudinis.* [n] *reperibatur.* [o] *que.* [p] *eius carnis.*

hymyr, king of hvnawd,* with a large fleet to land in the Alban, and Albanactys fought with him and there Albanactys was killed, and the people of that country were compelled to fly to locrinys. And he sent to [a]kamber, his brother, and they gathered all the Youth of the two countries, and went against hynnyr and put him to flight, until he was drowned in this river, and from then until today this river is called hymyr.

And then after *Locr*inys got the victory, he divided the spoils of the dead and all the gold and silver found in the ships. And he also took three young women fair of form and face, and one of them was daughter to the king of ssermania whom hynnyr had carried off from there with two other damsels when he plundered the country. And her name was essyllt,* and
f. 49 rec. her flesh was fairer than the whitest snow, or the lily, or the tusk of the sea-beast [walrus]. And when locrinys saw her, he was inflamed with love of her, and took the maid to his bed, even as his married wife. And when

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pertum esset. indignatus [a] ultra modum quoniam locrinus pactus fuerat sese filiam ipsius [1 b] ducturum. Adiuit [c] ergo regem & bi- *11. iii*
pennem [d] in dextera [2] manu librans. illum hoc modo allocutus est. Hæccine [3 e] rependis mihi locrine ob tot uulnera quæ [4 f] in obsequio [5] patris tui perpessus sum.[f] dum prelia cum ignotis gentibus committeret.[g] ut filia mea postposita te [6] conubio cuiusdam [7] barbare summitteres? [h] Non impune feres dum uigor [8] huic inerit [i] dextere [j] | quæ [4 f] tot gigantibus [k] per tyrrena [l] *f. 14 rec.*
littora gaudia uitæ [9 m] eripuit? Hoc iterum iterumque proclamans uibrabat. [10 n] bipennem [o] quasi percussurus eum set [11 p] amici utrorumque sese interposuerunt. Sedato [12 q] corineo.[f] locrinum quod pepigerat exequi coegerunt. Duxit itaque lo- *11. iv*
crinus filiam corinei guendoloenam nomine.[f] nec tamen estrildis [r] ✕
amoris oblitus est Set facto infra urbem trinouantum [s] subterraneo.[f] inclusit eam in ipso familiaribusque [13] suis honorifice [t] tradidit. Volebat saltem furtiuam uenerem cum illa agere. Timore namque corinei anxiatus.[f] non audebat eam patenter

[1] *illius.* [2] The Cambridge MS. adds the abbreviation to the full spelling of the word thus making *dexterera.* [3] *Heccine.* [4] *que.* [5] *obsequia.* [6] *tele.* [7] *cuidam.* [8] omit *dum uigor.* [9] *uite.* [10] *librabat.* [11] omit *set.* [12] insert *uero.* [13] *que* omitted, but added in the margin perhaps in the same hand. *Bern*

[a] insert *est.* [b] *eius.* [c] *Adiit.* [d] *bibennem.* [e] *Heccine.* [f] *que.* [g] *committeret gentibus.* [h] *submitteres.* [i] *inheret.* [j] *dextre.* [k] *gygantibus.* [l] *tyrrena.* [m] *uite.* [n] *librabat.* [o] *bypennem.* [p] *Cumque.* [q] omit *Sedato.* [r] *eastrildis.* [s] *trinouantum urbem.* [t] insert *seruandam.* *Harlech*

[f]korineys learned it, he was greatly incensed because locrinys had promised to take his daughter to wife. And then Korineys went to the king, and shaking his axe at him said like this: "Is it thus, fellow, that you repay the many wounds and injuries I suffered with your father when we fought the foreign peoples for him? Is it thus, fellow, that you repay me by disgracing my daughter, putting a barbarian maiden before her? This shall not be done cheaply by you while there is strength in my two arms, for by this axe has many a giant lost his life." This while brandishing his two-edged axe as if about to strike him; but their comrades went in between him and the king. And when they had pacified them, they compelled locrinys *f. 49 vo.*
to take the daughter of [f]korineys to wife. But notwithstanding, he did not abjure his love for essyllt, but made for her in llyndain a cave under ground and ordered his nearest friends to ward her. And when he went to

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habere. Set ut predictum est occuluit illam.[1] frequentauitque .vii.[a] annis integris nemine comperiente exceptis illis qui eiusdem familiaritati[b] proximiores fuerant. Nempe quocienscumque adibat illam fingebat se uelle occultum sacrificium[c] diis suis facere.[2] Vnde quosque falsa credulitate mouebat.[d] id ipsum estimare. Interea grauida facta est estrildis.[d] ediditque filiam mire pulcritudinis[3] quam uocauit[e] habren. Grauida etiam facta est guendoloena. genuitque puerum cui impositum est nomen maddan. Hic corineo auo suo traditur.[4 f] documenta ipsius dis-
11. v cere.[5 g] Subsequænte[6 h] tandem tempore defuncto corineo deseruit locrinus guendoloenam. & estrildam[7 i] in reginam erexit.[i] Itaque guendoloena ultra modum indignans.[k] adiuit cornubiam.[e] collectaque iuuentute totius[l] regni illius[m] cepit inequitationem[8] locrino ingerere. Conserto tandem utrorumque exercitu. commiserunt prelium iuxta fluuium sturam. ubi locrinus ictu sagitte percussus gaudia uitæ[9 n] amisit. Perempto igitur illo cepit guend'[10] regni gubernaculum paterna insania furens. Iubet enim
f. 14 vo. estrildam[7 i] | & filiam eius habren in fluuio precipitari[o] qui

Bern [1] *eam.* [2] *offerre.* [3] *pulchritudinis.* [4] *traditus.* [5] *discebat.* [6] *Subsequente.* [7] *astrildam.* [8] *inquietacionem.* [9] *uite.* [10] Undoubtedly equals *guendoloena* which the Bern and Harlech MSS. have.

Harlech [a] *septem.* [b] *familiaritatis.* [c] *sacrificiis.* [d] *eastrildis.* [e] *nomine.* [f] *traditus.* [g] *discebat.* [h] *Subsequente.* [i] *eastrildam.* [j] *duxit.* [k] *indignat;* — the scribe originally wrote *indignatus* and appears to have erased with pumice his own abbreviated ending, and also an &. [l] *tocius.* [m] *ipsius.* [n] *uite.* [o] *precipitari in fluuium.*

visit her, he said he was going to make secret sacrifice to god, for fearing *Cor*ineys he did not dare to take her openly to his bed; and so he spent seven years with her. But after Kor*ine*ys died, locrinys left gwenddolav his daughter, and publicly took essyllt into the queen's bed. And then gwennddolav grieved, and went to [ngh]kerniw, and rallied all the Youth of the province to her, and began to make war on loc*rinys*. And then the two forces met on the banks of the river which is called vyrram, and fierce was the battle there. And there *Locr*inys was struck in the forehead with an
f. 50 rec. arrow and was killed. And then gwennddolav took the government of the island into her own hands. And she ordered both essyllt and her daughter hafren to be taken and drowned in the river, and ever since it has been called the river Hafren throughout ynys brydain, and thus it will

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nunc sabrina dicitur fecitque [a] edictum per totam brittanniam [1] ut flumen nomine puellæ [2 b] uocaretur. Volebat etenim [3] honorem eternitatis illi impendere [c] quia maritus suus eam generauit. [d] Vnde contigit quod usque nunc [4 e] appellatum est flumen brittannica [5] lingua habren quod per coruptionem [6 f] nominis alia lingua sabrina uocatur. Regnauit deinde. guend' [7 g] .xv. [h] annis post interfectionem locrini qui .x. [8 i] annis regnauerat. Et cum tunc [9 j] uidisset maddan [k] filium suum etate adultum sceptro regni insigniuit illum contenta regione cornubie dum reliquum uite deduceret. [10] Tunc samuel propheta regnabat in iudea & siluius [l] eneas uiuebat adhuc. [m] & homerus [11 n] clarus rethor & poeta habebatur. Insignitus [12] igitur maddan uxore. ex illa genuit duos filios mempricium [13 o] & malin. [p] regnumque cum pace & diligencia .xl. [q] annis tractauit. Quo defuncto discordia orta est. inter predictos fratres propter regnum. quia uterque totam insulam possidere estuabat. Mempricius [14 r] ergo affectum suum perficere desiderans [s] colloquium iniuit cum malin [t] quasi concordiam facturus. Set teda proditionis [u] inflamatus [15 v] *II. vi*

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[1] *britanniam.* [2] *puelle.* [3] *enim.* [4] *in hunc diem.* [5] *britannica.* [6] *corruptionem.* [7] *guendol'.* [8] *decem.* [9] omit *tunc.* [10] *duceret.* [11] *omerus.* [12] *Igsignitus.* [13] *Menpricium.* [14] *Menpricius.* [15] *inflammatus.* *Bern*

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[a] *fecit.* [b] *puelle.* [c] *imponere.* [d] *gygnauerat.* [e] *in hunc diem.* [f] *corruptionem.* [g] *Guendoloena.* [h] *quindecim.* [i] *decem.* [j] omit *tunc.* [k] *maddad.* [l] *Siluius.* [m] *adhuc uiuebat.* [n] *omerus.* [o] *Menpricium.* [p] *Maulim.* [q] *quadraginta.* [r] *Menpricius.* [s] *uolens.* [t] *mauli.* [u] *prodicionis.* [v] *inflammatus.* *Harleck*

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be called until the day of judgment, on account of the maiden drowned in it, so that there shall be everlasting remembrance of the daughter of locrinys. And after locrinys the queen reigned twelve years, and twelve other years had locrinys reigned. And when madoc her son came of legal age, he was made king, and she herself ruled kerniw while she lived. And then madoc married and of his wife had two sons, namely, membyr and mael, and then madoc governed the realm in peace for twelve years and then he died. And after this discord arose between his two sons about the kingdom, for each one of them wished to have it for himself. And membyr sent *f. 50 vo.* a message to [v]mael his brother to come to talk with him with the intention of making peace, and then by treachery membyr caused his brother to be

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ipsum inter prolocutores interfecit. Deinde regimen [a] totius [1 b] insulæ [2 c] nactus tantam tirannidem [3 d] in populum exercuit. [e] quod fere quemque nobilissimum perimebat. Set & totam progeniem suam exosus quemcunque [f] sibi in regno posse succedere timebat. [f] uel ui uel proditione [4] opprimebat. Relicta & [5] uxore propria [g] ex qua inclitum iuuenem ebraucum progenuerat. [h] sese sodomitane uoluptati dedit. non [6 i] naturalem uenerem [6 j] naturali libidini [7] preferens. Vicesimo [8] tandem regni sui anno dum
f. 15 rec. uenationem faceret. | secessit a sociis suis in quandam conuallem ubi a multitudine rabiosorum luporum circumdatus [9] miserrime deuoratus est. Tunc saul regnabat in iudea & eristeus [10 k] in
11. vii lacedomonia. [11 l] Defuncto itaque mempricio [m] ebraucus [n] filius suus [12] uir magne stature. & mire fortitudinis. regimen [o] brittannie [13 p] suscepit. & xxxix. [14 q] annis tenuit. Hic primus post brutum [r] classem in partes galliarum duxit. & illato prelio affecit [s] prouincias. [15] cede uirorum [t] atque urbium oppressione infinita [u] auri & argenti copia ditatus. cum. uictoria reuersus est.

Bern [1] *tocius.* [2] *insule.* [3] *tyrannidem.* [4] *prodicione.* [5] *ergo.* [6] The following phrase which is in the Bern MS. originally stood in the Cambridge MS. also — *naturalem uenerem non naturali libidini.* [7] insert *non.* [8] *Vigesimo.* [9] *circundatus.* [10] *eristenus.* [11] *lacedemonia.* [12] *eius.* [13] *britannie.* [14] *triginta nouem.* [15] *prouintias.*

Harlech [a] *regnum.* [b] *tocius.* [c] *insule.* [d] *tyrannidem.* [e] *exercuil in populum.* [f] *quecumque.* [g] *etiam propria uxore sua.* [h] *genuerat.* [i] omit *non.* [j] insert *non.* [k] *euaristus.* [l] *lacedemonia.* [m] *menpricio.* [n] *eubracus.* [o] *regnum.* [p] *Brittannie.* [q] *sexaginta.* [r] *Brutum.* [s] omit *affecit.* [t] insert *affecit.* [u] *infinitaque.*

killed. And after getting the dominion of the whole island, he grew so cruel that he killed as many nobles as there were in the island lest they should succeed to power after him, and also he left his lawful wife, the mother of efroc the mighty, gave himself over to the sin of ssottma and amorra, forsaking the blameless use of nature.* In the hundredth year of his kingdom, as he was one day hunting, he went a little apart from his men in a woody glen, and there came wolves and killed him.*

And after the death of membyr, *Efroc* his son became king, strong to rule the kingdom; and he ruled it thirty years. And he was the first king after bryttys who went with a fleet to ffraink. And there he killed and burned, and took their spoil and their gold and their silver, and went home with the renown of that victory, after burning the cities and utterly de-

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Deinde trans humbrum [1] condidit ciuitatem [2] quam de nomine suo [3] Kaerebrauc. id est ciuitas ebracuci.[4 a] tunc [5] dauid rex regnabat in iudea. & siluius latinus in italia. & Gad.[b] Nathan. & Asaph.[6] prophetabant in israel. Condidit etiam ebraucus urbem alclud [c] uersus albaniam.[d] & oppidum montis agned. quod nunc [e] castellum puellarum dicitur. & montem dolorosum. Genuit etiam .xx.[7] ex xx. coniugibus quas habebat filios.[8 f] *11. viii* necnon. & xxx.[9 g] filias. regnumque brittannie [10 h] lx.[11 i] annis fortissime tractauit. Erant autem nomina filiorum eius. brutus [12 j] uiride scutum. Margadud. Sisillius.[13] Regin. Moruid.[k] Bladud. lagon.[14 l] Bodloan.[m] Kincar.[15 n] Spaden. Gaul. Dardan.[16] Eldad.[17 o] Iuor. Cangu. Hector.[18] Kerin.[p] Rud. Assarac.[q] Buel. Nomina autem filiarum. Gloigin. Ignogin.[r] Oudas. Guenlian. Guardid.[19] Angarad. Guenlodoe.[s] Tangustel.[t] Gorgon. Medlan.[u] Methahel.[20 v] Ourar.[w] Mailure. Kambreda.[x] Ragan.[y] Gael.[z] Ecub. Nest. Chein. Stadudud.[21 a'] Cladus.[22 b'] Ebrem.[23 c'] Blangan. Aballac. Angaes. galaes,[24 d'] Omnium pul-

[1] *hunbrum.* [2] *urbem.* [3] insert *uocauit.* [4] *ebrauci.* [5] *Et tunc.* [6] *gad. nathan & asaph.* [7] insert *filios.* [8] omit *filios.* [9] *triginta.* [10] *britannie.* [11] xl. [12] *Brutus.* [13] *Sisinnius.* [14] *Iagon.* [15] *Kingar.* [16] *dardan.* [17] *Eldal.* [18] *Hertor.* [19] *Gaurdid.* [20] *Atethahel.* [21] *Stadud.* [22] *Gladus.* [23] *Ebrein.* [24] *Galaes.* *Bern*

[a] *ebrauci.* insert *Et.* [b] Insert &. [c] *aiclud.* [d] Inserted with a caret over the line are the words *id est scotiam* which seem to be in a different ink and may be a later addition. [e] omit *nunc.* [f] *uiginti filios ex uiginti coniugibus quas habebat.* [g] *triginta.* [h] *Brittannie.* [i] *sexaginta.* [j] *Brutus.* [k] *Moriudus.* [l] *Jagon.* [m] *Rodloan.* [n] *Kynkar.* [o] *Eldal.* [p] *Herin.* [q] *Assaruch.* [r] *Ignogin.* [s] *Guenlodee.* [t] *Tangustelle.* [u] *Methlan.* [v] *Methlael.* [w] *Oudar.* [x] *Kambrenda.* [y] *Gael.* [z] *Ragan.* [a'] *Stadud.* [b'] *Gladus.* [c'] *Ebrein.* [d'] *Galaes.* *Harlech*

stroying keeps and castles. And he first built in the country beyond the hymyr, the city called after his own name, din*as* efroc [efroc's city]. And that time dafydd was king of karissalem. And he also built k*aer* efrawc over against Alban. And he built the castle of mount Angned, which today is called the castle of the maidens or the hill of mourning. And efroc had twenty sons by twenty wives, and thirty daughters, and he ruled this kingdom forty years. The oldest of the sons was ᵛbrytt*ys* darian las, Gilins, Rvn, morydd, Bleiddyn, Iago, Kalan, Kynar, yssbladen, gwryl, dar*dan*, eidiol, Ivor, gwychyr, gronwy, ector, kyhy*lyn*, rad, Assarakys, Howel.

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cherrima [1] que tunc in brittannia [2 a] siu [3 b] in gallia fuerant.
f. 15 vo. Edra. Anor. Stadiald. Egron. [4] | Has omnes direxit pater in italiam [5] ad siluium albam qui post siluium latinum regnabat. Fuerunt ibi maritane [6 c] nobilioribus troianis. quorum cubilia & latine & sabine diffugiebant. At filii duce assaraco [d] fratre duxerunt classem in germaniam. & auxilio siluii albe usi. subiugato
II. ix populo adepti sunt regnum. Brutus autem cognomento uiride [e] scutum cum patre remansit. regni [f] gubernaculo post illum [g] potitus .xii. [h] annis regnauit.

Huic successit leil filius suus. pacis amator & equitatis. Qui ut prosperitate regni usus est urbem in aquilonari parte brittannie [7 i] edificauit [8] de nomine suo kaerleil uocatam. [9] Tunc solomon [10 j] cepit edificare [11] templum domino in ierusalem. & regina saba [12] uenit [k] audire sapientiam [l] eius. & tunc siluius epitus pater [13 m] albe in regnum [n] successit. Vixit leil deinde [o] post suptum [14 p] regnum .xxv. [q] annis. set regnum in fine debiliter [r]

Bern [1] *pulcherrime.* [2] *britannia.* [3] *siue.* [4] omit *Egron.* [5] *gallia,* — *uel italiam* written above in a different ink. [6] *maritate.* [7] *britannie.* [8] *ædificauit.* [9] *Kaerleil uocata.* [10] *salomon.* [11] omit *edificare.* [12] *sabba.* [13] *patri.* [14] *sumptum.*

Harlech [a] *Brittannia.* [b] *siue.* [c] *maritate.* [d] *Assaraco.* [e] *uir uiride.* [f] *regnique.* [g] omit *post illum.* [h] *duodecim.* [i] *Brittannie.* [j] *salomon.* [k] insert *ad eum.* [l] *sapienciam.* [m] *patri.* [n] omit *in regnum.* [o] *deinde leil.* [p] *sumptum.* [q] *uiginti quinque.* [r] *tepide.*

And the sons and daughters their father sent to the eidial, to ssilmins Alban, the man who was king after ssiliys lattinys. And there they were
f. 51 vo. given [in marriage] to nobles of the race of troyaf. And all the sons, with Assarakys as their chief, with a fleet went unto ssermania, and by the aid of ssilmins Alban they conquered ssermania and obtained that kingdom.

Bryttys darian las dwelt with his father, and reigned ten years after his father. And after him came [l]lleon the hero his son; a good man was he, a king upholding truth and justice.

And that lleon steered well the governance of the kingdom; and he built toward the north of ynys brydain the city that is called kaer *Lleon.** And at that time sselyf, the son of dafyd, was building the temple of Jessu [s]krist in [ngh]karissal*ym*. And there came the queen of the south to listen to sselyf's wisdom; and [l]lleon ruled as king twenty-five years.

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rexit. Quocirca segnitia eius [a] insistente [b] ciuilis discordia subito [c] in regno orta est.

Post hunc regnauit filius suus Rud Hud Hudibras [1 d] .xxxix.[e] annis. Ipse populum ex ciuili discidio in concordiam reducens.[f] condidit kaerreint.[2 g] id est [h] cantuariam. Condidit etiam kaerguenit.[3 i] id est Guintoniam.[4] atque oppidum [j] páladur. quod nunc scephtonia [5 k] dicitur. Ibi tunc aquila locuta est. dum murus edificaretur. Cuius sermones [l] si ueros esse [6] arbitrarer.[m] sicut cetera memorie dare non diffugerem. Tunc capis filius epiti regnabat. & aggeus.[n] amos.[o] ieu.[p] iohel.[q] azarias.[r] prophetabant. Successit ei deinde [s] bladud.[7 t] filius [u] tractauitque regnum .xx.[v] annis. Hic edificauit urbem kaerbadum.[8] quæ [9 w] nunc [x] bado nuncupatur. fecitque in illa calida balnea. ad usus morta- | lium apta. Quibus prefecit numen *f. 16 rec.* minerue in cuius ede inextinguibiles posuit ignes qui nunquam deficiebant in fauillas. Set ex quo tabescere incipiebant. in saxeos globos uertebantur. Tunc helias [y] orauit ne plueret

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[1] *Rudhud hudibras.* [2] *Kaer reint.* [3] *kaer gueint.* [4] *guintoniam.* [5] *sephtesberia.* *Bern*
[6] omit *esse.* [7] *Bladud.* [8] *Kaerbadum.* [9] *que.*

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[a] *eius segnicia.* [b] omit *insistente.* [c] omit *subito.* [d] *Rudhudibras.* [e] *triginta* *Harleck*
nouem. [f] *deducens.* [g] *kairkern.* [h] insert *ciuitas.* [i] *eciam kairgueint.* [j] insert
montis. [k] *sephtonia.* [l] *Sermones.* [m] *putarem.* [n] *Aggeus.* [o] *Amos;* insert &.
[p] *Iheu.* [q] *Iohel;* insert &. [r] *Azarias.* [s] omit *deinde.* [t] *Bladud.* [u] insert *suus.*
[v] *uiginti.* [w] *que.* [x] omit *nunc.* [y] *helyas.*

But in the end of his days he became feeble, so that disorder arose in the kingdom and civil war.

And after him Rvn bal*adr* bras, his son, reigned forty years, lacking one. And he brought his people out of war into peace. And this Rvn built Kaer *f. 52 rec.* Kaint, and kaer wynt and kaer Vynydd y paladr [the kaer of the mountain of the spear]; and there the eagle prophesied, foreboding [evil] to this island. And sselyf son of dafyd finished [a]kaerssalem.

And after him came blaiddyd, his son; and he reigned twenty years. And he built kaer vaddon, and the baths which were always warm for the healing of any that had need of them. And he sacrificed to the sorceress called minerva; he kindled fire that never died until it had burned down to fine ashes, and when it began to burn out, it rekindled the [second*] time in balls of fire. And at this time the prophets prayed that god would give

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super terram. & non pluit annos tres [1] & menses sex.[2] Hic admodum ingeniosus homo [a] fuit. docuitque nigromantiam.[b] per regnum brittanniæ.[3] [c] Nec prestigia facere quieuit donec paratis [d] sibi alis ire per summitatem aeris temptauit. ceciditque super templum appollinis[4] infra urbem trinouantum in multa frustra
II. xi contritus. Dato igitur fatis bladud erigitur leir filius eiusdem in regem qui .lx.[e] annis patriam [f] rexit.[g] Edificauit. autem super flumen soram[5] [h] ciuitatem que brittannice[6] [i] de nomine eius kaerleur.[7] [j] saxonice uero [8] lerechestria [k] nuncupatur. Cui negata masculini sexus prole nate sunt tantum modo [9] tres filie
X X X uocate. Goriorilla.[10] [l] Regau. Cordeilla.[m] Pater eas [11] miro amore. set magis iuniorem uidelicet cordeillam [n] diligebat. Cumque in senectutem uergere cepisset cogitauit regnum suum ipsis diuidere. easque talibus maritis copulare qui easdem cum regno haberent. Set ut sciret quæ [12] [o] illarum parte regni potiore dignior esset. adiuit singulas ut interrogaret quæ [12] [o] ipsum magis diligeret.

Bern [1] *iii.* [2] *vi.* [3] *britannie.* [4] *Apollinis.* [5] *soram fluuium.* [6] *britannice.* [7] *kaerleir.* [8] *autem.* [9] *tantummodo.* [10] *gornorilla.* [11] *illas.* [12] *que.*

Harlech [a] omit *homo.* [b] *nigromanciam.* [c] *Brittannie.* [d] *patratis.* [e] *sexaginta.* [f] omit *patriam.* [g] *regnauit uiriliter.* [h] *soram flumen.* [i] *Brittannice.* [j] *kaerleir.* [k] *leicestria.* [l] *Goronilla.* [m] *Cordoilla.* [n] *Cordoillam.* [o] *que.*

no rain, and there was not a drop of rain for three years and seven months. And [v]blaiddyd was a deeply learned man. And he was the first in all ynys brydain who brought in necromancy; nor did he rest from practicing such arts until he made pinions and wings for himself and flew to the upper air, from thence he fell down on the temple of Apolo in llyndain and was dashed
f. 52 vo. in a hundred pieces. And after blaiddyd, llvr, his son, became king, and for forty years he ruled the kingdom manfully and peacefully. He built a City on the river ssoram, which is called kaer lvr in kymraec, and in ssaessnec, lessedr. And this llvr had no son but three daughters, and their names were Koronilla, and rragaw, and [ch]kordalia. And their father loved them beyond measure, and he loved [G]Kord*a*lia, his Youngest daughter, more than the two other daughters. And then as he grew old and over-burdened, he planned to divide his kingdom in three parts and to give them to husbands, and a third of the kingdom with each one of them; and also when he should have found out which one of his daughters loved him most, to give her the largest share of

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Interrogante igitur [a] illo gorioriilla [1 b] prius numina celi testata est. ipsum [2 c] maiori dilectioni esse [d] quam animam quæ [3 e] in corpore suo degebat. Cui pater. Quoniam senectutem meam uitæ tuæ [4 f] preposuisti te karissima filia [5] maritabo iuueni quemcunque elegeris cum tertia [6 g] parte regni brittanniæ. [7 h] Deinde Regau quæ [8 e] secunda erat [i] exemplo sororis sue beniuoliam [8 i] allicere uolens iureiurando [9] respondit se nullatenus | aliter exprimere. nisi quod illum [k] super omnes creaturas [l] dili- *f. 16 vo.* geret. Credulus [m] ergo pater eadem dignitate quam primogenite promiserat ipsam cum alia parte regni maritaret. At cordeilla [n] iunior cum intellexisset [o] eum predictarum adulationibus [p] acquieuisse [10 q] temptare illum cupiens aliter respondere perrexit. Est uspiam pater mi filia quæ [3 e] patrem suum plus quam patrem presumat. diligere? Non reor equidem ullam esse quæ [3 e] hoc fateri audeat. nisi iocosis uerbis ueritatem [r] celare nitatur. Nempe ego [s] dilexi te semper [t] ut patrem. & adhuc a [u] proposito meo non diuertor. Et si ex me magis extorquere insistis. audi

[1] *gornorilla.* [2] omit *ipsum.* [3] *que.* [4] *uite tue.* [5] *filia karissima.* [6] *tercia.* *Bern*
[7] *britannie.* [8] *beniuolentiam.* [9] *in reiurando.* [10] *adquieuisse.*

[a] *ergo.* [b] *Goronilla.* [c] insert *sibi.* [d] *fore.* [e] *que.* [f] *uite tue.* [g] *tercia.* *Harlech*
[h] *Brittannie.* [i] *Deinde secunda Regau exemplo* etc. [j] *beniuolenciam;* insert *patris.*
[k] omit *illum.* [l] insert *illum.* [m] *Credululus.* [n] *Cordoilla.* [o] *intellexit.* [p] omit *adulationibus.* [q] *adquieuisse.* [r] omit *ueritatem.* [s] *ergo.* [t] omit *semper.* [u] omit *a.*

his wealth. And so he asked his eldest daughter how greatly she loved her father. And she swore that she loved her father more than the soul that was in her body. Then, said he to her, "Since, thou lovest me more than the whole world, my most loving daughter, I will bestow thee on the man thou lovest most, and with thee a third of my realm." And then he asked *f. 53 rec.* his next oldest daughter, how greatly did she love her father, and she said that she could not tell with her tongue how much she loved her father, and swore that she loved her father more than all creatures upon earth. So he loved her greatly, and gave her the second share of his dominions. And then Kordaila, after seeing her two sisters deceiving him with false deceiving love, was minded to give him a moderate answer. And then he asked his Youngest daughter how greatly did she love her father. "My Lord father, it may be that some pretend to love their father more than they do; but,

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cercudinem[1a] amoris quæ[2b] aduersum te habeo.[c] & interrogationibus tuis finem impone.[c] Et enim quantum habes. tantum uales. tantumque[d] te diligo. Porro pater iratus[3] eam[e] ex abundantia[4f] cordis[5] dixisse uehementer indignans. quod responsurus erat hoc modo manifestare non distulit. Quia in tantum senectutem patris tui spreuisti. ut uel eo amore quo me[g] sorores tue dedignata es diligere. & ego dedignabor te nec unquam partem in regno meo. cum sororibus[h] habebis. Non dico tamen cum filia mea sis quin[6] te alicui externo si illum fortuna obtulerit[i] utcumque[j] maritem. Illud autem affirmo. quod nunquam eo honore quo sorores tuas maritare laborabo.[k] Quippe. cum te plus quam ceteras huc usque dilexerim.[l] tu uero[m] me minus quam cetere diligas. Nec mora. Consilio procerum regni dedit predictas duas puellas[7n] duobus ducibus cornubie uidelicet[o] & albanie[p] cum medietate tantum insule dum ipse uiueret. Post obitum autem eius totam monarchiam brittannie[8] concessit habendam.
f. 17 rec. Contigit deinde quod aganippus[9q] | rex francorum audita fama

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Bern [1] *certitudinem.* [2] *quem.* [3] *ratus.* [4] *habundantia.* [5] omit *cordis.* [6] omit *quin.* [7] *puellas duas.* [8] *britannie.* [9] *agganippus.*

Harleck [a] *certitudinem.* [b] *quem.* [c] *impono.* [d] *tantum.* [e] omit *eam.* [f] *habundancia.* [g] omit *me.* [h] insert *tuis.* [i] *optulerit.* [j] *utrumque.* [k] *laboro.* [l] *dilexerim huc usque.* [m] *modo.* [n] *puellas duas.* [o] omit *uidelicet.* [p] *Albanie.* [q] *Aganippus.*

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my Lord, I will love thee as a daughter should love her father. According to what grounds of affection there shall be, will I love thee, my Lord father." Then her father, thinking that she said this to him out of sheer willfulness of heart,* was greatly angered and spoke thus: "In the way that thou
f. 53 vo. lovest me in my old age, so will I love thee henceforth, for I will disinherit thee forever of thy share of ynys brydain and will give it to thy two sisters; though I say not that I will not give thee to a husband, if fate so orders, for thou art my daughter, yet will I give with thee neither wealth nor honour as with thy sisters. For though I have loved thee more than both of them together, me thou lovest not." And so by the advice of his nobles, he gave his two older daughters to two princes, namely to the prince of kerniw and the prince of the *go*gledd,* and the kingdom in two halves between them. And afterward it chanced that [A] *ga*nipys, king of ffraink, heard great praise of [s]kordailia, saying that she was a beautiful creature; and sent en-

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pulchritudinis cordeille [a] continuo nuncios [1] suos ad regem direxit [f] rogans ut ipsa [b] sibi coniugali teda copulanda [c] traderetur. [d] At pater in [e] prenominata ira adhuc [f] perseuerans respondit se illam libenter daturum set sine terra & pecunia. Regnum namque suum cum omni auro & argento goriorille [g] & ragau [2 h] puelle [3] sororibus distribuerat. [i] Cumque id aganippo [4] nuntiatum [j] fuisset amore uirginis inflammatus. remisit iterum ad leirem [k] regem. dicens se satis [l] auri & argenti. aliarumque possessionem [5 m] habere. quia terciam partem galliæ [6 n] possidebat. Se uero tantum modo puellam captare ut heredes ex illa haberet. Denique [o] confirmato federe. mittitur cordeilla [7 p] ad galliam. [q] & aganippo [4 r] maritatur. Post multum uero temporis ut leir torpere [s] *II. xii*
cepit senio. insurrexerunt in illum predicti duces quibus brittanniam [8 t] cum filiabus diuiserat. Abstulerunt autem [9 u] ei regnum regiamque potestatem quam usque ad illud tempus uiriliter & gloriose tenuerat. Concordia tamen habita alter generorum retinuit eum [v] maglaurus [w] dux albaniæ. [10 x] cum c.xl [11 y] militibus ne

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[1] *continuos nuntios.* [2] *gonorilla & Ragau.* [3] omit *puelle.* [4] *agganippo.* [5] *possessionum.* [6] *gallie.* [7] *gordeilla.* [8] *britanniam.* [9] *Abstuleruntque.* [10] *albanie.* [11] *xxx.* *Bern*

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[a] *pulcritudinis Cordoille.* [b] *ipsam.* [c] *copulandam.* [d] *traderet.* [e] omit *in.* [f] omit *adhuc.* [g] *Goronille.* [h] *Regau.* [i] *distribueret.* [j] *Aganippo annunciatum.* [k] *leyrem.* [l] omit *satis.* [m] *possessionum.* [n] *gallie.* [o] *Deinde.* [p] *Cordoilla.* [q] *Galliam.* [r] *Aganippo.* [s] *tepere.* [t] *Brittanniam.* [u] omit *autem.* [v] *retinuit eum alter generum.* [w] *Maglaurus.* [x] *Albanie.* [y] *quadraginta.* *Harlech*

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voys to ask her of her father as his wedded wife. And this was told to her father by the envoys, and he said that he would give her to a husband without dowry in the world with her, because he had given his realm and his gold and his silver to his two other daughters. Nevertheless, when the king of ffraink learned how beautiful was the maid, he was filled with love of her, and said that he had plenty of gold and silver and lands, and that *f. 54 rec.* he needed nothing except a beautiful wife, by whom he might have children as heirs for his dominions. And then speedily was agreement made between them. And then the other princes took rule over the land which he had manfully governed for a long time, dividing into two halves; and maglawn, prince of Alban, took llvr to himself, and forty mounted gentlemen with him, lest he might take shame being without horsemen following him. And after llvr had been with him a quarter of a year, Korǫnilla grew

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secum inglorius [a] maneret. Elapso deinde biennio [b] moram eo aput [1] generum faciente [c] indignata est. gonorilla [d] filia sua ob multitudinem militum eius qui conuicia [2] ministris inferebant quia sibi profusior epimonia [e] non prebebatur. Proinde maritum suum affata iussit patrem obsequio .xxx. [3] [f] militum contentum [4] esse ceteris relictis [g] quos habuerat. Vnde ille iratus relicto maglauro [h] petiuit henuuinem [5] [i] ducem cornubie cui alteram natam [j] Regau [6] maritauerat. Et cum a duce honorifice receptus [k] fuisset non preteriit annus quin inter utrorumque familias discordia orta
f. 17 vo. fuisset. [7] [l] Quam ob rem Regav | in indignacionem [8] conuersa [m] precepit patri cunctos socios deserere. preter .v.[n] qui ei obsequium prestarent. Porro pater ultra modum anxius reuersus est iterum ad primogenitam existimans se posse commouere illam in [9] pietatem [o] ut cum familia sua retineretur. At illa nequaquam a cepta [10] indignatione reuersa est. set per numina cæli [p] iurauit quod nullatenus secum commaneret nisi postpositis ceteris solo milite contentus [11] fuisset. Increpat [12] [q] etiam eum [13] senem. & in

Bern [1] *apud.* [2] *conuitia.* [3] *xx.* [4] *contemptum.* [5] *henwinem.* [6] omit *natam; Ragau.* [7] *fuerat.* [8] *indignationem.* [9] *ad.* [10] *accepta.* [11] *contemptus.* [12] *Increpabat.* [13] *illum.*

Harlech [a] *ingloriosus.* [b] *Biennio.* [c] *eo faciente aput generum.* [d] *Goronilla.* [e] *opimonia.* [f] *uiginti.* [g] *relictis ceteris uiginti.* [h] *Maglauro.* [i] *henuinum.* [j] *filiam.* [k] *susceptus.* [l] *est.* [m] *uersa.* [n] *quinque.* [o] *impietatem.* [p] *celi.* [q] *Increpabat.*

angry because her father had so many horsemen, and because their servants embroiled the court, and so she told her husband that thirty mounted gentlemen were enough, while the rest should be let go. And when [L]Llvr was told this, he said in wrath that he would leave maglawn and go to the Earl of Kerniw. And the Earl received him honourably; and so at the end of
f. 54 vo. the year war and tumult arose between the servitors. And then Ragaw grew angry against her father, and bade him [send] away all his gentlemen but five who should wait on him. And then llvr became greatly distressed, left there and went the second time to his eldest daughter thinking that she was no longer angered that he had kept his gentlemen with him. But she swore with great wrath that he should not stay there unless he let go all his gentlemen save one of them who should serve him — saying that an old man had need of no such crowd. And then since he was denied whatsoever he wished from his daughter, he sent away all his gentlemen save one. And

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nulla re abundantem.[1 a] uelle cum tanta familia incedere. Cumque illa assensum uoluntati eius nullo modo prebuisset paruitque [b] ipse & relictis ducentis [2 c] cum solo milite remansit. At cum in memoria pristine dignitatis reductus fuisset [d] detestando miseriam in quam [e] redactus erat [f] cogitare cepit quod iuniorem filiam trans occeanum exigeret. Set dubitabat [3] ipsam nil uelle sibi facere quam [4 g] eam tam ingloriose ut predictum est dedisset. Indignans tamen miseriam suam diutius ferre,[f] transfretauit ad gallias. Set transfretando cum [h] se tercium infra nauium [5 i] inter principes qui aderant aspexit [6 j] in hec uerba cum fletu & singultu prupit. [7 k] O irreuocabilia seria fatorum [8] quæ [9 l] solito cursu fixum iter tenditis cur unquam me ad instabilem [m] felicitatem promouere uoluistis cum maior pena sit ipsam amissam recolere quam sequentis infelicitatis presentia [n] urgeri. Magis etenim aggrauat me illius temporis memoria. quo tot centenis milibus militum stipatus & menia urbium diruere. & prouincias [10] hostium uastare solebam quam calamitas miserie me [11 o] quæ [9 l] ipsos qui iam [p] sub pedibus meis iacebant [q] debilitatem meam deserere coegit? O irata | fortuna ueniet ne *f. 18 rec.*

[1] *habundantem.* [2] *relictis xxx.* [3] *dubitauit.* [4] *quod.* [5] *nauem.* [6] *aspexisset.* *Bern*
[7] *prorupit.* [8] *fatorum seria.* [9] *que.* [10] *prouintias.* [11] *mee.*

[a] *habundantem.* [b] *paruit.* [c] *uiginti.* [d] *fuisset reductus.* [e] *qua.* [f] *fuerat.* [g] *quia.* *Harlech*
[h] *cum transfretando.* [i] *nauem.* [j] *conspexisset.* [k] *prorupit.* [l] *que.* [m] *intestabilem.*
[n] *presencia.* [o] *mee.* [p] insert *iacebant.* [q] omit *iacebant;* insert *iam.*

then he thought of his dignity and honour, and he was greatly grieved; and thought of going to see his daughter who had gone to ffraink, but feared to do so because so lovelessly he had dismissed her there. At length, he could no longer brook his other daughters, and he started for ffraink. And when he took ship, seeing himself accompanied by three mounted gentlemen only, with weeping he spoke thus: "Oh, ye fates! whither are *f. 55 rec.* ye tending? For much more pain it is to remember prosperity when it is lost, than to bear poverty without having become accustomed to wealth. How many hundred men aforetime followed me, when I was attacking castles and towns and ravaging the territories of my enemies; and after all that, I now suffer poverty and anguish, caused by the men who at that time were beneath my feet. O god, when will the time come when I shall take

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dies unquam[1] qua ipsis uicem reddere potero. qui sic tempora mea sicuti paupertatem meam[a] diffugierunt? O cordeilla[b] filia quam uera sunt dicta illa[2] quæ[3c] mihi respondisti quando quesiui a te quem[4] amorem aduersum me haberes? Dixisti enim[d] quantum habes tantum uales.[5] tantumque[e] te diligo. Dum igitur habui quod potui dare.[f] uisus fui ualere eis qui non mihi set donis meis amici fuerant. Interim dilexerunt me. set magis munera mea nam abeuntibus muneribus & ipsi abierunt. Set qua fronte karissima filia[g] te audebo[6] exigere qui ob predicta uerba iratus putaui[7] te maritare[h] deterius quam sorores tuas. quæ[3c] post beneficia quæ[3c] eis inpendi[8i] me exulem & pauperem esse patiuntur.[j] Vt tandem hæc[9] &[10k] similia dicendo applicuit. uenit karitia[11l] ubi filia sua erat. Expectans autem extra urbem[m] misit ei nuntium[n] suum qui indicaret ipsum in tantam miseriam[o] colapsum.[12] Et quia non habebat quid commederet uel indueret. misericordiam illius petebat. Quo indicato commota est cordeilla[b] & fleuit amare. quesiuitque[p] quot milites secum haberet Qui respondit[q] neminem habere excepto quodam armigero qui foris cum eo expectabat. Tunc illa cepit quantum opus erat auri & argenti deditque nuntio precipiens ut patrem ad

Bern [1] *unquam dies.* [2] omit *illa.* [3] *que.* [4] *quam.* [5] *tantum uales quantum habes.* [6] *audeo.* [7] *puta.* [8] *impendi.* [9] *hec.* [10] insert *his.* [11] *karitiam.* [12] *collapsum.*

Harlech [a] *meam paupertatem.* [b] *Cordoilla.* [c] *que.* [d] *mihi.* [e] *tantum.* [f] *dare potui.* [g] omit *filia.* [h] *maritare te.* [i] *impendi.* [j] *paciuntur.* [k] insert *hiis.* [l] *karitimam.* [m] *ciuitatem.* [n] *nuncium.* [o] *in tali miseria.* [p] *quesiuit.* [q] insert *ipsum.*

revenge upon them for this? Alas, how true, [g]kor*daila*, was thy saying, when thou saidst that according to my power and prosperity wouldst thou love me. And so while riches were in my own hand and I had power to give great gifts, all loved me; but when gifts are gone, love has flown away. How then for shame shall I ask support of thee since I took offense with thee, wiser than thy sisters, for thy wisdom, for after I had given them my dominions, they made me as an exile from home and country." And thus lamenting his trouble, he reached [mb]paris,* the city where his daughter
f. 55 vo. lived. And then he sent greeting to his daughter, telling her what misfortunes had come upon him. And when his messenger said that he was there alone but for a single gentleman, she sent him much gold and silver,

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aliam ciuitatem duceret.[a] ibique[b] ipsum infirmum[c] fingeret. & balnearet indueret[d] foueret. Iussit[e] ut .xl.[f] milites bene indutos & paratos retineret. & tunc demum mandaret regi aganippo[g] & filie sue sese aduenisse. Nuntius[h] ilico reuersus duxit regem leirum[i] ad aliam ciuitatem. absconditque eum donec omnia quæ[1j] cordeilla[k] iusserat perfecisset. Mox ut regio apparatu *II. xiii*
ex ornamentis & familia in-| signitus fuit. mandauit aganippo[l] *f. 18 vo.*
& filie suæ[2m] a generibus[n] suis expulsum fuisse ex regio[3o] brittannie[4] & ad ipsos uenisse ut auxilio eorum patriam suam recuperare ualuisset. At illi cum consulibus & proceribus obuiam uenientes honorifice susceperunt illum dederuntque[p] potestatem patriæ suæ[5q] donec eum in pristinam[r] dignitatem restaurassent.[s] Interea aganippus misit[t] legatos per uniuersam galliam *II. xiv*
ad colligendum in eam[6u] omnem armatum militem ut auxilio suo regnum brittannie[7] leir[8v] suo reddere laboraret. Quo facto duxit secum leir[w] filiam[x] & collectam[y] multitudinem.[z] pugnauitque cum generis & triumpho potitus.[9a'] Deinde cum

[1] *que.* [2] *sue.* [3] *regno.* [4] *britannie.* [5] *patrie sue.* [6] *ea.* [7] *britannie.* [8] *socero;* there is a smear in the Cambridge MS.; a later hand has entered the words *socero suo* in the margin. [9] insert *est.* *Bern*

[a] *deduceret.* [b] *ubi.* [c] omit *infirmum.* [d] insert *&.* [e] insert *etiam.* [f] *quadraginta.* [g] *regi Aganippo mandaret.* [h] *Nuncius.* [i] omit *leirum.* [j] *que.* [k] *Cordeilla.* [l] *Aganippo.* [m] *sue;* insert *sese.* [n] *generis.* [o] *expulsum a regno.* [p] insert *ei.* [q] *potestatem tocius gallie.* [r] omit *pristinam.* [s] *restituerent.* [t] *misit Aganippus.* [u] *ea.* [v] *Brittannie leiri socero.* [w] omit *leir.* [x] insert *suam.* [y] *collegit.* [z] insert *in Brittanniam.* [a'] insert *est.* *Harlech*

telling her father to go to a nearby city, give himself out as ailing, bathe, and dress himself in new garments proper for a king to wear; and take on forty mounted men, and fit them handsomely with horses, arms, and apparel. And then he sent a letter to his son-in-law and daughter. And when the king heard this, he came with his nobles to meet him, and honourably welcomed him as befitted a king. And then Anipys gathered a large force from the whole of ffraink, especially all the mounted men, and they two went to [L]*Ll*oegr, llvr and [ch]kordaila his daughter and that host, to fight with his two sons-in-law, and got the victory over them. And after [l]llvr became paramount over the kingdom the second time, he lived but three years. And at the same time died Acanapys, king of ffraink. *f. 56 rec.*

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quosque potestati suæ [1] reddidisset.[f] in tercio anno mortuus est.[a] Mortuus est etiam [2] aganippus [b] rex francorum. Cordeilla [c] ergo filia [d] regni gubernacula [e] adepta. sepeliuit patrem in quodam subterraneo quod sub sora fluuio infra legescestriam [3] [f] fieri preceperat. Erat autem subterraneum illud conditum in honore bifrontis iani. Ibi omnes operarii urbis aduenientе solennitate [4]
11. xv dei [g] opera quæ [5] [h] per annum acturi erant incipiebant. Cum igitur [i] cordeilla [c] regnum per quinquennium pacife [6] [j] tractasset. ceperunt eam inquietare duo filii sororum suarum marganus [k] & cunedagius [l] quæ [5] [h] maglauro [m] & hennuuino [7] [n] ducibus coniugate fuerant. Ambo iuuenes preclare probitatis famam habebant. Quorum alterum uidelicet marganum [o] maglaurus [p] generauerat.[q] conedagium [r] uero hennuuinus.[8] [s] Hii [9] itaque cum post obitum patrum in ducatus eisdem successissent.[f] indig-
f. 19 rec. nati sunt [t] brittanniam [10] [u] feminee potestati subditam | esse. Collectis ergo exercitibus.[f] in reginam insurrexerunt.[v] Nec seuicie sue desistere uoluerunt. donec quibusque prouinciis [11] uastatis prelia cum ipsa commiserunt. Eam quoque [12] ad ulti-

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Bern [1] *sue.* [2] *&.* [3] *legecestriam.* [4] *sollempnitate.* [5] *que.* [6] *pacifice.* [7] *henwino.* [8] *henwinus.* [9] *Hi.* [10] *britanniam.* [11] *prouintiis.* [12] *Eamque.*

Harlech [a] omit *Deinde . . . mortuus est.* [b] *Aganippus.* [c] *Cordoilla.* [d] omit *filia.* [e] *gubernaculum.* [f] *leircestriam.* [g] *sollempnitate diei.* [h] *que.* [i] *ergo.* [j] *pacifice.* [k] *Marganus.* [l] *Cunedagiuus.* [m] *Maglauro.* [n] *hennuio.* [o] *Marganum.* [p] *Maglaurus.* [q] *genuerat.* [r] *Cunedagium.* [s] *henuinuus.* [t] omit *sunt.* [u] *Brittanniam.* [v] *surrexerunt.*

And then Kordaila got the rulership into her own hands, and then she caused her father to be buried in a cave, which was made beneath the river which is called ssoram at kaer Lvr (Leicester). This house of earth was made in honour of the god called biffrons. And there came together each year all the mechanics and craftsmen of the kingdom, to begin every work they planned to execute to the end of a year from the day on which they began work. And so [g]kordaila ruled the kingdom peacefully and happily. And after a time there rose against her her two nephews, her sisters' sons, the son of maglawn, prince of the gogledd, and the son of einion, prince of Ker*niw*, — and the names of the sons were morgan, son of m*aglaw*n, and [ch]kynedda, son of einion — saying that it was disgraceful that a woman should rule the kingdom. And so each one of them raged against her and

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mum captam in carcerem [a] posuerunt ubi post [b] ob amissionem regni [c] dolore obducta sese interfecit. Ex in [d] partiti sunt iuuenes insulam. [e] cuius pars illa quæ [f] trans humbrum [1] extenditur. uersus katanesiam [2 g] margano [h] cessit. Alia uero quoque [3 i] quæ [4 j] in altera parte fluuii ad occasum [i] solis uergit cunedagio [k] submergitur. [5 l] Emenso deinde biennio [m] accesserunt quibus turbatio regni placebat ad marganum animumque illius [n] subducentes. aiebant turpe & dedecus esse ipsum cum primogenitus esset. totius [o] insule non dominari. Cumque his [p] & pluribus modis aliis [6 q] incitatus fuisset. duxit exercitum per prouincias [7] cunedagii [r] ignemque [s] accumalare [8] incepit. [9 t] Orta igitur discordia. [t] obuiauit ei cunedagius [u] cum omni multitudine sua factoque congressu cedem intulit non minimam. & marganum [v] in fugam propulit. Deinde secutus est eum fugientem a prouintia in prouintiam. [w] Tandem intercepit eum in pago kambrie. qui post interfectionem [10 x] nomine suo uidelicet [y] margon [z] huc usque

[1] *que trans humbram.* [2] *katanensiam.* [3] omit *quoque.* [4] *que.* [5] *summittitur.* [6] *aliis modis.* [7] *prouintias.* [8] *accumulare.* [9] *cepit.* [10] insert *suam.* *Bern*

[a] *in carcere.* [b] omit *post.* [c] omit *regni.* [d] *Exinde.* [e] *insula.* [f] *que.* [g] *catenesiam.* [h] *Margano.* [i] omit *quoque.* [j] *ocasum.* [k] *Cunedagio.* [l] *submittitur.* [m] *Biennio.* [n] *Marganum eiusque animum.* [o] *tocius.* [p] *hiis.* [q] *aliis modis.* [r] *Cunedagii.* [s] *& ignem.* [t] *accumulare cepit.* [u] *Cunedagius.* [v] *Marganun.* [w] *a prouincia in prouinciam.* [x] insert *eius.* [y] omit *uidelicet.* [z] *Margan.* *Harlech*

began to devastate the land. And then they warred against her and took her and put her in prison; and in the prison, of rage and misery, she lost herself. And then those men shared the island between them in two parts. And there was given to [v]morgan the part beyond the hymyr, called Yssgottlont. And to [g]kynedda as his share, the other part to the westward. And at the end of two years after this, certain who loved war and tumults came to [v]*mor*gan saying that it was a disgrace for him that, because being the elder, he ought to rule the whole kingdom, he was holding it under another, and that [g]kynedda had two thirds of the kingdom. And then *Morgan* began to ravage and to burn. And then Kynedda gathered a large force* against him, put him to flight, and pursued him from one country to another, and from place to place, till they came to the great plain in [ngh]kymry. And there the battle followed, and morgan was killed in morgan*wc* on the spot where stands the monastery of [v]margam; and there he was buried. And *f. 56 vo.*

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a pagensibus[1] appellatus est.[a] Potitus itaque uictoria cunedagius[b] monarchiam totius[c] insule adeptus est. eamque xxx.iii.[2][d] annis gloriose tractauit. Tunc ysaias[3][e] prophetabat.[f] & Roma[4] condita est .xi kalendas mai[5][g] a geminis[h] fratribus remo & Remulo.[6][i] Postremo defuncto conedagio.[7][i] successit ei[8] Riuallo[k] filius[l] psius iuuenis pacificus[m] atque fortunatus qui regnum cum diligentia[n] gubernauit. In tempore eius tribus diebus cecidit pluuia[9] sanguinea & muscarum affluenta[10][o] homines
f. 19 vo moriebantur. Post hunc successit gurgustius[p] filius eius. Cui sisillius,[q] cui iago gurgusti[11] nepos.[r] cui kimarcus[s] sisillii[t] filius. Post hunc gorbodugo.[u] huic nati fuerunt. duo filii. quorum unus ferreux alter porrex nuncupabatur.[12][v] Cum autem pater in senium uergisset orta est contentio[w] inter eos quis eorum in senium[13][x] in regno succederet. At porrex maiori[14] cupiditate[y] subductus paratis insidiis ferreucem[z] fratrem[15][a'] interficere parat.

Bern [1] *pangensibus.* [2] *xxxiii.* [3] *Ysaias.* [4] *roma.* [5] *Maii.* [6] *Romulo.* [7] *cunedagio.* [8] *e.* [9] *cecidit pluuia tribus diebus.* [10] *affluentia.* [11] *gurgustii.* [12] *nuccupabatur.* [13] omit *in senium.* [14] *maiore.* [15] omit *fratrem.*

Harlech [a] *appellatus est a pegensibus.* [b] *Cunedagius.* [c] *tocius.* [d] *xxx.iii.* [e] *ysȳas;* insert *& osee.* [f] *prophetabant.* [g] *Mai.* [h] *Geminis.* [i] *Remo & Romulo.* [j] *cunedagio.* [k] *Ryuallo.* [l] *filius filius.* [m] omit *pacificus.* [n] *diligencia.* [o] *affluencia.* [p] *gugertius.* [q] *siluius.* [r] omit *gurgusti nepos.* [s] *kamarcus.* [t] *sisilli.* [u] *gorbodudo.* [v] *nuncupabantur.* [w] *contencio.* [x] omit *in senium.* [y] *cupitate.* [z] *ferreum.* [a'] insert *suum.*

then after getting this victory [G]Kynedda was king over the whole kingdom for thirty-three years in joy and peace; and on the eleventh day before
f. 57 rec. may day following, the building of Ryfain was begun by two brothers named rromilys and rraimes. And after Kynedda was dead, rriallon, his son, became king after him. And a Youth was he, and a maker of peace and happiness. He ruled his kingdom peacefully, and in his time came a bloody rain for three days and nights, and death upon men.

And after rriallon, gorwst his son became king. After him *Sai*ssyll became king. After him *Iago*, gorwst's nephew, became king. After Iago, Kynvarch, son of ssayssyllt, became king. After yssyllt,* gwrvyw became king; and he had two sons named ffervex and ff*porex. And when their father was enfeebled by years and disease, dispute broke out between the two brothers about the kingship and to know which should get it. Porex, inflamed with rage and hatred against his brother, planned to kill him. And

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Quod cum illi compertum fuisset uitato fratre transfretauit in gallias.[a] set usus auxilio suhardi[b] regis francorum reuersus est & cum fratre dimicauit. Pugnantibus autem illis interfectus est ferreux & tota multitudo quæ[1 c] eum[d] commitabatur.[2] Porro mater eorum cui nomen erat[e] iudon[f] cum de nece filii certitudinem habuisset ultra modum commota in odium alter us uersa est. Diligebat namque illum magis altero. Vnde tanta ira ob mortem ipsius ignescebat ut ipsum[3] in fratrem uindicare affectaret. Nacta ergo tempus quo ille sopitus fuerat aggreditur eum[g] cum ancillis suis & in plurimas sectiones dilacerauit. Exinde ciuilis discordia multo tempore populum affixit[4 h] & regnum quinque[5] regibus sumissum[6 i] est qui sese mutuis cladibus[j] infestabant.

Svccedente autem[k] tempore suscitauit probitas quendam iuuenem qui dunuallo molmutius uocabatur. Erat ipse[l] filius clotenis[m] regis cornubiæ[7 n] pulcritudine & audacia omnes reges brittannie[8 o] excellens. Qui ut regimen patrie post obitum patris suscepit insurrexit. in pinnerem[p] regem loe- *II. xvii*

[1] *que.* [2] *comitabatur.* [3] omit *ipsum.* [4] *afflixit.* [5] *.v.* [6] *submissum.* [7] *cornubie.* [8] *britannie.* *Bern*

[a] *galliam.* [b] *swardi.* [c] *que.* [d] *cum eo.* [e] omit *erat.* [f] *Iudon.* [g] *illum.* [h] *afflixit.* [i] *submissum.* [j] *dadibus.* [k] *tandem.* [l] *enim.* [m] *clocenis.* [n] *cornubie.* [o] *Brittannie.* [p] *pignernem.* *Harlech*

when ffervex heard this, he went to ffraink to seek support and strength from *Siwart*, king of ffraink; and came back again to fight his brother. And *f. 57 vo.* then fforex * killed him with the greater part of his host. But the mother of the two youths became angry at fforex, her still living son, and came with her maids and found him sleeping, and she killed him in his sleep, then tore him into little pieces. And after this for a long time there was strife among the peoples and civil * war about the kingdom, until they divided it into five parts, under five of these kings, who alternately fought each other. And then a long time after that, there arose the fame of the Youth who was called dyfnwal moel myd, for he was a son of [s]klydno, Earl of Ker*niw*, and he was of more beauty and bravery than any of the kings of ynys brydain. And that young man, after his father's death, took the kingdom into his own hands, and at once fought with pymed,* king of lloegr,

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grie & facto congressu interfecit eum. Deinde conuenerunt
rudaucus[1] [a] rex kambrie atque staterius rex albanie confirma-|
f. 20 rec. toque inter se federe duxerunt exercitus suos in prouincias dun-
uallonis edificia & colonos depopulantes.[b] Quibus obuiauit
ipse[2] [c] dunuallo cum .xxx.[d] militibus[3] [e] uirorum preliumque com-
misit. Cumque multum diei dum pugnarent preterisset nec sibi
uictoria prouenisset seuocauit [f] sexcentos [g] audacissimos iu-
uenes[4] & cunctis arma de [h] defunctorum hostium sumere pre-
cepit. & indui. Ipse etiam proiectis illis quibus armatus erat
fecit similiter.[i] Deinde duxit illos inter [j] concurrentes [k] cater-
uas incedendo quasi ex ipsis essent.[l] Nactus quoque locum quo
rudocus [a] & staterius erant commilitonibus indixit ut in ipsos
irruerent.[m] Facto igitur impetu perimuntur predicti duo [n]
reges & plures alii cum illis. at dunuallo molmutius [o] timens ne
a [p] suis opprimeretur [q] reuertitur cum sociis & sese exarmauit.
Resumptis deinde [r] armis quæ[5] [s] proiecerat hortatur consocios [t]

Bern [1] *Rudaucus.* [2] omit *ipse.* [3] *milibus.* The *ti* has been practically erased in the Cambridge MS. [4] *iuuenes audacissimos.* [5] *que.*

Harlech [a] *Rudaicus.* [b] *depopulaturos.* [c] omit *ipse.* [d] *triginta.* [e] *milibus.* [f] *ad se uocauit.* [g] *d.c.* [h] omit *de* which has been practically erased in the Cambridge MS. [i] *similiter fecit.* [j] *per.* [k] insert *hostium.* [l] *esset.* [m] The text reads *ruerent*, the *ir* having been scratched off at end of preceding line. [n] *duo predicti.* [o] *molmutio.* [p] omit *a.* [q] *perimeretur.* [r] *inde.* [s] *que.* [t] *socios.*

and slew him. And then when this was heard by ny*daw*c, king of Kymbry, and [th]tewdwr, king of Yssgottlont, they and their forces came into Dyfnwal's
f. 58 rec. territory and began to ravage and to burn. And when dyfnwal heard this he came with thirty thousand armed men and fought them. Much of the day was spent without advantage to one over the other. And then when ddyfnwal saw he was not getting the victory, he called to him one hundred and twenty of his bravest men, and gave them the armour of the slain [men] about them, and putting off his own armour, he put on the armour of a dead man, and he quickly went to the place where nydawc the king was, and slew him; then with his hundred and twenty men he went to the place where [d]tewdwr was and ordered them to rush upon him, and they killed him suddenly. All this he did with but a hundred and twenty men. And then he quickly put on his own armour, for fear his own soldiers should kill him, then exhorted them anew to kill their enemies, and it was not long

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in hostes irruere ipsosque [a] acriter inuasit. Nec mora potitus [1] uictoria. [b] fugatis ac dispersis hostibus. Denique [c] per patrias supradictorum [d] interemptorum uagando subuertit urbes & oppida populumque potestati sue submittit. Et cum totam insulam omnino subiugasset. fecit sibi diadema ex auro insulamque in pristinum statum reduxit. Hic leges [e] quæ [2 f] molmutine dicebantur. [g] inter brittones [3 h] statuit quæ [2 f] usque ad hoc tempus [i] inter anglos [j] celebrantur. [k] Statuit etiam [l] inter cetera quæ [4 f] multo tempore post beatus gildas [m] scripsit ut templa deorum & qui tantes [5 n] talem dignitatem haberent ut quicumque fugitiuus siue [o] reus ad ea confugeret cum uenia coram inimico suo abiret. Statuit etiam ut uiæ [6 p] quæ [2 f] ad predicta templa & ad ciuitates ducebant nec non & aratur [7 q] | colonorum [r] eadem lege *f. 20 vo.* confirmarentur. In diebus itaque eius latronum mucrones cessabant raptorum seuitie [s] opturabantur [t] nec erat usquam qui uiolentiam alicui [u] ingereret. Denique cum inter talia .xl. annos

[1] insert *est.* [2] *que.* [3] *britones.* [4] *quod.* [5] *ciuitates.* [6] *uie.* [7] *aratra.* *Bern*

[a] *& ipsos.* [b] *uictoria potitus est.* [c] *Deinde.* [d] *sub predictorum.* [e] *reges.* [f] *que.* *Harlech* [g] *dicuntur.* [h] *Britones.* [i] *ad tempora nostra.* [j] *angelos.* [k] *celebrabantur.* [l] *siquidem.* [m] *Gildas.* [n] *ciuitates.* [o] *uel.* [p] *uie.* [q] *aratra.* [r] *colonum.* [s] *seuicia.* [t] *obturabatur*, which was the original reading in the Cambridge MS. [u] *alicui uiolentiam.*

before he got complete victory. And then he traversed the country far and wide, capturing and destroying camps and castles. And when he had subdued to himself all ynys bryd*ain* from one sea to the other, he caused a Crown of gold to be made for him, and wore it on his head. And he brought *f. 58 vo.* the island back to its ancient dignity, and established laws, which are still called the laws of dyfnwal-moel myd. And the ssaesson still observe them; and he granted right [of refuge] to temples and cities, and to roads* named by law, so that every one who fled to them, whatever he had done amiss, should find protection, and go whither he would without permission of his adversaries. He also did many other things, too tiresome to treat of, concerning which *Gilda*s wrote; for he gave privilege of refuge to the roads* leading to the chief cities, and he granted the principal roads to the common people to go to the cities and temples, and in his time there was neither thief nor criminal; and so after governing the land in this fashion for forty years from the time when he made and put on the Crown, he died, and was

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post suptum [1 a] diadema expleuisset. defunctus est & in urbe trinouantum prope templum concordiæ [2 b] sepultus quod ipse ad confirmationem legum construxerat.

III. 1 EXin [c] duo filii eius [d] beli [3 e] uidelicet & brennius in regnum succedere uolentes maxima contriti sunt discordia. Contenderunt [f] enim quis eorum diademate regni insigniretur. Cum [h] itaque plures decertationes inter se commiscuissent. inter fuerunt amici utrorumque qui ipsos in concordiam reduxerunt. Censuerunt [i] quoque regnum inter eos ea conditione [4 i] diuidendum esse ut belinus [k] diadema insulæ [5 l] cum loegria atque kambria nec non & cornubia possideret. Erat enim primogenitus. petebatque troiana consuetudo [m] ut dignitas hereditatis ei proueniret. At brennius [n] quoniam iunior fuerat fratri subditus [o] norhanhimbriam [6 p] ab humbro usque ad katenesiam [q] adeptus est. [r] Confirmato igitur [s] super his [t] pactionibus federe. tractauerunt [u] patriam per quinquennium cum pace & iusticia. Set quia discordia sese prosperis rebus semper miscere conatur.

Bern [1] *sumptum.* [2] *concordie.* [3] *belinus.* [4] *conditione;* the first *con* in the Cambridge MS. is partially erased. [5] *insule.* [6] *northanhimbriam.*

Harlech [a] *sumptum.* [b] *concordie.* [c] *Exinde.* [d] *eius filii.* [e] *Reli.* [f] *Contenderant.* [g] *insignirentur.* [h] *Cumque.* [i] *Censerunt.* [k] *conditione.* [l] *Bellinus.* [m] *insule.* [n] *consuetudine.* [o] *Brenius uero.* [p] *subderetur.* [q] *Northanhumbriam;* insert *que.* [r] *Cathanesiam.* [s] *optineret.* [t] omit *igitur.* [u] *hiis.* [v] *tractauit.*

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buried in llyndain in a temple which he himself had built. And after he died, strife and disunion arose between his sons beli and bran about the kingship and the crown, for each one desired it for himself. But wise men of
f. 59 rec. high degree made peace between them, and they divided the kingdom in two parts, to wit, [v]beli was left [L]Lloegr and the crown of the kingdom, and the whole of [g]kymry and [ch]kerniw also, since he was the eldest son, — because according to the ancient law of the men of troyaf the eldest son got the whole inheritance. And to [v]bran fell all the country north of the hymyr, that is, all the gogledd* in subordination to his brother. And this was confirmed between them, so five years passed by untroubled. And then certain who loved strife came to [v]bran and said that it was weakness and disgrace on his part to surrender his own rights to his brother, having had the same

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affuerunt quidam fabricatores mendacii qui ad brennium [a] accesserunt dicentes. Vt quid ignauia te tantum occupauit ut belino [b] subiectionem teneas. cum idem pater & mater eademque nobilitas te ei parificet? Adde quod in pluribus debellationibus | expertus es qui totiens [c] cheulfo duci morianorum [d] in prouin- *f. 21 rec.*
ciam nostram applicanti resistere potuisti ipsumque ex regno tuo [e] fugare? Rumpe fedus quod tibi dedecori est & duc filiam elsingii regis [f] norguengensium [g] ut ipsius auxilio [h] amissam dignitatem recipias Post quam igitur his [i] & pluribus aliis animum [1] iuuenis corruperunt.[j] acquieuit [2 k] ipse. adiuitque norguegiam [l] duxitque filiam regis ut a predictis adulatoribus edoctus fuerat. Interea dum id fratri [m] nuntiatum [n] esset indignatus est quia sic *III. ii*
sine licentia [o] sua & contra ipsum egisset. Petiuit itaque [p] norhamhimbriam.[3 q] cepitque conprouincialium [4] ciuitates & eas custodibus suis muniuit. Porro brennius [r] audito rumore qui actum fratris notificauerat. adducit secum magnam copiam norguengensium.[s] paratoque nauigio redit in brittanniam.[5 t] Cumque equora securius & prospero uento [u] sulcaret. obuiauit ei

[1] *animam.* [2] *adquieuit.* [3] *northanhimbriam.* [4] *comprouintialium.* [5] *britanniam.* *Bern*

[a] *Brennium.* [b] *Belino.* [c] *tociens.* [d] *Morganorum.* [e] omit *tuo.* [f] omit *regis.* *Harlech*
[g] *norguegensium.* [h] *auxilio ipsius.* [i] *hiis.* [j] *corrupuerunt.* [k] *adquieuit.* [l] *norgegiam.* [m] *cum id frater.* [n] *nunciatum.* [o] *licencia.* [p] *Petiuitque.* [q] *northanhumbriam.* [r] *Brennius.* [s] *norguegensium.* [t] *Brittanniam.* [u] *prosperis uentis.*

mother and father, and being of the same rank* and deserts, and further "you have been in more feuds and wars than he; when *Edwe*tro, prince of Morien, came into your country, you quickly chased him away. Therefore, break off this disgraceful compact that is between you and your brother. *f. 59 vo.*
And go to the king of llychlyn,* and take his daughter as your wedded wife, and by his help you will be able to win your rights." And then ᵛbran was goaded to rage by these words, and [went] to llychlyn to marry the daughter of the king of llychlyn. And when that was told to ᵛ*be*li, he was grieved and considered it improper, and was angered greatly that his brother, without conference with him, had in that way sought alliance against him. And Beli gathered a great host and marched through hymyr, seized the fortresses and cities, and put his own men into them. And when ᵛbran heard this, he gathered a great army from ˡllychlynn. And as he joyfully went with this fleet, the wind with him, towards his country,

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ginchtalacus [1 a] rex dacorum qui ipsum insecutus fuerat. Estuauerat namque [b] amore puellæ [2 c] quam brennius [d] duxerat. unde ultra modum dolens classem parauerat & exercitum ipsumque citissimis uelis sequebatur. Nauali igitur aggressu facto. cepit [e] nauem qua [3] predicta puella fuerat. illatisque uncis illam inter consocios [f] atraxit. [4 g] Illis autem hinc & inde infra profundum cum gredientibus. [5 h] ruunt ex inprouiso aduersi uenti. factoque turbine naues dissipant. dissipatas uero in diuersa litora [6] compellunt. [i] Rex igitur dacie [j] inimica ui uentorum compulsus. peracto dierum cursu .v. [7 k] cum timore applicuit cum puella in northamhimbriam. [l] nescius quam patriam inopina-
f. 21 vo. bilis euentus obtulisset. [m] Cumque id a pagensibus | compertum esset ceperunt illos. duxeruntque ad belinum [n] qui super maritima aduentum fratris [o] expectabat. Erant ibi cum naue guithalaci [8 p] tres alie naues quarum una fuerat [q] ex brennii [9] nauigio. [r] Postquam autem quid essent [s] regi indicauerunt. gaudens admodum gauisus est [10] id sibi contigisse dum sese in fratrem uindicare captaret.

Bern [1] *guithlacus.* [2] *puelle.* [3] *in que.* [4] *attraxit.* [5] *congredientibus.* [6] *diuerso littore.* [7] *v. dierum cursu.* [8] *guichlaci.* [9] *briennii.* [10] *gaudens admodum gaudens gauisus est.*

Harlech [a] *Guthlacus.* [b] *enim.* [c] *puelle.* [d] *Brennius.* [e] insert *forte.* [f] *socios.* [g] *attraxit.* [h] *congredientibus.* [i] *littora compellit.* [j] *datie.* [k] *quinque dierum concursu.* [l] *northamhumbriam.* [m] *optulisset.* [n] *Belinum.* [o] *fratres.* [p] *Guthlaci.* [q] *fuit.* [r] *nauigio Brennii.* [s] *qui essent.*

f. 60 rec. behold [v]gwychlan, king of dassia,* who was pursuing him for love of the maiden he had carried away from [L]Llychlyn, met them. And when that one knew that bran was there, he prepared his Fleet and fought him hard, until he managed to throw hooks upon the ship in which was bran's wife, and dragged it with him until he and she came into the midst of his own Fleet. And then, behold! a storm of wind came and scattered the ships to every strand disastrously, and thus for five days they sailed. And in the gogledd it was that the king of dassia was forced ashore. And when the men of that country heard that, they seized them and brought them to [v]beli, who was there waiting for his brother from [L]Llychlyn. And along with the king of dassia's ships, there were three other ships, and one of them belonged to the ships of bran, his brother. Well pleased was [v]*beli* to capture it to
f. 60 vo. begin to take revenge upon his brother. And a few days later, behold,

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Emensis deinde aliquot diebus ecce brennius [a] resociatis *III. iii*
nauibus in albaniam applicuit. Exin [b] cum ei captio
coniugis & ceterorum [1] hominum nuntiata [2] [c] fuisset &
quod frater [d] sibi regnum norhamhimbrie [3] [e] dum aberat surri-
puisset.[f] misit nuntios [f] suos ad eum. mandauitque ut regnum &
sponsa redderentur. Sin autem testatur [g] se totam insulam
uastaturum [h] a mari usque ad mare.[i] Ipsum etiam [j] interfec-
turum. si copia congrediendi sibi prestaretur.[4] Quod cum beli-
nus [k] sciuisset.[l] negauit plane quod petebat collectoque omni
milite insule uenit albaniam contra illum pugnaturus. At
brennius [a] uero [5] sese [l] sciuit [6] repulsam passum fuisse germa-
numque hoc modo contra se uenire. iuit in [7] obuiam illi in nemore
quod uocatur calaterium [m] ut cum eo congredetur.[8] [n] Vt igi-
tur eundem nacti sunt campum diuiseruntque [o] uterque [9] socios
in turmas.[f] comminus [10] [p] accedentes preliari ceperunt. Multum
diei in bellando [q] consumpserunt. quia in utraque parte pro-
bissimi uiri dextras commiscebant. Multum cruoris hinc &
inde fuderunt.[f] quia tela ipsorum uiribus uibrata letifera uulnera [r]
ingerebant.[s] Concidebant [t] inter corruentes cohortes [11] uulnerati

[1] *ceterorumque.* [2] *congnita.* [3] *northamhimbrie.* [4] *prestaretur sibi.* [5] *ut.* [6] *sciuit sese.* [7] omit *in.* [8] *congrederetur.* [9] omit *uterque.* [10] *cominus.* [11] *choortes.* *Bern*

[a] *Brennius.* [b] *Exinde.* [c] *ceterorumque notificata fuisset.* [d] omit *frater.* [e] *northanhumbrie.* [f] *nuncios.* [g] omit *testatur.* [h] omit *uastaturum.* [i] insert *uastaturum.* [j] insert *fratrem.* [k] *Belinus.* [l] omit *uero sese;* insert *ut se.* [m] *calaterium uocatur.* [n] *congrederetur.* [o] *diuisit.* [p] *cominusque.* [q] *Bellando.* [r] *uulnera letifera.* [s] *inferebant.* [t] *Conscidebant.* *Harlech*

ᵛbran came, having gathered his ships along the coast of the gogledd. And when it was told him that ᵛbeli had conquered his following and captured his wife, he sent a message to ᵛbeli, demanding that his wife and his kingdom be delivered to him again, saying that unless he got them, he would ravage the whole island from one sea to the other; and would also kill him should he meet him. And when ᵛbeli heard this, he refused those two demands, both as to his wife and his kingdom. And then beli gathered a host of all the horsemen of yny[s] brydain, and set forth against bran and prepared to fight with him. And forthwith when ᵛbran learned this, he came up with beli in a place called the grove of kaladyr, and there they engaged fiercely, for both of them were men famed in battle; and on both sides *f. 61 rec.*

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quemadmodum segetes cum a falcatoribus aggrediuntur. De-
f. 22 rec. nique preualentibus brittonibus [1 a] diffugiunt norgue- | genses [b]
laceratis agminibus ad naues. Et cum fugam facerent,[c] insequitur
eos [c] belinus [d] cedem sine pietate faciens. Ceciderunt in illo
prelio xv.[2 e] milia hominum. nec ex residuis mille superfuerunt
qui illesi abscederent. At brennius [f] uix unam nauim nactus ut
fortuna conduxerat. gallicana litora [g] petiuit. Ceteri uero qui
cum illo aduenerant quo casus ducebat. latebras eligebant.[h]
III. iv Cum igitur belino [i] uictoria cessisset conuocauit omnes [j] pro-
ceres infra eboracum.[k] consilio ipsorum tractaturus quid de rege
dacorum faceret. Mandauerat namque sibi ex carcere,[c] quod
sese regnumque eius cum dacis [l] sibi submitteret tributum
quoque singulis annis donaret si cum amica sua liber sineretur [3]
abire.[m] Mandauit etiam quod pactum suum federe iuramenti
cum [n] obsidibus confirmaret. Conuocatis ergo proceribus ut [4]
cuique [5 o] indicatum fuisset. assenserunt [p] cuncti ut belinus [d]
petitioni guichtlaci [q] cum predicta conditione acquiesceret.[6 r]
Acquieuit [7 s] igitur [t] ipse & guichtlacus [u] ex carcere solutus,[c] cum

Bern [1] *britonibus.* [2] *quindecim.* [3] *siniretur.* [4] omit *ut.* [5] insert *cum.* [6] *adquiesceret.* [7] *Adquieuit.*

Harlech [a] *Brittonibus.* [b] *Norguegenses.* [c] *illos.* [d] *Belinus.* [e] *quindecim.* [f] *Brennius.* [g] *littora.* [h] *ducebant latebras erigebant.* [i] *Belino.* [j] insert *regni.* [k] *ebracum;* the rubricator has inserted an *o* between the *b* and the *r.* [l] *regnumque dacie.* [m] *liber abire permitteretur.* [n] *&.* [o] omit *ut cuique;* insert *cum id.* [p] *et assensum prebuerunt.* [q] *peticioni Guthlaci.* [r] *adquiesceret.* [s] *Adquieuit.* [t] *ergo.* [u] *Guthlacus.*

men fell as fall the oats of harvest before the reapers. And at last, the bryttaniaid were victorious, and the men of llychlyn fled broken to their ships; for in that battle fifteen thousand of the men of llychlyn were killed, and none escaped unwounded. And then scarcely did b*ran* reach one of his ships and go to ffraink. And the other multitudes who had come with him fled to the first place where they could find safety. And then after getting this victory, [v]beli called the nobles of the kingdom to kaer efroc, to take counsel as to the king of dassia, for that man had sent messengers to him offering homage and submission, and also tribute every year, that
f. 61 vo. he might be released, and his Beloved. And this beli did, upon the advice of the nobles; and took oaths and hostages from the king of dassia. Then he with his Beloved were set at liberty. And after beli had subdued the

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amica sua in daciam reuersus est. Porro belinus [a] cum neminem *III. v*
sibi infra regnum brittanniæ [1 b] resistere animaduertisset [c] to-
tiusque [d] insulæ [2 e] a mari usque ad mare monarchiam [3 f] potitus
leges quas pater inuenerat confirmauit. Stabilemque iustitiam.[f] [4 g]
per regnum fieri precepit. Maxime autem indicit.[5 h] ut ciuitates.
& uiæ [6 i] quæ [7 j] ad ciuitates ducebant.[f] eandem pacem quam
dunuallo statuerat haberent. Set de uiis orta fuerat [k] dis-
cordia. quia nesciebatur [l] quibus terminis definite [8 m] essent. Rex
igitur omne ambiguum legi suæ [9 n] auferre uolens.[f] conuocauit
omnes operarios totius insulæ.[2 o] iussitque uiam ex | cemento & *f. 22 vo.*
lapidibus fabricari.[f] quæ [7 j] insulam in longitudinem [p] a cornu-
bico [10 q] mari usque ad catanensium [11 r] litus [s] secaret.[t] & ad ciui-
tates quæ [7 j] infra erant recto limite duceret. Iussit etiam aliam
fieri. in latitudinem regni quæ [7 j] a meneuia urbe quæ [7 j] super de-
meticum mare sita est usque ad portum hamonis extensa ad urbes
infra positas ducatum ostenderet. Alias quoque duas ab [u] ob-
lico [12 v] insule quæ [7 j] ad ciuitates ceteras [w] ducatum prerarent.[13 x]

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[1] *britannie.* [2] *insule.* [3] omit *monarchiam.* [4] *iusticiam.* [5] *indixit.* [6] *uie.* [7] *que.* *Bern*
[8] *deffinite.* [9] *sue.* [10] *cornubio.* [11] *katanensium.* [12] *obliquo.* [13] *prestarent.*

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[a] *Belinus.* [b] *Brittannie.* [c] *animaduerteret.* [d] *tocius.* [e] *insule.* [f] omit *monar-* *Harleck*
chiam. [g] *Stabilem quoque iusticiam.* [h] *indixit.* [i] *uie.* [j] *que.* [k] *est.* [l] *nesciebant.*
[m] *diffinite.* [n] *sue.* [o] *tocius insule.* [p] *longitudine.* [q] *cornubio.* [r] *cathanesiam.*
[s] omit *litus.* [t] *perduceret.* [u] omit *ab.* [v] *obliquo.* [w] *ceteras ciuitates.* [x] *prestarent.*

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island from one sea to the other, and there was no one to oppose him, he confirmed the laws he made and had peace cried through the whole island, and more especially in the temples and cities. And to these he gave the most ample privileges they ever had. And at this time there was contention as to the high ways, whose boundaries were not clearly known. Therefore, he called to him all the stone masons of ynys brydain, and ordered them to make roads of stone and mortar, according to rule. One of them was built from the cape of kerniw on the sea unto cape bladdon* in the gogledd, and that is the length of ynys brydain, through such chief cities as were directly in its course. And another he ordered to be made across the island, that *f. 62 rec.*
is from kaer vyniw [St. David's] on the coast, to port hamon, that is norddamtwn. And he also ordered to be made two other roads, slantwise to these, reaching the corners of the island, passing as the others did through

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Deinde sanciuit [a] eas omni honore. omnique [1] dignitate.[c] iurisque sui esse precepit quod de illata uiolentia super eas satis factio [2] sumeretur.[b] Si quis autem scire uoluerit omnia quæ [3] [c] de ipsis statuerit legat molmutinas leges quas gildas [d] hystoricus [4] [e] de brittannico [5] [f] in latinum. rex uero aluredus [g] de latino in angli-
III. vi cum sermonem transtulit. Belino autem [h] regnum cum pace [i] & tranquillitate regente. frater suus brennius [j] in gallicano litore ut predictum est [k] appulsus.[l] internis [m] anxietatibus cruciatur. Ferebat enim grauiter sese expulsum ex patria esse.[n] nec copiam reuertendi habere ut amissa dignitate frueretur.[o] Nescius ergo [p] quid faceret. principes gallie adiuit .xii.[q] solummodo militibus comitatus. Cumque infortunium suum singulis ostendisset.[r] neque auxilium ab ullo [s] impetrare quiuisset.[6] [t] tandem ad segnium [7] [u] ducem allobrogum uenit [8] [v] & ab eo honorifice susceptus est. Morante [w] autem eo [x] apud ipsum accessit in tantam familiaritatem ducis.[c] ita ut [9] [y] esset alter in curia qui sibi preferetur.[10] In omnibus namque negotiis.[11] tum in pace tum

Bern [1] from *omni . . . ate iurisque* is obliterated in the Bern MS. [2] omit *satis factio.* [3] *que.* [4] *historicus.* [5] *britannico.* [6] insert *uenit.* [7] *seginum.* [8] omit *uenit.* [9] insert *non.* [10] *preferretur.* [11] *negociis.*

Harlech [a] *sanciunt.* [b] *illata super eas uiolentia sumeretur.* [c] *que.* [d] *Gyldas.* [e] *hystoriographus.* [f] *Brittannico.* [g] *alruredus.* [h] *uero.* [i] *cum pace regnum.* [j] *Brennius.* [k] omit *ut predictum est.* [l] *apulsus.* [m] *interius.* [n] *esse a patria.* [o] *frueretur.* [p] *igitur.* [q] *duodecim.* [r] *ostenderet.* [s] *ab ullo auxilium.* [t] insert *uenit.* [u] *seginum.* [v] omit *uenit.* [w] *Morans.* [x] omit *eo.* [y] insert *non.*

cities. And when they were finished, he ordered them to be held sacred, and gave them right of sanctuary, so that whoever reached one of those roads, however great crimes he had committed, no one dared molest him. And then [y]beli reigned in peace. And bran, his brother, who had fled to ffraink in distress, was sad because of his banishment from his country and kingdom. And there was no way for him to get it back, and he knew not what to do. And then, with eleven horsemen, he went to the prince of
f. 62 vo. ffraink and showed him his evil case. And when this one refused to help him, straightly he went on to the prince of byrgwin [Burgundy], and he was cordial to him and gave him his company and his love, so that there was not in the court any one of so much honour as he. This was because in everything that he did, whether in war or in peace, he showed praise

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in bello probitatem suam monstrabat ita ut dux illum amore patris diligeret. Erat etiam [a] pulcher aspectu [b] procera & gracilia membra [c] habens. In uenatu uero ut decebat & in aucupatu edoctus. Cum igitur in tantam amicitiam [d] ducis incidisset statuit [e] de eo ut unicam quam habebat filiam sibi maritali lege copularet.[f] Et si masculino deinceps sexu [g] careret concedebat. ei regnum allogobrum [1 h] post obitum suum cum filia possidendum. Si [i] autem filius ei superueniret promittebat auxilium ut in regem [j] brittanniæ [2 k] promoueretur. Et non solum id a duce set etiam ab omnibus [l] sibi subditis heroibus [m] appetebatur. quia in tantam eorum amicitiam [3 n] prouenerat. Nec mora maritatur puella [o] brennio. [p] principesque patrie subduntur soliumque [q] regni. donatur. Nec annus quo hæc [4 r] facta sunt integre emensus [5] fuerat cum suprema [s] dies ducis aduenies ipse [t] ex hac uita [u] migrauit. Tunc brennius [v] principes patrie quos prius amicitia [6 w] illexerat [x] obnoxios sibi facere non diffugit. largiendo eis thesaurum ducis qui a tempore attauorum suorum reseruatus fuerat. Et quod allobroges pro maximo habebant. profusus erat in dan- *Suzonian f. 23 rec.*

[1] *allobrogum.* [2] *britannie.* [3] *amiticiam.* [4] *hec.* [5] *mensus.* [6] *amicicia.* *Bern*

[a] *autem.* [b] insert &. [c] *men . . .* [d] *amicissiam.* [e] insert *dux.* [f] *copulauit.* [g] *sexu deinceps.* [h] *allobrogum.* [i] *Sin.* [j] *regnum.* [k] *Brittannie.* [l] *a ducibus.* [m] omit *heroibus.* [n] *amiciciam eorum.* [o] *puella maritatur.* [p] *Brennio.* [q] *solumque.* [r] *hec.* [s] *suppremа.* [t] *ipsum.* [u] *luce.* [v] *Brennius.* [w] *amicicia.* [x] *ille dilexerat.* *Harlech*

and honour, so that the prince loved him as much as if he were his son. For [y]*bran* was a man fair to look upon, with long and slender limbs, courteous, wise and capable, as it befitted him to be. And when the prince had thus set his love upon him, having as his heir an only daughter, he gave her to [y]bran as his wedded wife, and promised *Byrg*win to him in succession to himself, provided that he should have no other heir; and if he should have *f. 63 rec.* a son he promised him support and means to conquer his own realm; and another one of the princes of ffraink also promised him support. And then bran married the maiden. And thus the nobles of the country became subject to him, and he ruled with his own hand the territory which had been given him. And not a year later, the prince died. And then bran restored to such princes as loved him, the estates which the prince had taken away from their forbears; and thus he bound their love to himself

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III. vii dis cibis. nulli ianuam suam prohibens. Tractis [a] ergo quibusque in dilectionem suam. deliberauit apud [b] se qualiter sese in belinum [c] fratrem suum uindicaret. Quod cum populo sibi subdito indicasset. assensum fecerunt cuncti ut cum illo irent ad quodcumque regnum ipsos conducere affectasset. Nec mora collecto grandi exercitu fedus cum gallis iniuit ut [d] per prouincias eorum brittaniam [1] [e] cum tranquillitate [f] adire sineretur. Exin [g] parato
f. 23 vo. in litore ex [h] neustrensium [i] nauigio mare | ingressus est secundisque uelis [j] in insulam applicuit. Diuulgato igitur [k] aduentu ipsius. [l] beli [2] [m] frater ascita totius [n] regni iuuentute [o] perrexit [3] prelium cum illo commissurus. Set cum hinc & inde statute cohortes [4] fere commisceri incepissent. [r] accelerauit mater amborum quæ [5] [p] adhuc uiuebat per dispositas turmas incedens. Erat nomen eius tonuuenna [6] [q] estuabatque filium uidere quem multo tempore non aspexerat. Vt igitur tremulis gradibus locum quo ipse stabat nacta [r] fuit. brachia collo eius iniecit. desiderata basia

Bern [1] *britanniam.* [2] *belinus.* [3] *perexit.* [4] *choortes.* [5] *que.* [6] *tonwenna.*

Harlech [a] *Attractis.* [b] *aput.* [c] *Belinum.* [d] &. [e] *Brittaniam.* [f] omit *cum tranquillitate.* [g] *Exinde.* [h] *littore;* omit *ex.* [i] *neustrium.* [j] *uentis.* [k] *ergo.* [l] *ipsius aduentu.* [m] *Belinus.* [n] *tocius.* [o] insert *obuiam.* [p] *que.* [q] *tonuenna.* [r] *nactas.*

because of his generosity. And with that he did what the men of byrg*win* held best, giving of food and drink to everyone who came, and no door was shut against them. And then when the multitude was in accord with him, he pondered in what way he could get revenge upon Beli his brother for what he had done to him. And so all promised him support and forces to
f. 63 vo. go to conquer whatever place in the world he wished. And then without delay he gathered a vast host, and coming to ffraink, made a compact with those men permitting that he, with his army, should pass through that country towards ynys brydain. And when the ships were ready on the coast of fflawndrys, they went to sea with the wind behind them, until they came to ynys Brydain. And when ᵛbeli heard that his brother was coming with a great fleet, he gathered a mighty host and set out against him to fight him. And then as they were about to grapple, *Ton*wen, their mother, came to them, and hastened through the armies, seeking to see Bran, her son, for she had not seen him for a long time. And so, trembling with fear, she walked to the place where ᵛbran was standing, and put her arms about his neck, and gave him many kisses, and then bared her breast

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ingeminans. Nudatis quoque[a] uberibus illum in hunc modum affata est.[f] sermonem inpediente singultu. Memento fili memento uberum istorum quæ[1 b] suxisti. matrisque tue uteri quo te opifex rerum in hominem ex non homine creauit? Vnde te in mundum produxit angustiis mea[c] uiscera cruciantibus. Anxietatum igitur quas pro te passa sum reminiscens. petitioni[d] mee acquiesce.[2 e] fratrique tuo ueniam concede[f] atque inceptam iram compesce.[g] Nullam enim aduersus eum habere debes qui tibi nullam contumeliam intulerit.[h] Nam quod causaris te[i] a natione tua per eum expulsum fuisse.[f] si euentum rei diligentius intueri institeris.[j] nullatenus reperies quod iniustitiam[3 k] uocabis. Non enim fugauit te ut deterius tibi contingeret. set coegit deteriora postponere.[f] ut ad[l] potiora sullimauis.[4 m] Subditus namque illi.[f] partem regni possidebas.[5] Quam ut amisisti.[f] par sibi factus es allobrogum regnum adeptus. Quid igitur fecit nisi quod te[n] ex paupere regulo[o] in sullimem[p] regem promouit? Adde quod discidium inter uos ortum | non per ipsum. set per te inceptum[q] *f. 24 rec.*
fuit.[f] quia[r] auxilio regis norguegie fretus in ipsum exurgere

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[1] *que.* [2] *adquiesce.* [3] *iniusticiam.* [4] *sullimaueris.* [5] *possideas.* *Bern*

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[a] omit *quoque.* [b] *que.* [c] *in ea.* [d] *peticioni.* [e] *adquiescere;* insert *postulo.* *Harlech*
[f] *concedere.* [g] *compescere.* [h] *intulit.* [i] insert *uidelicet.* [j] *institeritis.* [k] *iniusticiam.*
[l] omit *ad.* [m] *sublimaueris.* [n] omit *quod te.* [o] insert *te.* [p] *sublimen.* [q] *ceptum.* [r] *qui.*

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and through sobbing and weeping, said thus to him: "My dearest son, remember these breasts which thou hast sucked, and remember thy mother's *f. 64 rec.*
heart who bore thee nine months beneath her girdle, remember all the pains I took to rear thee. Think of these things today; for the sake of the creator from heaven who made thee, grant forgiveness to thy brother. Let thy anger, which thou hast conceived against him, cease, for he gave thee no occasion for anger, and it was not he who banished thee from thy country and kingdom. And he did thee no wrong. And he did not banish thee to humble thee, but rather for thy elevation, for thou wast in subjection to him for a small part of the kingdom. And although thou didst lose that part, thou art now his equal, and thus he caused thy elevation to great dignity. For it is greater honour to be duke of Byrgwin than of a share of ynys Brydain. Consider, not by him first grew this quarrel between you, but thou thyself began it, when thou wentest to seek the daughter of the

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estuaueras. Super his [a] igitur quæ[1] [b] ipsa cum fletu expresserat motus. sedato animo obediuit.[c] & ultro deposita galea cum illa ad fratrem perrexit.[2] Belinus ergo [e] ut illum cum uultu pacis ad se uenire calluit.[c] abiectis armis in [d] amplexus eiusdem cum osculo cucurrit.[e] Nec mora amici facti sunt.[f] & cohortibus[3] exarmatis urbem trinouantum uenerunt. Ibi consilio cepto quid facerent.[g] parauerunt exercitum communem in galliarum partes ducere cunctasque prouincias[4] potestati sue submittere.

III. viii Emenso deinde anno transfretauerunt ad gallias.[c] patriamque uastare ceperunt. Quod cum [h] per nationes[5] diuulgatum esset.[i] conuenerunt omnes reguli francorum obuiamque uenientes contra eos dimicauerunt. At belino [j] & brennio [k] uictoria proueniente.[c] franci uulneratis cateruis diffugierunt. Mox brittones[6] [l] & allobroges ut triumpho potiti sunt.[c] fugientes gallos [m] insequi non cessauerunt donec captis regibus ipsos deditioni [n] coegerunt. Munitis etiam urbibus euersis. totum

Bern [1] *que.* [2] *perexit.* [3] *choortibus.* [4] *prouintias.* [5] *naciones.* [6] *britones.*

Harleck [a] *hiis.* [b] *que.* [c] *igitur.* [d] *ut.* [e] *cuccurrit.* [f] insert *ad inuicem.* [g] omit *quid facerent.* [h] *cumque.* [i] *fuisset.* [j] *Belino.* [k] *Brennio.* [l] *Britones.* [m] *gallas.* [n] *deditione.*

f. 64 vo. king of Llychlyn as thy wife, and by that strength sought to dispossess him." And so after she had said this to him with weeping, he turned to peace and quietness, with utter will and purpose to do after his mother's counsel, and taking from his head his helmet and his cap of mail, he went to the place where [v]beli, his brother, was. And when he saw his brother coming to him, he threw aside his weapons, and put his arms about his brother's neck, and quickly were they reconciled. And then their armies also threw down their arms, praising the peace; and they marched to Llyndain, and there they took counsel, both they and their nobles. The decision was to go to ffraink, and subdue all its provinces to their own possession. And when they had been a year in Llyndain, they set out towards ffraink, and began to harry the country. And when the men of ffraink
f. 65 rec. heard this, they rallied all ffraink to one place, and fought with them, and Beli and Bran got the victory. And the men of ffraink fled, and the Bryttaniaid chased them until they took the king prisoner, and made him submit to them. And then they destroyed all the strong forts, and by the

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regnum infra unum[1] annum[2] submiserunt. Postremo cum uniuersas prouintias deditioni compulissent.[3] petierunt romam cum tota multitudine sua. urbesque & colonos[a] per[4] italiam depopulant.[b] Erantque[c] tunc rome duo consules. Gabius[5] & porsenna quorum regimini patria[d] commissa fuerat. Qui cum uidissent nullam gentem seuitiæ[6] [e] belini atque brennii[f] resistere ualere.[g] assensu senatorum uenerunt ad illos concordiam & amicitiam[7] [h] petentes. Optulerunt etiam plurima donaria auri & argenti.[i] sigulisque[8] [i] annis tributum ut sua cum pace possidere sinerentur.[j] Sumptis igitur[9] [k] obsidibus | ueniam donauerunt reges cohortesque[10] suas in germaniam duxerunt. Cumque populum infestare institissent.[l] piguit Romanos[11] [m] predicti federis. & reuocata[n] audacia germanis in auxilium processerunt. Quod cum regibus compertum esset. ultra modum id grauiter ferentes consilium inierunt quomodo utrumque populum oppugnarent.[12] [o] Tanta namque multitudo italorum superuenerat. ita ut illis

III. ix

f. 24 vo.

[1] omit *unum.* [2] insert *sibi.* [3] *compulsissent.* [4] insert *totam.* [5] *gabius.* [6] *seuitie.* *Bern*
[7] *amiticiam.* [8] *singulisque.* [9] *ergo.* [10] *choortesque.* [11] *romanos.* [12] *obpugnarent.*

[a] *colones.* [b] *depopulantes.* [c] *Erant.* [d] *patrie.* [e] *seuitie.* [f] *Belini & Brennii.* *Harleck*
[g] *posse.* [h] *amiciciam.* [i] *singulisque.* [j] *sineretur.* [k] *itaque.* [l] *instituissent.* [m] *romanos.* [n] *renouata.* [o] *obpugnarent.*

end of the year subdued the whole kingdom. And after this they came with their armies to Ryfain, and began destroying the strongholds throughout the Eidial, and they conquered the whole country as far as Ryfain. At that time there were in Ryfain two princes, and their names were Galins and fforkena, and to them was committed the ruling of the country. And when they saw that no nation was able to withstand the fierceness of Beli and Bran, by the advice of the senate of Ryfain they made peace with them, and gave them great gifts of silver and gold, and promised tribute to them every year for leaving the land in peace. And for this Beli and Bran took hostages of them. And from there Beli and Bran with their hosts went to ssermania. And then after they had begun to war against those peoples, they [the Romans] were sorry for their compact which they had made with the Bryttaniait, and broke it and went to help the men of ssermania. And when [v]beli and Bran heard this, they were greatly enraged and took counsel how they might fight two armies, for it was not easy in view* of

f. 65 vo.

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terrori essent. Consilio igitur habito remansit belinus [a] cum brittonibus [1 b] in germania prelia hostibus illaturus. Brennius uero cum exercitibus suis romam adiuit. ut ruptum fedus in Romanos [2 c] uindicaret. Id autem itali scientes deseruerunt [d] germanos & Romam [3 e] reuerti [f] captantes. iter brennii precedere [g] festinauerunt. Belinus itaque ut id sibi nuntiatum [h] fuerat reuocato exercitu preterita nocte accelerauit. quandamque [i] uallem nactus qua hostes preterituri erant.[f] infra illam delituit. & aduentum illorum expectauit. Sequenti deinde die instante.[f] uenerunt itali ad eundem locum ceptum iter facientes. Et cum uallem armis hostium fulgere prospexerunt.[j] confestim stupefacti arbitrati sunt brennium [k] senonesque [l] gallos adesse. Belinus itaque [4 m] compertis hostibus subito inpetu [5 n] irruptionem fecit in illos atque acriter inuasit. Nec mora romani ex inprouiso occupati quia inermes & sine ordine incesserant [6] cum fuga campum deseruerunt. Quos belinus [a] sine pietate sequens. trucidare non cessauit.[f] donec superueniente nocte inceptam stragem nequiuit perficere. Cum uictoria deinde brennium [o] petiuit qui

Bern [1] *britonibus.* [2] *romanos.* [3] *romam.* [4] *ergo.* [5] *impetu.* [6] *processerant.*

Harlech [a] *Belinus.* [b] *Britonibus.* [c] *romanos.* [d] *deseruierunt.* [e] *romam.* [f] *reuersi.* [g] *Brennii procedere.* [h] *nunciatum.* [i] *quandam.* [j] *prospexissent.* [k] *Brennium.* [l] *senones.* [m] *ergo.* [n] *impetu.* [o] *Brennium deinde.*

the army coming from Ryfain. The decision was to leave *Beli* and all the Bryttaniaid with him to fight the men of ssermania, while [v]*bran* with his troops went towards Ryfain. And when the men of Ryfain heard this, they left the men of ssernia and sought to head off [v]bran and his host before they
f. 66 rec. reached Ryfain. And when Beli heard this, he came with his army by night against them unto a woody glen which lay on their way, and Beli and his force hid there to waylay them. And next day, behold, the men of Ryfain coming to that place, and then they saw the arms of their enemies glittering along the glen. And then greatly were they frightened, thinking that Bran was there, and the men of Byrgwin with him. And then Beli quickly attacked them, and at once the men of Ryfain fled and left the field, for they could neither put on their armour nor form; and Beli chased them until night stopped his slaughtering. And then after getting the victory, [v]beli reached [v]bran, his brother, the third day after he had

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iam die tertio [c] instante romam obsidebat.[1] Vt igitur [b] communem [c] exercitum fecerunt [d] inuadentes undique urbem | menia prosterne[2] [e] insistunt. Et ut maiorem cladem ingerrent.[3] [f] *f. 25 rec.*
erexerunt furcas ante portam[4] [g] ciuitatis obsessisque [h] mandauerunt. quod obsides quos dederant in patibulo suspenderent. nisi sese deditioni sumitterent.[5] [i] Verum[6] romani in proposito suo perseuerantes. despecta natorum & nepotum pietate sese defendere[7] intendunt. Nam [j] quandoque[8] machinationes eorum contrariis uel consimilibus machinationibus conterebant quandoque[8] [k] uero omnimodis[9] telis ipsos a menibus repellebant. Cumque id conspexissent. fratres confestim proterua ignoscentes ira .xxiii.[10] [l] nobilissimos obsidum in conspectu parentum suspendi preceperunt. Itaque romani proteruiores insistentes & freti legatione gabii[11] [m] & porsenne consulum qui ipsis mandauerant quod in auxilium eorum sequenti die uenirent urbem egredi statuerunt & cum hostibus prelia committere. Et dum turmas [n] sapienter distribuerent ecce predicti consules resociatis sociis qui dispersi fuerant preliaturi aduenerunt. Densis autem

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[1] *obsedebat.* [2] *prosternere.* [3] *ingererent.* [4] *portas.* [5] *submitterent.* [6] *Verum.* *Bern*
[7] *deffendere.* [8] *quanque.* [9] *multimodis.* [10] *xx. iiii.* [11] *Gabii.*

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[c] *tercia die.* [b] *enim.* [c] *commune.* [d] omit *fecerunt.* [e] *prosternere.* [f] *ingererent.* *Harlech*
[g] *portas.* [h] *obscessisque.* [i] *submitterent.* [j] *Namque.* [k] *quanque.* [l] *uiginti* or *iiii.*
[m] *Gabii.* [n] insert *suas.*

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sat down before the walls of Ryfain. And then when the two armies were before the city, they attacked it fiercely, working great woe upon the men of Ryfain, and they erected a gallows before the gate of the city to hang the hostages if they would not give up the city; but for all this they held it. And they fought sometimes with their engines, at other times by *f. 66 vo.*
shooting arrows at them and they fought every way they could. And then when [r]beli and Bran saw this, they burned with rage and ordered the four and twenty hostages, men of highest rank, to be hanged before the city in their presence. Then the men of Ryfain marshalled their army in divisions, and came out of the city, and gave them battle in the field because word came to the men of Ryfain from the two princes who had gathered their scattered troops saying that they were marching to their aid, and begging that they should not give up the city on any account. And then the troops

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agminibus incedentes ex inprouiso inuaserunt allobroges & brittones.[1 a] Egressisque ciuibus consociatis stragem primo non minimam [b] fecerunt. Porro fratres cum cladem commilitonum tam subito illatam inspexissent [2] admodum anxiati [3] socios ceperunt hortari. atque in turmas resociare. Crebras etiam irruptiones facientes hostes reges [c] retro [d] coegerunt. Postremo pereptis [4 e] in utraque parte ad milia pugnantibus uictoria fratri-
f. 25 vo. bus prouenit. Interfecto | etiam gabio [f] & capto porsenna [f] urbem ceperunt. & absconditas conciuium opes commilitonibus dederunt.

III. x Habita ergo uictoria remansit brennius [g] in italia populum inaudita tyrande [5 h] afficiens. Cuius ceteros actus & exitum quia romane hystorie [6 i] declarant. [f] nequaquam tractare curaui [f] cum [k] nimiam prolixitatem huic operi ingessissem. & id quod alii tractauerunt perarans a proposito [7] meo diuertissem. Belinus uero in brittanniam [8 l] reuersus est & cum tranquillitate reliquis uitæ [9 m] sue diebus [10] patriam tractauit. Renouauit etiam edificatęs urbes. ubicumque collaxe [11 n] fuerant.

Bern [1] *britones.* [2] *conspexissent.* [3] *anxietati;* the Cambridge scribe changed *anxietati* to *anxiati.* [4] *peremtis.* [5] *tyrannide.* [6] *historie.* [7] *propoposito.* [8] *britanniam.* [9] *uite.* [10] *dibus.* [11] *collaxe.*

Harlech [a] *Britones.* [b] *consociati non minimam stragem primo.* [c] omit *reges.* [d] *retrocedere.* [e] *peremptis.* [f] *eciam Gabio.* [g] *Brennius.* [h] *tyrannide.* [i] *actus exitumque romane historie.* [j] insert *Ideoque.* [k] insert &. [l] *Brittannia.* [m] *uite.* [n] *collapse.*

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in two hosts came suddenly upon the Bryttaniaid and the men of Byrgwin, and made great slaughter. And then when Beli and Bran saw the slaughter of their comrades, they were grieved, and rallied their warriors and exhorted them to fight their enemies, and they drove them far back, and in the end,
f. 67 rec. after thousands on both sides had been killed, *Be*li and Bran got the victory, killed Galins, and took fforkena and the city. And Beli and Bran divided the booty among their comrades. And then after getting this victory, Bran lived as Emperor in Ryfain and subdued the people with infinite cruelty, and as it is told in the history of the men of Ryfain, I have not here told more of it, for too much weariness would it be to rehearse it all. And then Beli went back to ynys *Brydain*, and ruled his kingdom in peace for the rest of his life. And he rebuilt the strongholds in every place where they

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& multas nouas edificauit. Inter ceteras composuit unam super oscera [1 a] flumen prope sabrinum mare. quæ [2 b] multis temporibus kaerlusc [c] appellata.[3] metropolis demetie fuerat. Postquam autem romani uenerunt. prefato nomine deleto. uocata est urbs legionum.[f] uocabulum trahens a romanis legionibus quæ [2 b] ibidem hiemare [d] solebant. Fecit etiam in urbe trinouantum ianuam mire fabrice super ripam thamensis quam de nomine suo ciues temporibus suis [e] belnesgata [4 f] uocant. Desuper uero edificauit turrim mire magnitudinis portumque subtus ad pedem applicantibus nauibus idoneum.[g] Leges patris ubique [5] per regnum renouauit. constanti iusticie indulgens. In diebus igitur eius tanta copia diuitiarum populum refecit. quantam nec retro etas habuisse testetur.[6 h] nec subsequens consecuta fuisse. Postremo cum suprema [i] dies ipsum ex hac uita rapuisset combustum est corpus eius. | & puluis in aureo cado [j] reconditus quam [7 k] in urbe *f. 26 rec.*
trinouantum in summitate predicte turris mira arte [l] collocauerunt.[8 m] Exinde [n] successit ei gurguit [9] barbtruc [o] filius eiusdem

[1] *oscam.* [2] *que.* [3] *apellata.* [4] *belmesgata.* [5] *ubicumque.* [6] *testatur.* [7] *quem.* *Bern*
[8] *collocauit.* [9] *Gurguint.*

[a] *oscam.* [b] *que.* [c] *kaeruso.* [d] *hyemare.* [e] insert & *istis.* [f] *Reiesgada.* [g] *ydoneum.* *Harlech*
[h] *testatur.* [i] *supprema.* [j] *vado.* [k] *quem.* [l] *arce.* [m] *locauerint.* [n] *Post hec.* [o] *Gurguint Bartruhc.*

were ruined, and built other new ones. And among these he built a city on the banks of the river wysc; and there was the archbishop-house of Dyfed. And after the men of Ryfain came to this island, it was called kaerllion, for there they used to dwell in winter. And Beli also built a splendid Gate in Llyndain on the banks of the temys, which is called Bilinssgad. On its battlements he made a mighty tower, and at its base he made a *f. 67 vo.*
water gate for embarking upon the ships. And he everywhere enforced anew his father's laws, and gave himself to truth. And in his time there was abundance of gold and silver among the people, so that neither before nor afterward was there the like. And at last, when the day appointed for his departure from this world was come, his body was burned, and his ashes were put in a golden vessel, of wondrous craftsmanship, and were buried in Llyndain on the top of the tower above mentioned.

And when Beli was dead, Gwrgant *Varf*-drwch, his son, became king. A man wonderfully earnest was he; and he followed his father's ways and

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uir modestus. & prudens. Qui per omnia paternos actus imitans. pacem & iusticiam amabat. Et cum uicini aduersus eum rebellabant. audaciam exemplo genitoris reuocans prelia dira [a] committebat. & hostes ad debitam subiectionem reducebat. Inter plura alia contigit. quod rex dacorum qui diebus patris tributum eidem reddebat huic reddere diffugeret. & ei debitam subiectionem denegaret. Quod ipse grauiter ferens duxit nauigium [b] in daciam. afflictoque dirissimis [c] preliis populo interfecit regem.
III. xii patriamque pristino iugo subposuit.[1] Ea tempestate cum post istam uictoriam domum per insulas orcadum rediret. inuenit .xxx. naues uiris & [d] mulieribus plenas. Et cum causam aduentus eorum inquisiuisset.[e] accessit ad ipsum[2] [f] dux ipsorum [g] partholoim [h] nomine. & adorato eo ueniam & pacem [i] rogauit. Dicebat autem se ex partibus hispaniarum [j] expulsum fuisse & maria illa circuire. ut locum mansionis haberet. Petebat etiam ab illo partiunculam[3] [k] brittaniæ[4] [l] ad inhabitandam ne odiosum iter maris diutius pererraret.[m] Annus enim [n] & dimidius iam emensus fuerat. ex quo a patria sua pulsus per occeanum cum

Bern [1] *subpposuit.* [2] *ad ipsum accessit.* [3] *portiunculam.* [4] *britannie.*

Harlech [a] omit *dira.* [b] insert *super eum.* [c] *durissimis.* [d] *ac.* [e] *inquisissent.* [f] *eum.* [g] *eorum.* [h] *paroloym.* [i] *pacem & ueniam.* [j] *hyspaniarum.* [k] *porciunculam.* [l] *Brittannie.* [m] *diucius perararet.* [n] *etenim;* omit &.

loved peace and truth. But when any one warred against him, he took upon himself the bravery of battle and fought his enemies fiercely and made them his suppliants. And then the king of Dassia sought to hold back the tribute, which he had paid to his father, and refused to pay to him.
f. 68 rec. So he went with a fleet against the king of Dassia, and fought fiercely against those people, and killed the king and put the country in bondage to himself, as it had formerly been to his father. And so, as he was going home through the isles of Orc, he fell in with thirty ships, bearing men and women. And when he learned of their arrival, the king seized their prince, who was called Barthlome,* who then prayed his protection, saying that he had been banished from Yssbaen, and was roving the seas seeking a dwelling place. And he therefore begged of [W]Gwrg*ant* a part of this isle to inhabit, that they might no longer be buffeted by the sea, because for a year and a half since they left their country had they been on the ocean. And when [W]Gwrgant learned of their coming and from what nation they

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sociis nauigauerat. Vt igitur gurguinc[1] barbtruc[a] & ipsos ex hispania[2] uenisse & basclenses[b] uocatos esse.[c] & petitionem[3] eorum edoctus fuit.[c] misit homines cum eis ad insulam hibernie[c] quæ[4 d] tum[5 e] uasta omni | incola carebat eamque illis concessit. *f. 26 vo.* Deinde creuerunt illic[6] & multiplicati sunt.[c] insulamque[7 f] in hodiernum diem tenuerunt Gurguint uero barbtruc[g] cum dies uite sue cum pace explesset. sepultus fuit in urbe legionum quam post obitum patris edificiis & muris decorare studuerat. Post illum autem guithelinus[8 h] diadema regni suscepit. quod *III. xiii* omni tempore uitæ suæ[9 i] benigne & modeste tractauit. Erat ei nobilis mulier marcia nomine omnibus artibus erudita.[10] Hec inter multa & inaudita quæ[4 d] proprio ingenio repererat inuenit legem quam brittones[11 j] marcianam appellauerunt. Hanc etiam rex alueredus[12] inter cetera transtulit. & saxonica lingua merchenelage[k] uocauit. At ut guithelinus[8 l] obiuit.[m] remansit gubernaculum regni[13] predicte regine & filio ipsius[n] qui sisillius

[1] *gurguint.* [2] *ex hispania ipsos.* [3] *petitione.* [4] *que.* [5] *tunc.* [6] *illi.* [7] insert *usque.* [8] *Guithelinus.* [9] *uite sue.* [10] *erudita artibus.* [11] *britones.* [12] *aluredus.* [13] *regni gubernaculum remansit.* *Bern*

[a] *Gurguint Bartruhc.* [b] *Bandenses.* [c] *hybernie.* [d] *que.* [e] *tunc.* [f] insert *usque.* [g] *Bartruhc.* [h] *Guitellinus.* [i] *uite sue.* [j] *Britones.* [k] *merchenelaga.* [l] *Guetelinus.* [m] *obiit.* [n] *eius.* *Harlech*

came, he sent an escort with them so far as Iwerddon, which was waste, and gave them that land from that day to this. And then they multiplied, and settled that place, and since then until this day their descendants are in Iwerddon. And after Gwrgant's life came to its end, he died in [ngh]kaerllion *f. 68 vo.* on Wysc, and there he was buried, in the place which he had strongly fortified after his father's death.

And when Gwrgant was dead, Kyhylyn his son took the crown of the kingdom, and ruled it in peace and harmony so long as he lived. His wife was named Marssia, and deeply versed was she in all arts. And together with her husband, she found out everything wonderful pertaining to the principles of the laws, which the Bryttaniait called the laws of Marssia, and this [code] Alvryd the king turned from [g]kymraec into Saessnec, and called it Maicheneange in the ssaesson language.

And after Cyhylyn died, the rulership of the kingdom remained in the hands of his wife, and of Saessyllt, her son, for at his father's death her

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uocabatur. Erat tunc sisillius[a] .vii annorum nec etas ipsius ex-
III. xiv petabat[1 b] ut regnum moderationi illius[c] cessisset. Qua de causa
mater quia consilio & sensu pollebat. inperium[2] totius[d] insu-
læ[3 e] optinuit. Et cum ab hac luce migrasset. sisillius sumpto
diademate gubernaculo[f] potitus est. Post illum kinarius[g]
filius suus regimen[h] optinuit. Cui successit danius frater
eiusdem. Quo defuncto insignitus est moruidus[i] quam[4 j] ex tan-
guesteaia[5 k] concubina genuerat. Hic nimia probitate famo-
sissimus[l] esset. nisi plus nimie crudelitati indulsisset. Nemini
namque[m] parcebat iratus quin eum interficeret.[n] si copiam telorum
repperiret.[6 n] Erat namque pulcher aspectu. & in dandis[o] mu-|
f. 27 rec. neribus profusus. Nec erat[p] tante fortitudinis alter[q] in regno
III. xv qui congressum eius sustentare quiuisset. Tunc[r] temporibus
ipsius applicuit quidam rex[s] morianorum cum magna manu in
northambriam[7 t] & patriam uastare incepit.[u] Cui moruidus
collecta totius potestatis sue iuuentute. obuiam perrexit. & cum
illo preliatus est. Plus ipse solus in preliando proficiebat. quam
maxima pars exercitus cui principabatur. Et ut uictoria potitus
est.[n] non euasit ullus uiuus quin ipsum interficeret. Iubebat.

Bern [1] *expectabat.* [2] *imperium.* [3] *insule.* [4] *quem.* [5] *tangusteaia.* [6] *reperiret.* [7] *northamhimbriam.*

Harlech [a] *Sisillius.* [b] *expetebat.* [c] *eius.* [d] *imperium tocius.* [e] *insule.* [f] omit *regni.* [g] *Kymarius.* [h] *regimem.* [i] *Moruidus.* [j] *quem.* [k] *tangustela.* [l] omit *famosissimus.* [m] omit *Nemini namque.* [n] *reperiret.* [o] insert *cybis &.* [p] insert *alter.* [q] omit *alter.* [r] omit *Tunc.* [s] *rex quidam.* [t] *northanhymbriam.* [u] *cepit.*

son was hardly seven years old, and could not rule the kingdom on account of his age. Therefore because of his mother's wisdom she was kept with him. And after she died Sayssyllt took the crown of the kingdom.

And after him kynvarch, his son, was king. And after him daned, his
f. 69 rec. brother, was king. And after Daned, Morydd, his son became king. He was his son by a concubine, and was a man meriting high praise, except that he was overgiven to cruelty, for when he was enraged he would spare no one, but would kill him if he could. For he was handsome,* liberal in gifts, and there was not in battle a braver man in the kingdom. And in his time came Morien with a mighty host to the gogledd and began to ravage the land. And then Morydd came forth against him with his host. And Morydd slew more of them single-handed than did all his host. And after gaining

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enim unum post alium ante se adduci. ut quemque perimendo crudelitatem suam satiaret.[e] Et cum fatigatus paulisper cessasset.[f] [b] precipiebat ipsos uiuos excoriari. & excoriatos comburi Inter hæc[1] [c] & alia seuicie suæ[2] [d] gesta contigit ei infortunium quoddam quod nequitiam[3] [e] suam deleuit. Aduenerat namque ex partibus[4] hibernici [f] maris inaudite feritatis belua.[g] quæ[5] [h] incolas iuxta maritima sine intermissione deuorabat. Cumque fama aures eius attigisset [i] accessit ipse[6] ad illam & solus cum ea [j] congressus est. At cum omnia tela sua in illa in uanum consumpsisset. accelerauit monstrum illud & apertis faucibus ipsum uelut[7] [k] pisciculum deuorauit.[l] Generauerat[m] ipse quinque[8] *III. xvi* filios quorum primogenitus gorbonianus[9] [n] nomine solium regni suscepit. Nullus ea tempestate [o] iustior erat. aut amantior [p] equi nec qui populum maiori diligentia [q] tractaret. Mos eius continuus [r] erat debitum honorem diis [s] inpendere[10] [t] & rectam plebi. | iusticiam. Per cunctas regni brittannie[11] [u] ciuitates templa deorum *f. 27 vo.* renouabat & plura noua edificabat. Omnibus diebus uite [v]

[1] *hec.* [2] *seuitie sue.* [3] *nequiciam.* [4] *parcibus.* [5] *que.* [6] omit *ipse.* [7] *uelud.* *Bern*
[8] *.v.* [9] *Gorbonianus.* [10] *impendere.* [11] *britannie.*

[a] *saciaret.* [b] *saciasset.* [c] *hec.* [d] *sue.* [e] *nequiciam.* [f] *hybernici.* [g] *Belua.* *Harleck*
[h] *que.* [i] *contigisset.* [j] *sola.* [k] *uelud.* [l] *deuorarauit.* [m] *Generauit.* [n] *Gorbonianus.*
[o] *potestate.* [p] *amantiomr.* [q] *diligencia.* [r] *communis.* [s] insert *primum.* [t] *impendere.*
[u] *Brittannie.* [v] omit *uite.*

the victory, he left not one man of the army alive, but ordered each to be brought before him, one after another, to be killed and then flayed; and he rested for a short while, and then had the others to be flayed alive and afterwards burned. And then there chanced to come a cruelty to destroy his wickedness and his iniquity; for there came out of the sea of *Iwer*ddon a monster whose cruelty could never be satisfied; for wherever he went without rest he devoured man and beast. And when [v]Morydd heard this, he *f. 69 vo.* went out himself to fight it, but it did not prosper him, for when he had used up all his weapons, the monster came upon him and swallowed him alive as a big fish gulps down a little one. And this man had three sons; and one of them was named Gwrviniaw. And he took the crown of the kingdom, and a good man was he; for there was no man who loved justice more than he. And so in all the cities of ynys *Bry*dain he repaired the temples, and built other new ones, and in his time gold and silver abounded; he bade

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eius[1] tanta diuitiarum copia insula affluebat.[a] quantam nulle collaterales prouincie habebant. Quippe colonos[b] ad agriculturam animabat. ipsos ab iniuriis dominorum defendens. Bellatores quippe[c] iuuenes auro & argento ditabat. ita ut nulli opus esset. iniuriam[d] alteri[2] facere. Inter hæc &[e] plurima innate[f] bonitatis ipsius gesta debita naturæ[3][g] soluens. ab hac luce
III. xvii migrauit.[f] & in urbe trinouantum sepultus est. Post illum archgallo frater[h] regio diademate insignitur. qui in[i] omnibus suis actibus germano diuersus extitit. Nobiles namque[j] ubique[4] laborabat deponere. & ignobiles exaltare. Diuitibus quibusque sua auferre. infinitos thesauros acumulans.[5][k] Quem heroes[l] regni[m] diutius ferre recusantes.[f][6] insurrexerunt in illum.[n] & a solio regni[o] deposuerunt. Exinde erexerunt elidurum fratrem suum[p] qui postea propter misericordiam quam in fratre[q] fecit.[f] pius uocatus fuit. Nam cum regnum emenso quinquennio possedisset. forte in galatherio[r] nemore uenans obuiauit fratri suo qui depositus fuerat Ipse uero peragratis quibusque prouincialibus[7][s] regnis auxilium quæsiuerat[8][t] ut amissum honorem

Bern [1] *sue.* [2] *alteri iniuriam.* [3] *nature.* [4] *ubicumque.* [5] *accumulans.* [6] *excusantes.* [7] *prouintialibus.* [8] *quesiuerat.*

Harlech [a] *copia repleuit insulam.* [b] *colones.* [c] *quoque.* [d] *alteri iniuriam.* [e] *hec &;* insert *alia.* [f] omit *innate.* [g] *nature.* [h] omit *frater.* [i] omit *in.* [j] *nanque.* [k] *accumulare.* [l] *Quod heredes.* [m] omit *regni.* [n] *ipsum.* [o] *regio.* [p] *eius;* insert *in regem.* [q] *fratrem.* [r] *colaterio.* [s] *comprouincialibus.* [t] *quesierat.*

the commonalty cultivate the ground, and he kept them from being wronged by any of his Nobles or his Stewards; and also he enriched the young men with gold and silver, so that there was need for none of them to wrong each other. And then WGwrviniaw died and was buried in Llyndain. And after him, *Arth*al, his brother, became king; he was not like his brother in his conduct, for he harassed the hereditary nobles and raised the ignoble to honour, and plundered the wealthy and worthy, forcing them to pay him tribute; then finally the nobles of the kingdom rose against
f. 70 rec. him and dethroned him. And they made Eleidir, his brother, king, and they called him Elidir the great, because of the mercy he showed his brother. For when five years had passed, Elaidir was hunting in the forest [called] the grove of the kladyr and there quite unawares he met Arthal, his brother, who had been banished from the kingdom, and had

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recuperare quiuisset.[1] nec usquam[2] inuenerat. Et cum superuenientem paupertatem diutius ferre non potuisset.[f] reuersus est. in brittanniam[3 a] .x.[b] solummodo militibus sociatus.[c] Petens ergo[4 d] illos quos | dudum habuerat amicos preteribat predictum *f. 28 rec.* nemus[e] cum elidurus frater eius ipsum non[f] speratum aspexit.[5 g] Quo itaque uiso cucurrit[h] elidurus & amplexatus est illum. infinita oscula ingeminans. Et ut diu[6] miseriam[7] ipsius[i] defleuit.[8] duxit illum[j] in ciuitatem secum[9 k] alddud.[10 l] & in thalamo suo occuluit. Exinde[11 m] finxit se infirmum ibi. nuntiosque suos per totum annum[12 n] regnum direxit. qui principibus suis[13 o] subditis suggessissent ut ad se uisitandum uenirent. Cumque cuncti in urbe qua iacebat conuenissent. precepit ut unusquisque thalamum suum[p] singillatim[14] & sine tumultu ingrederetur. Asserebat enim sermonem plurium[q] capiti suo nociturnum.[r] set[15 r] cateruatim superuenissent. Credulus ergo quisque iussioni eius paruit. unusque[s] post alterum domum[t] ingressus est. Singulos itaque ingredientes precipiebat elidurus ministris qui ad hoc parati

[1] *quiuisset recuperare.* [2] *umquam.* [3] *britanniam.* [4] *igitur.* [5] *aspexisset.* [6] *Et cum diu.* [7] *misseriam.* [8] *defleuisset.* [9] omit *secum.* [10] *alclud.* [11] *Exin.* [12] omit *annum.* [13] *sibi.* [14] *singulatim.* [15] *si.* *Bern*

[a] *Brittanniam.* [b] *decem.* [c] *commitatus.* [d] *igitur.* [e] *predictum nemus preteribat.* [f] omit *non.* [g] *asspexit.* [h] *cuccurrit.* [i] *eius.* [j] insert *secum.* [k] omit *secum.* [l] *alclud.* [m] *Post hec.* [n] omit *annum.* [o] *sibi.* [p] omit *thalamum suum.* [q] *quam plurimum.* [r] *si.* [s] *unusquisque.* [t] omit *domum.* *Harlech*

been in many countries seeking aid for the recovery of his kingdom, and procured nothing at all. And unable longer to endure bitter need, he had returned again to ynys Brydain attended by twelve horsemen only, seeking to visit his foster brothers. And when Eleidir saw him, he ran to him, affectionately threw his arms about his neck and kissed him; and Eleidir wept because of his brother's banishment from his kingship and the greatness of his misfortunes. And then Eleidir took his brother to the city of Alklyd, and hid him there in a chamber. Then Eleidir feigned sickness, and sent messengers to every place on the face of ynys Brydain, asking all the princes to come to visit him. And when all had come to kaer Alklyd, he told the porter to admit to him but one *f. 70 vo.* at a time, who should come quietly, lest it should cause his head to pain him to hear too much Noise, which all believed. And then Eleidir

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fuerant [a] capere. ipsisque capita amputare. nisi se iterum archgalloni [1] fratri suo submisissent.[b] Sic faciebat separatim de cunctis. & omnes archalloni [1] [c] mediante timore pacificauit. Confirmato denique federe. duxit elidurus archgallonem [2] eboracum cepitque diadema de capite suo & [d] fratris [e] capiti imposuit.[3] Vnde sortitus est. hoc nomen [f] pius ob [g] predictam pietatem [4] quam [h] in fratrem habuerat. Regnauit igitur archgallo [5] .x. [i] annis. & sese ab incepta nequitia [6] [j] correxit. Vice etenim uersa cepit ignobiles deponere. & generosos exaltare. Quod suum erat unicuique permittere. rectamque [k] iusticiam exercere.[7] Denique superueniente languore [l] defunctus est. & in urbe kaerleir
III. xviii f. 28 vo. sepultus.[m] Erigitur | elidurus iterum [n] in regem. & pristine dignitati restituitur. set dum gorhbonianum [o] primogenitum fratrem in omni bonitate insequæretur [8] [p] duo residui fratres eius collectis [q] undique armatis cum illo preliari [q] ingenius & peredurus [r] aggrediuntur. Potiti uero uictoria ceperunt illum. & infra turrim urbis trinouantum incluserunt inponentes [9] [s] cus-

Bern [1] *arthgalloni.* [2] *arthgallonem.* [3] *inposuit.* [4] *ab predicta pietate.* [5] *arthgallo.* [6] *nequicia.* [7] *facere.* [8] *insequeretur.* [9] *imponentes.*

Harlech [a] *erant;* insert *eos.* [b] *summisissent.* [c] *archgalloni.* [d] omit &. [e] *fratrisque.* [f] *nomen hoc.* [g] *quia.* [h] omit *quam.* [i] *decem.* [j] *nequicia.* [k] *regiamque.* [l] *langorem.* [m] insert *est.* [n] omit *iterum.* [o] *gorbonianum.* [p] *sequeretur.* [q] omit *collectis . . . preliari.* [r] *peridurus;* insert *cum illo preliari.* [s] *imponentes.*

ordered his servants to seize and behead any one who would not the second time swear loyalty to Arthal, as they had done aforetime; and thus, when their oaths were confirmed partly by agreements and partly by threatening, all were peacefully reconciled to his brother. And then Eleidir came to his brother at kaer Efrawc, and he took the crown from his own head and set it on Arthal his brother's. And from that time he was called Eleidir the great. And after this, Arthal was king ten years, correcting his former evil ways, and from that time he honoured the nobles, he checked all ungentleness and left to every one his property, and in every place maintaining truth, and at [ngh]kaelyl was he buried.

And *El*eidir the second time was elevated to be king. And then came his two younger brothers to fight him, Owain and [ff]*p*redyr, with a great host, and got the victory and caught *Ele*idir, and took him to [ll]Llyndain,
f. 71 rec. where they imprisoned him, and divided the kingdom between them. To

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todes. Exinde[1 a] partiti sunt regnum in duo. Cuius pars que ab humbro flumine uersus occidentem uergit in sortem cecidit ingenii. Altera uero cum tota albania pereduro.[2 b] Emensis deinde .vii.[c] annis obiuit[d] ingenius. & totum regnum cessit pereduro.[2 b] Insignitus itaque illud benigne[e] postmodum. & modeste gubernauit ita ut antecessores fratres[f] excellere diceretur. nec de eliduro mentio fieret. Set cum nemini mors parcere nesciat.[3] ipsa repentino cursu ueniens ipsum uite surripuit. Eripitur continuo elidurus carceri[4] & tercio in solio regni sullimatur.[g] Et cum omne tempus suum in bonitate & iusticia expleuisset. ab hac luce migrans[h] exemplum pietatis successoribus suis deseruit.[i] Defuncto itaque eliduro. suscepit gorhboniani[j] filius diadema regni. & auunculum in sensu & prudentia[k] imitatus est. Postposita namque tyrannide[5 l] iustitiam[6 m] atque misericordiam in populum exercebat. nec umquam[n] a tramite rectitudinis deuiauit. Post illum regnauit marganus[o] archgallonis[7] filius. Quin[8 p] etiam exemplo parentum serenatus. gentem brittonum[9 q] cum tranquillitate tractauit. Huic successit enniaunus frater suus. | Qui longe ab illo distans. in tractando populo[r] *f. 29 rec.*

[1] *Exin.* [2] omit *Emensis ... pereduro.* [3] In the Cambridge MS. the letters *ne* have been practically erased. [4] *carcere.* [5] *tyrannide.* [6] *iusticiam.* [7] *arthgallonis.* [8] *Qui.* [9] *britonum.* *Bern*

[a] *Postea uero.* [b] *periduro.* [c] *septem.* [d] *obiit.* [e] omit *benigne.* [f] omit *fratres.* [g] *sublimatur.* [h] *migrauit.* [i] *reliquid.* [j] *gorboniam.* [k] *prudencia.* [l] *tyrannide.* [m] *iusticiam.* [n] *uncquam.* [o] *Marganus.* [p] *Qui.* [q] *Britonum.* [r] *populum.* *Harlech*

Owain fell the part from the hymyr to the west, that is, Lloegr, [ch]kymry, and [ch]kerniw; and [B]Predyr's part was from the hymyr to the gogledd, and all the gogledd.* And at the end of seven years Owain died, and the whole kingdom came into the hand of [B]Predyr; and he ruled the kingdom peacefully, so that neither of his brothers was had in memory. And then Predyr died. And then Eleidir was taken from his prison, and was made king the third time, and after spending all his days peacefully, he died.

And after him, Gorviniaw, his son, was made king, and was like his father in justice and sincerity.

And after him Morgan, the son of Arthal, became king, and governed the kingdom in happy peacefulness. And after him, Einon, his brother, became king; quite unlike his brother's was his way of ruling his people;

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sexto[a] anno regni sui a regia sede depositus est. Postposita namque iustitia[1 b] tyrannidem[2 c] preelegerat.[f] quæ[3 d] illum a solio regni deposuit. In loco eius positus fuit cognatus suus iduallo[4] ingenii filius. Qui euentu enniauni correctus ius atque rectitudinem colebat. Huic successit runo[e] pereduri[f] filius. Cui gerennus[g] eliduri filius. Post illum catellus[5] filius. suus. Post catellum[6 h] millus.[7 i] Post coillum porrex. Post porrecem[j] cherin.[k] Huic nati fuerunt tres filii fulgenius uidelicet atque edadus.[l] necnon & andragius[m] qui omnes alter post alterum regnauerunt.[n] Exinde successit urianus andragii filius. Cui eliud. cui cledaucus[o] cui clotenus.[p] cui gurgintius.[q] cui merianus. cui bledudo.[r] cui cap. cui oenus. cui sisillius cui bledgabred.[s] hic omnes cantares quos retro etas habuerat. & in modulis & in omnibus musicis instrumentis.[8 t] ita ut deus ioculatorum[u] diceretur. Post illum regnauit archmail[9 v] frater suus. post archmail[10 w] eldol.[x] Cui successit redion.[y] cui redechius[z] cui

Bern [1] *iusticia.* [2] *tyrannidem.* [3] *que.* [4] *idualli.* [5] *katellus.* [6] *katellum.* [7] *coillus.* [8] insert *superabat.* [9] *arthmaiol.* [10] *arthmail.*

Harlech [a] *.vi.* [b] *iusticia.* [c] *tyrannidem.* [d] *qui.* [e] *Rimo.* [f] *periduri.* [g] *Geontius.* [h] *illum.* [i] *coillus.* [j] *correctum.* [k] *cherim.* [l] *eldaldus.* [m] *Andragius.* [n] *regnauerant.* [o] *eledancus.* [p] *clatenus.* [q] *gorguincius.* [r] *Bledudo.* [s] *Bledgrabet.* [t] insert *excedebat.* [u] *iocorum.* [v] *archimail.* [w] *hunc.* [x] *eldos.* [y] *rederio.* [z] *rederchius.*

and in his sixth year he was cast out of his kingship because of his cruelty and contempt of truth, and that ruined him. And after him Eidwal, the son of *Owain*, his kinsman, became king; and for fear of the calamity
f. 71 vo. that came upon Einion, he maintained justice among the People. And after him Rvn, son of Predyr, became king. And after him Geraint the son of Eleidir became king. And after him Kadell, son of Geraint, became king. After Kadell, Koel became king. After Koel, Porex became king. After Porex, Cheryn became king. And he had three sons, namely, ffylgniws, and *Ei*dal, and Andras, and these one after another were kings. After them Yrien, son of Andras, became king. After him Elvyrd became king. After him came Klydoc, and after Klydoc came Klydno. After Klyd*n*o came Gorwst. After him came Mairiawn. After him Bla*i*ddyd became king. After him came *Ca*ff. After him came Owain; after *O*wain came Sayssyllt; after him Blegywryd; after him Arthmael, his brother. After him Eidol. After him Rydion, after him Rydderch, after him

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samuil. cui penissel [a] cui. pir cui capoir. Deinde successit [b] digueillus [1 c] capoiri. [2 d] filius [e] uir in omnibus actibus modestus & prudens [3] & qui super omnia rectam iustitiam [4 f] inter populos exercebat. [5] Post illum successit heli filius eius. regnumque lx. [g] annis tractauit. hic tres [6] generauit filios. [h] lud. [i] cabsi- bellaunum. [7 j] nennium. [8 k] Quorum primogenitus. uidelicet lud. [i] regnauit [9 l] post obitum patris | suscepit. Exinde [10] gloriosus edificator urbium existens. renouauit muros urbis trinouantum. & innumerabilibus turribus eam circumcinxit. Precepit etiam ciuibus ut domos [m] & edificia sua [n] in eadem [11] construerent ita ut non esset in longe positis regnis ciuitas. quæ [12 o] pulcriora palatia contineret. Fuit ipse bellicosus homo. & in dandis epulis profusus. Et cum plures ciuitates possideret. hanc pre omnibus amabat. & in [13] illa maiori temporum [14 p] totius [q] anni comanebat. [r] Vnde nominata fuit postmodum kaerlud. & deinde per correptionem [15 s] nominis kaerlundem. [16 t] Succedente quoque tempore per commutationem linguarum dicta fuit lundene. & postea lundres applicantibus [17] alienigenis. qui patriam sibi submitte- *f. 29 vo.*

[1] *cligueillus.* [2] *capairi.* [3] *modestus & prudens in omnibus actibus.* [4] *iusticiam.* [5] *exercebat inter populos.* [6] *.iii.* [7] *Cassibellaunum.* [8] *Nennium.* [9] *regnum.* [10] *Exin.* [11] insert *urbe.* [12] *que.* [13] omit *in.* [14] *tempore.* [15] *corruptionem.* [16] *kaerlundein.* [17] *aplicantibus.* *Bern*

[a] omit *cui penissel.* [b] omit *Deinde successit.* [c] *eliguellus.* [d] omit *capoiri.* [e] insert *suus.* [f] *iusticiam.* [g] *quadraginta.* [h] *filios generauit.* [i] *Lud.* [j] *Cassibellaunum.* [k] *Nennium.* [l] *regnum.* [m] insert *suas.* [n] omit *sua.* [o] *que.* [p] *parte.* [q] *tocius.* [r] *morabatur.* [s] *corruptionem.* [t] *kaerlundein;* insert *Hinc uocatur trinouantum lundonia.* *Harlech*

Sawl-*ben*n-Ychel.* After him came Pirr. After him, Kapeur, after him Manog*an*, his son, a notable man was he, and he loved justice and truth. *f. 72 rec.* After him came Beli Mawr, his son. And he ruled as king in ynys Brydain forty years. And he had four sons, llydd, and llefelys, and [Ch]Kasswallawn, and Myniaw; and llydd was the eldest son. And after his father was dead he took the government of the island. And he strengthened the walls of llvndain, surrounded the city with many farmsteads, and lived in it the greater part of the year. And he had built within the city walls splendid buildings the like of which were not seen in all countries.* And he called it Kaer Lvdd; and in the end it was called Kaer Lvndain. And, after the coming of the alien nation into it, it was called Kaer *Lwn*dwn. And llefelys*

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bant.[a] Defuncto tandem illo. corpus eius[1] reconditum fuit in predicta ciuitate iuxta portam illam quæ[2 b] adhuc de nomine suo[c] porthlud[3 d] brittannice.[4 e] saxonice[f] uero ludesgata[g] nuncupatur. Nati fuerant ei duo filii androgeus[h] & tenuantius[i] Qui cum propter etatem regnum tractare nequiuissent.[i j] cassibellanus[k] frater suus loco illorum[5] sullimatatur.[6 l] Mox ut diademate insignitus fuit. cepit ita largitate atque probitate uigere ut fama illius per remota regna diuulgaretur. Vnde contigit ut[7] totius[m] regni monarchia sibi[n] & non nepotibus cederet. Cassibellanus[o] tamen pietati indulgens. noluit iuuenes expertes |
f. 30 rec. esse regni set eis magnam partem regni[p] distribuit. Vrbem etenim trinouantum cum ducatu cantie largitus est. androgeo.[q] Ducatum uero cornubie.[r] tenuancie[8 r] ipse autem[9] diademate prelatus illis & totius[s] insulæ[10 t] principibus inperabat.[11 u]

Bern [1] omit *eius*. [2] *que*. [3] *portlud*. [4] *britannice*. [5] *eorum*. [6] *sullimatur*. [7] *quod*. [8] *tenuantio*. [9] *uero*. [10] *insule* [11] *imperabat*.

Harlech [a] strictly; *submitterebant*, the scribe having written the ending *bant* after the infinitive, and having omitted to remove the abbreviation mark for *er*. [b] *que*. [c] omit *suo*. [d] *portlud*. [e] *Brittannice*. [f] *Saxonice*. [g] *lundesgete*. [h] *Androgeus*. [i] *tenuacius*. [j] *nequissent*. [k] *Cassibellaunus*. [l] *sublimatur*. [m] *tocius*. [n] *ei*. [o] *Cassibellaunus*. [p] omit *regni* [q] *Androgeo*. [r] *tenuancio*. [s] *& tocius & tocius*. [t] *insule*. [u] *imperabat*.

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loved he most of his brothers, because he was wise and eloquent. And when [L]Llefelys heard that the king of ffra*ink* was dead with no heir saving a daughter, and that the kingdom was in her hand, he counselled his brother to go to the princes of ffraink and ask for the maiden. And then without delay the maid was given him, and the kingdom's crown with her. And he ruled with all good will as long as he lived. And then some time after,
f. 72 vo. three plagues came upon ynys Brydain, the like of which had never been seen. One of these was a tribe named the Koraniait, and such was their knowledge that there was not a word caught by the wind that they did not know, and because of this no harm could [be wrought] upon them. And the second was a shriek that on the eve of every may-day resounded at every hearth-stone throughout all ynys brydain, which went through the hearts of men and animals so powerfully that men paled and lost their strength, and the women their unborn children, Young Men and maidens lost their senses, and animals it struck barren in the forests. The third was, that whatever store was brought together in any of the courts of

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Bern

Harleck

ynys *Br*ydain, nothing came into use, saving what was consumed on the first night. And while the cause of the first of the calamities was plain, as to the two others, there was no one that knew their meaning. Then was llydd greatly worried and puzzled because such plagues vexed ynys Brydain. And so he fitted out ships to go to see Llyfelys, his brother. And when [L]Llefelys knew this, he came to meet him, and put his arms about his neck. And when [L]Llefelys learned his brother's errand, he ordered a long horn to *f. 73 rec.* be made, such as could be talked through, so that the Koraniait should get no wind of their conversation lest they learn their secret plans. So they talked through the tube, but neither could hear from the other anything but bitter words arsey-versey* whereby [L]Llefelys knew that a devil had got into the tube, so he ordered it to be flushed with wine. By virtue of the wine the devil left the tube. And ll*e*felys then gave his brother a certain kind of insects, and told him, when he got home to crush them and put them in cold water, and then calling every one together, both the Bryttaniait and Koraniaid, from the entire kingdom, to sprinkle the whole assembly with that water, which would kill all the [G]Koraniait, and do no injury at all to the Bryttaniait. "The second plague of your kingdom is the island dragon and another dragon of the alien nation seeking to conquer her; and your dragon from rage and anguish gives that shriek which you hear. And this is the way," said he, "in which you may know this. When you go home, measure the island, its length and its breadth, and in the *f. 73 vo.* place where you find the centre of the island, there order a pit to be dug

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Bern

Harlech

in the earth, and let a large cauldron of mead, the very best you can get, be set in the pit, and cover the cauldron with a satin cloth. And do you keep watch over these things yourself, and you will hear the dragons furiously fighting in the air. And when they are worn out with fighting, taking the form of two pigs, they will settle down on the cloth, drink the mead, and pull the cloth with them to the bottom of the cauldron, and there fall asleep. And then wrap the cloth about them, and bury them deep in the earth in the strongest place that can be found in your kingdom; and, whilst they are there, no plague will come to ynys Brydain from anywhere. The third plague is a strong man skilled in magic who carries off your food and drink, by sorcery and illusion making every one to sleep. Therefore, you must yourself watch your chance and defend your stores; and lest sleep overcome you, have a tub of cold water at hand, and when drowsiness
f. 74 rec. comes on, plunge into the tub of water." And then llydd returned home. And he called before him all the men of the kingdom, and then he sprinkled the water on them all. And the Koraniait died at once, but the Bryttaniait suffered no injury. And forthwith after this Llydd ordered the island to be measured in length and breadth, and in Rydychen [Oxford] was the centre found. And there he caused a pit to be dug as Lefelys had said to him. And thereupon he found everything true as his brother had told it to him. And when the pigs fell asleep, llydd wrapped the cloth about them, and at ᵑdinas Emrys in a stone coffer he hid them deep in the earth; and from that time that stormy shriek ceased. And then the king ordered a great

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Bern

Harlech

feast to be laid out, and when it was ready, a tub of cold water to be placed near by, and so he watched the feast. And as he was thus watching for the greater part of the night, he heard the loveliest song in the world lulling him to sleep, but into the water many times he went. And then he saw coming in a large man in armour, with a big basket, into which in his sight *f. 74 vo.* he put all the provision of meat and drink, and started off with it. And then Iludd ordered him to halt, and said to him, "Though thou hast already caused me loss, no longer shalt thou do so, unless thou art stronger than I am." Then the black man halted, and furiously they fought, so that fire was shining from their swords, but at last [l]lydd overcame the plague. And then the black man asked mercy of the king, saying that he would make good all the loss he had caused him up to that time; and that from that day he would be a true man to the king. And the king took his oath from him. Thus Iludd made an end of all three plagues,* and when he died his body was buried in ka*e*r Lyndain near the gate called in [g]kymraec porth Iludd, and in ssaessnec *l*wyd-gad. And he had two sons, Afarwy and [Th]Tenefan; but since they were not of age to rule the kingdom, Kasswallawn, the son of [P]Beli, the king's Uncle was consecrated. And after Kasswallawn was ordained king, he gave himself to love truth and justice, and though he was *f. 75 rec.* king, no advantage did he wish to take of his nephews, but gave them large shares of the realm, giving to Afarwy, [l]llyndain and the Earldom of [g]kent; and to [D]Tenefan, the Earldom of [G]Kerniw; and he himself was king over the whole.

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IV. i Interea contigit ut in romanis repperitur hystoriis[1 a] iulium[b] cesarem subiugata gallia ad litus[c] rutenorum uenisse. Et cum illinc brittanniam[2 d] insulam aspexisset quæsiuit[3 e] a circumstantibus quæ[4 f] patria[5] & quæ[4 f] gens inhabitasset.ſ dum ad occeanum intueretur Cumque nomen regni didicisset & populi.ſ dixit. Hercle[g] ex eadem prosapia[h] nos romani & brittones[6 i] orti sumus quia ex troiana gente processimus.[7] Nobis eneas post destructionem troie primus pater fuit. Illis autem brutus[i] quem siluius[k] ascanii[l] filii enee filius progenuit. Set nisi[m] fallor ualde degenerati sunt. a nobis. nec quid sit militia[n] nouerunt.ſ cum infra occeanum extra orbem[o] commaneant. Leuiter cogendi erunt tributum nobis dare. & continuum[8] obsequium romane dignitati prestare. Prius tamen mandandum est eis.[p] ut inaccessi a romano populo & intacti.ſ uectigal reddant.[9] Vt cetere etiam[q] gentes subiectionem[r] senatui faciant.ſ

Bern [1] *historiis.* [2] *britannie.* [3] *quesiuit.* [4] *que.* [5] insert *esset.* [6] *britones.* [7] *processimus gente.* [8] omitted in its place but filled in by the same hand at the top of the page. [9] insert *et.*

Harlech [a] *reperitur historiis.* [b] *Iulium.* [c] *ritus.* [d] *Brittannicam.* [e] *quesiuit.* [f] *que.* [g] *Hec de.* [h] *progenie.* [i] *britones.* [j] *Brutus.* [k] *Siluius.* [l] *aschanii.* [m] *ui;* probably a scribal blunder intended for *ni* with the abbreviation to indicate *nisi* omitted. [n] *milicia.* [o] *urbem.* [p] omit *eis.* [q] *eciam.* [r] *subiectionesn.*

At this time came Ilkassar, emperor of Ryfain, who was subduing the islands,* and after he had conquered ffraink, and from there caught sight of ynys brydain, he asked what land that was opposite to him. And some told him that it was ynys Brydain. After Ilkassar knew the meaning of the island and the people that inhabited it, he said, "Here is our race, men of Ryfain; for both the men of Ryfain and the Bryttaniait come of the race of [D]Troyaf; for Eneas, after the fall of tr*oyaf*, was ancestor to us and to them. For Bryttys [was] the son of ssylhys, the son of Yssgan*nys*, the son of Eneas, and Bryttys was the first to subdue that island yonder, and I have the
f. 75 vo. opinion* that it will not be hard for me to subject the island yonder to the Senate of Ryfain. For sea-bound they are, and they are without knowledge of war, or bearing of arms, or of fighting. But right it is first to send Envoys, warning them not to withstand the men of Ryfain, but to pay them tribute, as do all the other nations about them, — and that without fighting, lest they should force us to shed their blood who are related to us, and trace

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ne nos ipsorum cognatorum nostrorum sanguinem fundentes antiquam nobilitatem patris nostri. priami offendamus. Quod cum litteris suis cassibellano [a] regi mandauisset. indignatus est cassibellanus.[b] & ei epistolam suam in hec uerba direxit. | Cassibellanus [c] rex brittonum.[1 d] Gaio. iulio[2] cesari. miranda est cesar [e] romani populi cupiditas.[f] quicquid est auri uel argenti sitiens.[g] nequit eos[3 h] infra pericula occeani extra orbem positos pati. quin etiam [i] census nostros appetere presumat. quos hactenus quiete possedimus [j] Nec hoc quidem sufficit nisi postposita libertate subiectionem ei faciamus perpetuam seruitutem subituri.[k] Obprobrium itaque tibi petiuisti [l] cesar. cum communis nobilitatis uena britonibus [m] & romanis [n] ab enea defluat. & eiusdem cognationis [o] una & eadem catena [p] prefulgeat. qua in firma amicitia[4 q] coniungi deberent. Illa a nobis petenda esset non seruitus quia eam potius largiri didicimus quam seruitutis iugum deferre.[r] Libertatem [s] namque in tantum consueuimus habere. quod prorsus ignoramus quid sit seruituti obedire. Quam si ipsi dii conarentur nobis [t] eripere.[f] elaboraremus [u] utique omni nisu resistere. ut eam retineremus.

IV. ii f. 30 vo.

[1] *britonum.* [2] *Iulio.* [3] *nos.* [4] *in firmam amiticiam.* — *Bern*

[a] *cassibellauno.* [b] *cassibellaunus.* [c] *Cassibellaunus.* [d] *Britonum.* [e] omit *cesar.* [f] insert *qui.* [g] *sciciens.* [h] *nequid nos.* [i] omit *etiam.* [j] *possidemus.* [k] *perpetua seruitute subdituri.* [l] *petisti.* [m] *Britonibus.* [n] *Romanis.* [o] *cognacionis.* [p] *cathena.* [q] *in firmam amicicium.* [r] *deflere.* [s] insert *nostram.* [t] *uobis.* [u] *elaboremus.* — *Harlech*

their lineage to our forefather Priaf." And then Ilkassar sent that message and command to [G]Kasswallon to do according to it. But [G]Kasswallawn held that course unworthy, and sent a letter to Ilkassar in these words: "Kasswallawn, king of the Bryttaniait, sends greeting to Ilkassar, emperor of Ryfain, to say to him, — I wonder much at the greed of the men of Ryfain and how greatly they thirst for gold and silver, so that they are unwilling for us who endure hardship in the ocean, to live in a sea-girt isle beyond the limits of the world, without seeking to impose tribute on us for the land which until now we have had freely. A great shame to thee, O Ilkassar, is that which thou hast commanded, because we and you are alike descended from the stock of Eneas Yssgwyddwyn. Therefore thou shouldest not seek to bring us into perpetual captivity. Wherefore know

f. 76 rec.

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Liqueat igitur disposicioni[1] tue cesar nos pro illa & pro regno nostro pugnaturos si ut comminatus es infra insulam brittan-
IV. iii nie[2 a] superuenire inceperis.[b] His[c] itaque uisis gaius iulius[3] cesar nauigium suum[4] parat. prosperosque uentos expectat. ut
X quod cassibelauno[5 d] mandauerat effectibus prosequæretur.[6 e] Optato igitur[f] uento instante. erexit uela sua & in ostium[7] tamensis[g] fluminis cum exercitu suo applicuit. Iamque rates tellurem[h] appulerant ecce cassibelaunus[8 i] cum tota fortitudine sua occurrit & ad dorobellum oppidum[j] ueniens. ibi consilium
f. 31 rec. cum proceribus[k] | regni iniuit qualiter hostes longius arceret.
X Aderat secum bellinus[9 l] princeps miliciæ suæ[10 m] cuius ingenio &[n] consilio totum regnum tractabatur. Aderant &[11 o] duo ne-
X X potes sui androgeus[p] uidelicet dux trinouantum. & tenuantius[q] dux cornubie. Tres quoque reges subditi sibi cridous[r] albaniæ[12 s] & gueithaet[13 t] uenedocie[u] atque brittahel[14 v] demecie.[15 w] Qui ut ceteros in affectum[16] pugnandi induxissent.[17] consilium dederunt. ut recenter castra cesaris adirent. & antequam ciuitatem aliquam siue oppidum cepisset[x] ipsum expellere insisterent. Nam si sese infra munitiones patriæ[z] inmisisset[x][18] dicebant eum difficilius expellendum. cum sciret ubi[y] se & commilitones suos reciperet. Assensum igitur prebentes cuncti pecierunt[19] litora[x]

Bern [1] *dispositioni.* [2] *britannie.* [3] *Gaius Iulius.* [4] omit *suum.* [5] *cassibellano;* insert *litteris.* [6] *prosequereter.* [7] *hostium.* [8] *cassibellaunus.* [9] *belinus.* [10] *militie sue.* [11] *etiam.* [12] *Cridous albanie.* [13] *Gueithaet.* [14] *britahel.* [15] *demetie.* [16] *affectus.* [17] *duxissent.* [18] *patrie misisset.* [19] *petierunt.*

Harleck [a] *Brittannie.* [b] *ceperis.* [c] *Hiis.* [d] *Cassibellauno.* [e] *prosequeretur.* [f] *uero.* [g] *hostium thamensis.* [h] *terram.* [i] *cassibellaunus.* [j] *opidum.* [k] *precibus.* [l] *bellius.* [m] *milicie sue.* [n] omit *ingenio &.* [o] *eciam.* [p] *Androgeus.* [q] *Tenuancius.* [r] *cridionis.* [s] *albanie.* [t] *Guerchat.* [u] *uenedotie.* [v] *Britael.* [w] *demetie.* [x] *patrie.* [y] *uir.*

thou, O Ilkassar, we will fight for our land and liberty shouldest thou cross the sea, as thou promisest, rather than let thy foot touch ynys Brydain." And so after Ilkassar had seen Kasswallawn's letter and his answers, he fitted out a fleet, and came to the mouth of the Temys. And against him came *N*ynniaw, his [Kaswallon's] brother; and Afarwy, his nephew, prince of Llyndain; and [th]trahayant, Earl of Kern*iw;* and [Ch]Kradawc, king of Alban; and Gwerthae*t*, king of Gwent; and Brithael, king of Dyfe*d*. They came without delay to the castle of Doral, at once they came down to the

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quibus[1] iulius cesar[a] castra & tentoria sua erexerat. Ibi dispositis in utraque parte cateruis. dextras cum hostibus[b] commiscuerunt.[c] pila pilis.[2c] ictus ictibus obitientes.[3d] Nec mora hinc & inde corruunt uulnerati.[e] telis infra uitalia receptis. Manat tellus cruore morientium.[e] ac si repentinus abster[4f] absortum mare remouisset.[5g] Concurrentibus ergo aduersis cateruis. optulit casus nennium. & androgeum[h] cum cantuaritis[i] & ciuibus urbis trinouantum quibus presidebant agmini quo[j] imperator aderat. Vt ergo conuenerunt[6] pene dissipata fuit imperatoria cohors[7] brittonibus[8k] densa acie[l] inuadentibus. Et cum mixtim[9m] ictus | ingeminarent dedit casus aditum nen- *f. 31 vo.*
nio. congressum cum iulio faciendi. Irruens ergo in illum nennius ultra modum letatur se posse uel solum ictum tanto uiro ingerere. Quem cesar ut inpetum[10n] in se facientem aspexit. pretenso[o] clipeo[p] excepit. & quantum uires permiserunt. cum nudato ense ipsum super cassidem percussit Erecto iterum[q] gladio uoluit exequi primum ictum ut letiferum uulnus inprimeret.[11] Quod cum nennius calluisset. interposuit clipeum[r] suum. in quo mucro iulii a casside maximis[s] labens uiribus inhesit. ita ut cum irruentibus turmis diutius[t] congredi nequirent.[12] ipsum imperator extrahere non[13] potuisset[14] Nennius ergo gladium cesaris adeptus predicto modo.[u] abiecit suum quem tenuerat & abstracto altero in hostes irruere festinat. Quemcumque cum ipso percu-

[1] *ubi.* [2] *pilis pila.* [3] *obicientes.* [4] *auster.* [5] *reuomuisset.* [6] *uenerunt.* [7] *choors.* *Bern*
[8] *britonibus.* [9] *mixti.* [10] *impetum.* [11] *imprimeret.* [12] insert *nec.* [13] omit *non.* [14] *potuit.*

[a] omit *cesar.* [b] omit *cum hostibus.* [c] insert *&.* [d] *obicientes.* [e] *moriencium.* *Harlech*
[f] *auster.* [g] *remomuisset.* [h] *Androgenum.* [i] *cantuariis.* [j] *quoque.* [k] *Britonibus.*
[l] *acie.* [m] *mixtum.* [n] *impetum.* [o] *protenso.* [p] *clypeo.* [q] *igitur.* [r] *clypeum.*
[s] *maxime.* [t] *diuturi.* [u] *predicto modo adeptus.*

beach, and manfully they fought on all sides. And then Nyni*aw* and Ilcassar *f. 76 vo.*
met, and Ilkassar raised his sword aiming at Nynnyaw's head; but he caught it on his shield, until the sword stuck in it, but he could not pull it out on account of the thickness of the armies pressing upon them. And when Nynyaw had got his sword, no one stood up under his blows. And then the Earl Alibiens met nyniaw and quickly he was slain. Thus the greater part of Ilkassar's army were killed, and he himself was driven in disgraceful flight

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ciebat.[1] uel ei caput[2 a] amputabat. uel ipsum sauciatum preteribat. ita ut nulla spes uiuendi in eo maneret. Illi tandem in hunc modum seuienti obuiauit labienus[3] tribunus. &[b] ab illo intereptus[4 c] est. Denique plurima parte diei emensa. irruentibus brittonibus[5 d] strictis turmis. & audaces impetus facientibus uictoria fauente[e] deo prouenit. & cesar sese infra castra & naues laceratis romanis recepit. Denique[f] nocte illa resociatis ceteris naues suas intrauit. & neptunum[6 g] p[7 h] castris habere letatur. Cumque[i] dissuasissent socii diutius pugnam.[j] acquiescens[8 k]
IV. iv monitionibus eorum reuersus est. in gallia.[9 l] Cassibellanus[m] ergo[10 n] ob receptum triumphum[11] letus grates deo soluens socios
f. 32 rec. uictorie suæ[12 o] conuocauit. & quemque[p] iuxta meritum | probitatis maximis muneribus donauit. Angebatur tamen ex alia parte[q] dolore quia[r] frater suus nennius letaliter uulneratus. in dubio uitæ[13 s] iacebat. Vulnerauerat[t] enim illum[u] iulius in supradicto[v] congressu. & plagam inmedicabilem intulerat. Vnde infra quindecim[14] dies post prelium repente[w] morte ab hac[15] luce migrauit. & in urbe[16] trinouantum iuxta aquilonarem portam sepultus est. Exequias autem ei[x] facientes posuerunt cum illo[y] gladium cesaris[z] in sarcofago[17 a'] quem infra clipeum[b'] suum

Bern [1] *percutiebat.* [2] *capud.* [3] *labenus.* [4] *interemptus.* [5] *britonibus.* [6] *neptunium;* the *i* erased in the Cambridge MS. [7] *pro;* abbreviation omitted in Cambridge MS. [8] *socii ingerere diutius adquiescens.* [9] *galliam.* [10] *Cassibellaunus;* omit *ergo.* [11] *triuphum.* [12] *sue.* [13] *uite.* [14] *xv.* [15] omit *hac.* [16] *urbem.* [17] *sarcophago.*

Harlech [a] *capud.* [b] *set.* [c] *in primo congressu ab eo peremptus est.* [d] *Britonibus.* [e] *faciente.* [f] *Deinde.* [g] *neptiuium.* [h] *pro.* [i] insert *sibi.* [j] *socii prelia diutius ingerere.* [k] *adquiescens.* [l] *galliam.* [m] *Cassibellaunus.* [n] omit *ergo.* [o] *sue.* [p] *quemcumque.* [q] omit *ex alia parte.* [r] *quoniam.* [s] *uite.* [t] *Wulnerauerat.* [u] *eum.* [v] *predicto.* [w] *irruente.* [x] *ergo regias.* [y] omit *cum illo.* [z] insert *cum illo.* [a'] *sarcophago.* [b'] *clypeum.*

to ffraink. The men of ffraink rose against him, and fought against him seeking to throw down his Lordship over them; for they thought his attack on the Bryttaniait had failed, since he had fled away from there, and they heard that Kasswallawn's ships were on the sea in pursuit of him. But he [Caesar] gave an enormous sum of money to the princes of ffraink and freedom to all prisoners held by him, and thus he pacified the people. And after this victory, Kasswallawn and his nobles with him came to Llvndain
f. 77 rec. to pay honour to the gods. On the fifteenth day thereafter, Nynnyaw died of that head-blow, and was buried near the north gate, and the sword

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pugnans retinuerat. Erat nomen gladii crocea mors quia nullus euadebat uiuus qui cum illo uulnerabatur. Terga igitur *IV. v*
uertente[a] iulio. & in gallicano[1] litore apulso.[2b] rebellionem moliuntur[3c] galli dominium iulii abicientens.[4d] Arbitrabantur namque ipsum ita debilitatum.[e] ut nullatenus eis amplius timori esset. Fama etiam apud omnes una[f] & eadem erat[g] totum mare iam nauibus cassibellauni feruere fugam ipsius insecuturi. Vnde audaciores[5h] insistentes. cogitabant quomodo cesarem a finibus suis expellerent. Quod iulius callens noluit anceps bellum cum feroci populo committere. Sed[6i] apertis thesauris[j] quosque nobiliores[k] adire ut singulis munificatis[l] in concordiam reduceret. Plebi libertatem pollicetur. ex hereditatis amissas possessiones seruis autem[m] libertatem. Qui prius leonina[n] feritate fulminans ipsis omnia abstulerat. nunc mitis agnus humili uoce balans omnia posse reddere letatur. Nec ab his[o] blandiciis quieuit. donec pacificatis cunctis amissam potestatem | recuperauit. Nul- *f. 32 vo.*
lus interim dies preteribat[f] quin[p] fugam suam brittonumque[7q] uictoriam[r] recoleret.

Emenso itaque biennio[s] parat iterum occeanum[8] transfre- *IV. vi*
tare & sese in cassibellanum[9t] uindicare. Quod cum cassibellaunus comperisset urbesque ubi[10u] muniuit. diruta menia renouauit armatos milites in singulis portibus[v] statuit. Preterea alueo tamensis[w] fluminis quo ad urbem trino-

[1] *gallacano.* [2] *appulso.* [3] *molliuntur.* [4] *abicientes.* [5] *audatiores.* [6] *Set.* *Bern*
[7] *britonumque.* [8] *occeanum iterum.* [9] *cassibellaunum.* [10] *urbes ubique.*

[a] *uergente.* [b] *applicato.* [c] *molliuntur.* [d] *abicientes.* [e] *esse delitatum.* [f] insert *Harleck*
erat. [g] omit *erat.* [h] *audatiores.* [i] *Set.* [j] *thessauris.* [k] *nobiles.* [l] *singulos*
munificatos. [m] *etiam.* [n] *lenonina.* [o] *hiis.* [p] *quando.* [q] *Britonum.* [r] *uictoriâ.*
[s] *Biennio.* [t] *cassibellauno.* [u] *urbes ubique.* [v] *portubus.* [w] *thamensis.*

with him; and the sword was called the red death, because any one wounded by it died at once. At this time Ilkassar built the castle of [G]odinae,* lest it should happen that the men of ffraink should withstand him the second time. And so, two years later, Ilkassar came a second time to take Revenge upon the Bryttania*it* for his disgrace. And when [G]Kasswallawn

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uantum cesar nauigaturus erat. palis ferreis atque plumbatis. &[a] ad modum humani femoris grossis subtus[b] annem[1c] infixit. ut naues iulii[d] superuenture[e] illiderentur. Collecta[f] etiam tota[g] iuuentute insulæ.[2h] mansionem iuxta maritimam[3i] fecit.[f] aduen-
IV. vii tum hostium expectans. Iulius autem cum omnia quæ[4j] sibi necessaria[k] essent parauisset.[f] cum innumerabili[l] multitudine militum mare ingressus est optatam stragem populo[m] qui eum deuicerat inferre affectans. Quam proculdubio ingessisset si illesa classe tellure potiri quiuisset.[n] Nam cum[o] per tamensem[p] predictam ciuitatem peteret. naues eius prefatis palis infixe subitum[q] passe sunt periculum. Vnde ad milia submergebantur milites. dum ipsas foratas ingrediens fluuius absorberet. Cumque[5] id cesari compertum esset uelis maxima ui retortis ad terram reuertere[r] festinauit. Ipsi[s] quoque qui in tanto periculo superfuerant. uix elaxi[6t] cum cum[7u] illo tellurem scandunt. Hoc igitur cassibellaunus ex ripa qua aderat aspiciens. gaudet propter
f. 33 rec. periculum submersorum set tristatur ob sa- | lutem ceterorum. Dato uero[v] commilitonibus[w] signo.[f] impetum in romanos facit. At romani quamquam periculum in fluuio perpessi fuissent.[f] ut terra potiti sunt uiriliter brittonum[8x] irruptioni[y] restiterunt.[z] Audaciam[9] quoque pro muro habentes stragem non minimam. fecerunt. Set tamen maiorem patiuntur.[f a'] quam inferebant. Periclitati namque in fluuio.[f] pauciores incedebant. Britones

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Bern [1] *amnem.* [2] *insule.* [3] *marinam.* [4] *que.* [5] *Cum.* [6] *elapsi.* [7] omit second *cum.* [8] *britonum.* [9] *audatiam.*

Harlech [a] omit &. [b] *subter.* [c] *amnem.* [d] insert *que.* [e] insert *erant.* [f] *Collecto.* [g] omit *tota.* [h] *uenture insule.* [i] *maritima.* [j] *que.* [k] *necessaria sibi.* [l] *in numera.* [m] *populum.* [n] *potuisset;* insert *Quod ad effectum ducere nequiuit.* [o] *dum.* [p] *thamensem.* [q] *subditum.* [r] *reuerti.* [s] *Illi.* [t] *elapsi.* [u] omit second *cum.* [v] *ergo.* [w] insert *suis.* [x] *Britonum.* [y] *irruptionem.* [z] *restituerunt.* [a'] *paciuntur.*

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heard this, he ordered iron stakes of the thickness of a man's thigh to be planted along the middle of the Temys in the course of Ilkassar's ships, and without warning, they ran upon the stakes, and the ships were pierced, and thousands of his men were drowned. And those who did gain the land were met by Casswallawn and all the might of lloegr, and thus he got the victory. And Ilkassar fled to the strand of Moran, and from there he went

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uero omni hora affluentia suorum augmentati. tricies maiorem numerum habebant. Vnde debilitatis ceteris potiti sunt triumpho. Cesar igitur cum sese deuictum inspexisset. cum paucis ad naues diffugit.ᶠ & tutamen maris ex uoto nauctus[1] ᵃ est. Tempestiuis etiam uentisᵇ instantibus erexit uela sua.ᶠ & marianorum[2] ᶜ litus petiuit. Ingressus est. deinde quandam turrim quam in loco qui odnea uocatur construxerat antequam britanniam ᵈ hac uice adiuisset. Timebat namque gallarum[3] ᵉ fidem & instabilitatem ᶠ ne in sese secundo irruerent sicut supradictum est. eos ᵍ fecisse quando primo britonibus ʰ terga testatus est. ostendisse. Ob hanc ergo causam ⁱ turrim in refugium sibi edificauerat. ut rebelli populo resistere ualuisset ʲ si in illum ut ᵏ predictum est insurrexisset.ˡ Cassibellaunus autem secundo triumphum adeptus *IV. viii*
maximo gaudio fluctuans. edictum fecit.ᶠ ut omnes proceres britannie ᵐ in urbe trinouantum cum uxoribus suis ⁿ conuenirent debitasque solennitates[4] ᵒ patriis diis celebrarent. qui uictoriam sibi de tanto imperatore concesserant. Cumque omnes | post- *f. 33 vo.*
posita mora aduenissent. diuersa sacrificia facientes.ᶠ occasioni[5] ᵖ pecudum indulserunt. Litauerunt ibi .xl.ᵍ milia uaccarum. & c.ʳ milia ouium diuersoorumque[6] genera ˢ uolatilium.ᶠᵗ quæ[7] ᵘ leuiter sub numero non cadebant. Preterea .xxx ᵛ milia siluestrium ferarum cuiusque[8] generis collectarum. Mox cum diis suos ʷ honores perfecissent.ˣ refecerunt se residuis epulis. ut in sacrificiis fieri ʸ solebat. Exin ᶻ quod noctis & diei ᵃ′ restabat

[1] *nactus.* [2] *morianorum.* [3] *gallorum.* [4] *sollempnitates.* [5] *occisioni.* [6] *diuersorumque.* [7] *que.* [8] *cuiuscumque.* *Bern*

ᵃ *nactus.* ᵇ omit *uentis.* ᶜ *morianorum.* ᵈ *Brittanniam.* ᵉ *gallorum.* ᶠ *instabilem.* ᵍ *ipsos.* ʰ *Britonibus.* ⁱ *causam ergo.* ʲ *potuisset.* ᵏ *sicut.* ˡ *predictum est in illum insurrexissent.* ᵐ *Brittannie.* ⁿ omit *suis.* ᵒ *sollempnitates.* ᵖ *occisioni.* ᵍ *quadraginta.* ʳ *centum.* ˢ *diuersorumque generum.* ᵗ *uolatilia.* ᵘ *que.* ᵛ *triginta.* ʷ *suis.* ˣ *fecissent.* ʸ omit *fieri.* ᶻ *Exinde.* ᵃ′ *diei & noctis.* *Harlech*

to the fortress of [G]odinae. And then Kasswallawn went to llyndain, and there made a great feast for his princes and servants. And there he *f. 77 vo.*
sacrificed thirty-two thousand animals of many different kinds; and they passed the nights in all sorts of games. And then a quarrel sprang up between two Young nobles, while they were tilting. One was named Hirlas,

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diuersos ludos componentes preterierunt. Ludentibus ergo ipsis [a] contigit inclitos iuuenes quorum unus nepos regis erat.[b] alter uero androgei [c] ducis pariter in palestra contendere. & ob dubiam uictoriam litigare. Erat nomen nepotis regis hirelgdas.[1 d] alter [e] uero cuelinus.[f] Qui ut mutua conuicia[2] ad inuicem intulissent. arripuit cuelinus[f] gladium nepotique regis caput amputauit. Quo interfecto perturbata est curia & rumor ad cassibellaunum uolauit. Commotus igitur super casu amici sui cassibellaunus[f] androgeo precepit ut cuelinum[g] in curia[h] presentia[i] sua coram[3 i] adduceret. Adductus quoque[k] presto esset. sententiam quam proceres dictarent subire.[f] hirelgdas[1] ne[l] inultus[4] permaneret. si iniuste[m] interfectus fuisset Cumque animum regis dubitasset androgeus.[f] respondit sese suam curiam habere. & in illa diffiniri debere[n] quicquid aliquis in homines suos clamaret. Si igitur rectitudinem de cuelino[o] decreuisset appetere.[f] ipsam in
f. 34 rec. urbe trinouantum[p] ex ueterum tradici- | one[5 q] recepisset. Cassibellaunus itaque cum affectui[r] suo satisfactionem nequisset ingerere.[f] comminatus [s] androgeo.[t] testans se ferro & flamma[u] prouintiam[v] suam populaturum nisi peticioni suae[6] acquiesceret.[7 w] Indignatus ergo androgeus.[f] distulit petitioni[x] eius parere. Indignatus autem cassibellaunus.[f] accelerauit[8] prouintias[9 v] ipsius uastare. At androgeus cotidie per cognatos & notos regem adibat petebatque a cepta ira desisteret.[s] Et cum furorem eius nulla-

Bern [1] *hirelglas.* [2] *conuiita.* [3] *coram presentia sua.* [4] *ne hirelglas inultus inultus permaneret.* [5] *tradilione.* [6] *petitioni sue.* [7] *adquiesceret.* [8] *accellerauit.* [9] *prouincias.*

Harlech [a] *illis.* [b] *erat regis.* [c] *Androgei.* [d] *hirelglas.* [e] *alterius.* [f] *cuelinus.* [g] *cueli-num.* [h] *curiam;* insert *coram.* [i] *presencia.* [k] omit *coram.* [l] *que.* [m] *ne hirelglas inultus.* [n] *iniustus.* [o] *deberi.* [p] *euelino.* [q] omit *in urbe trinouantum.* [r] insert *in urbe trinouantum.* [s] *affectu.* [t] insert *est.* [u] *Androgeo.* [v] *flamina.* [w] *prouinciam.* [x] *sue adquiesceret.* [y] *peticioni.* [z] *prouincias.* [a] *ut desisteret cepte ire.*

the king's nephew, the other was [G]Kyhylyn, nephew to Afarwy. And in the end, Kyhylyn killed Hirlas, the king's nephew. And this caused great excitement in the court; and the king was greatly enraged, and wished to have Afarwy's nephew before the judgment of his court. But Afarwy doubted about that, and said it was in llyndain that satisfaction should be given for every wrong committed within his kingdom and for that he was ready. The king, however, would have nothing but to have

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tenus mitigare quiuisset.[f] diuersas meditationes iniuit.[a] qualiter ipsi[b] resistere ualuisset. Denique[c] ab omni alia spe decidens. auxilium cesaris petere decreuit.[f] litterasque suas ei in hanc direxit sententiam.[d] Gaio iulio[1] cesari. androgeus dux trinouantum.[f] post optatam mortem optandam salutem. Penitet me aduersum te egisse.[f] dum prelia cum rege meo[e] committeres.[f] Si enim me a talibus ausis[2] abstinuissem.[f] deuicisses cassibellaunum cui[g] post triumphum suum tanta irrexit[h] superbia. ut me per quem triumphauit a finibus meis exterminare insistat.[i] Eccine[3][j] ergo merita rependenda essent. Ego illum hereditaui. ipse me exheredare[4] conatur.[j] Ego eum in regno secundo restitui. ipse me destituere affectat. Me etenim contra te pugnante.[f] omnia ista largitus sum. Numina celorum testor. me non promeruisse iram ipsius. nisi promereri dicar. quia non[k] diffugio nepotem meum tradere. quem iniusta nece dampnare adoptat. Quod ut | manifestius discretioni[l] tue liqueat.[f] causam rei aduerte.[5] *f. 34 vo.*
Contigerat nos ob letitiam nostri triumphi[m] sollennitates[6][n] patriis diis[o] celebrasse. In quibuscumque agenda essent. peregissemus[7] sacrificia iuuentus nostra ludos mutuos componebat. Inter ceteros inierunt duo nepotes nostri palestram.[f] exemplo aliorum conducci.[8][p] Cumque meus triumphasset succensus[q] alter iniusta ira.[f] festinauit[r] eum percutere. At ille uitato ictu cepit eum[s] per pugnum quo gladium tenebat.[f] uolens eum eripere. Intea[9][t] cecidit nepos regis super mucronem. confossusque

[1] *Iulio.* [2] omit *ausis.* [3] *Heccine.* [4] *exhereditare.* [5] *auerte*, which is the original reading in the Cambridge MS. [6] *sollempnitates.* [7] *peregimus.* [8] *conducti.* [9] *Interea.* *Bern*

[a] insert *ut meditaretur.* [b] *ei.* [c] *Deinde.* [d] *sententiam.* [e] *nostro.* [f] *committens.* [g] *qui.* [h] *irrepsit.* [i] *conatur.* [j] omit *j* to *j.* [k] omit *non.* [l] *discrecioni.* [m] *leticiam triumphi nostri.* [n] *sollempnitatem.* [o] *dis.* [p] *conducti.* [q] insert *est.* [r] *Festinauitque.* [s] *illum.* [t] *Interea.* *Harleck*

Kyhylyn at his will. But Afarwy would not have this, knowing what the king's will was; and therefore Afarwy left the court, and went to his own territory. When the king saw this, he followed him with a large force, and wholly devastated the country with fire and sword. Then Afarwy sent to the king asking reconciliation, but without getting it. And then Afarwy pon- *f. 78 rec.*
dered by what means he could withstand the king, and in council he was ad-

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morti subiacuit. Id itaque cum regi nostro [a] nuntiatum [b] esset. precepit mihi [1 c] puerum meum.' ut pro homicidio. supplicio [2] plecteretur. Cui cum contradixissem.' uenit cum omni multitudine sua in prouincias meas grauissimam inferens inquietudinem. Vnde misericordiam tuam [d] implorans auxilium a te peto. ut ego per [3] te dignitati meæ [4 e] restituar. & tu per me britannia [f] potiaris.[5] De hoc autem nichil in me [g] hesitaueris.' quia omnis abest proditio. Ea enim conditione mouentur mortales. ut post inimicitias [6 h] amici fiant.' & post fugam ad triumphum accedant. His igitur inspectis consilium habuit iulius [7] a familiaribus suis ne uerbis solummodo ducis inuitatus britanniam [i] adiret. nisi tales dirigentur [j] obsides quibus securius applicare quiuisset. Nec mora misit [k] ei androgeus [l] seruam [8 m] filium suum. & xxx.[n] | nobiles iuuenes ex cognatione sua propinquos. Datis igitur obsidibus securus [o] factus est. cesar reuocatisque [p] cateruis cum instante uento in rutupi portu applicuit.[9] Interea obsidere incipiebat cassibellaunus urbem trinouantum.' & uillas prouinciales uastabat.[q] Set cum aduentum iulii [r] comperisset deseruit obsidionem. & inperatori [10 s] obuiare festinauit.[t] Vt igitur [u] uallem prope doroberniam intrauit. aspexit in eadem romanorum exercitum castra & tentoria ponentem. Adduxerat enim eos androgeus ibidem ut illic occultum impetum urbi ingererent. Nec mora aduertentes romani britones superuenire. armauerunt

iv. ix

f. 35 rec.

Bern [1] The Cambridge MS. is smeared and illegible here; a later scribe has inserted *tradere;* Bern has *liberare.* [2] *suplicio.* [3] *pro.* [4] *mee.* [5] *pociaris.* [6] *inimicicias.* [7] *Julius.* [8] *sceuam.* [9] *applicauit.* [10] *imperatori.*

Harlech [a] omit *nostro.* [b] *nunciatum.* [c] *tradere.* [d] *uestram.* [e] *mee.* [f] *brittannia.* [g] omit *in me.* [h] *inimicicias.* [i] *brittaniam.* [j] *dirigerentur.* [k] omit *misit.* [l] *Androgeus.* [m] *sceua.* [n] *triginta;* insert *obsides.* [o] *securius.* [p] *reuocatis.* [q] *uastare.* [r] *Julii.* [s] *imperatori.* [t] *festinauit obuiare.* [u] insert *in.*

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vised to send to Ilkassar, to ask him to come to ynys Brydain and he would be a help to him, to strengthen him in his coming, and they would subdue ynys Brydain to Ilkassar. And in confirmation of this, Afarwy sent [G]Kynan, his son, and thirty-two hostages of the nobles of ynys Brydain as pledges therefor. And then Ilkassar prepared a fleet and landed at the port of Rwydon, where Afarwy received him respectfully. And the king was then

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sese [a] ocius.[1] militesque suos per cateruas statuerunt. Ex alia uero parte [b] armis induuntur britones. & sese per turmas consociant. At androgeus cum. v.[c] milibus armatorum in proposito[2] [d] nemore ut [e] in auxilio [f] cesaris occurrens.[g] furtiuam & inprouisam irruptionem cassibellauno cum sociisque[3] suis [h] faceret Vt itaque hinc & inde conueneruntur. non distulerunt mortalia tela emittere.[f] nec letiferos ictus ingeminare. Concurrunt aduerse caterue.[f] & multum cruoris diffundunt. Concidunt in utraque parte uulnerati.[f] quemadmodum folia arborum in auctumpno.[4] [i] Illis ergo [j] irruentibus. egreditur androgeus ex nemore & aciem cassibellauni ex qua bellum totum [k] pendebat a tergo inuadit.[5] Mox illa in una[6] parte irruptione romanorum | paulo ante uastata *f. 35 vo.* in alia uero conciuibus suis modo oppresa[7] [l] nequiuit stationem [m] facere. Vnde dissipatis sociis arrepta fuga campum deseruit. Astabat prope quidam mons in cacumine saxosus densum coriletum habens. ad illum confugit cassibellaunus cum sociis [n] suis.[f] postquam in debiliorem partem ceciderat. Summitatem quoque eius nactus sese uiriliter defendebat & insequentes hostes nece afficiebat.[8] Insecuti namque[9] fuerant ipsum romani & androgei [o] caterue.[f] fugientes turmas eius lacerantes.[p] Montem[10] quoque ascentes.[11] [q] crebros impetus faciebant.[f] nec preualebant. Saxa etenim montis eiusdemque [r] cacuminis arduitas britonibus defensio erat. ita ut a summo occurrentes hostibus stragem darent. Obsedit igitur [s] cesar montem illum tota nocte quæ[12] [t] iam su-

[1] *otius.* [2] *prope sito.* [3] *consociisque.* [4] *autumpno.* [5] *euadit.* [6] *illa.* [7] *oppressa.* [8] *affligebat.* [9] *nanque.* [10] *Montes.* [11] *ascendentes.* [12] *que.* *Bern*

[a] *se.* [b] *parte uero.* [c] *quinque.* [d] *prope sito.* [e] omit *ut;* substitute *delituit.* [f] *auxilium.* [g] insert *ut.* [h] *cassibellauno consociisque;* omit *suis.* [i] *autumpno.* [j] *igitur.* [k] *totum bellum.* [l] *oppressa.* [m] *stacionem.* [n] omit *sociis.* [o] *Androgei.* [p] *lacerentes.* [q] *ascendentes.* [r] *eiusdem.* [s] *itaque.* [t] *que.* *Harleck*

besieging Kaer Lvndain; but when [G]Kasswallawn heard of the coming of Ilkassar to ynys Brydain, he prepared to come against him. When he had reached the woody glen near kaer gaint [Canterbury], he saw the tents of the men of Ryfain, and there they fought, and there was great slaughter on both sides; and in the end the Bryttaniaid were driven to a high mountain, which manfully they held, and killed many of the men of Ryfain. And when

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perueniebat omnes exitus precludens. Affectabat namque [1] regem fame cogere quem armis nequiuerat. O admirabile tunc genus britonum.[2] [a] ipsum bis in fugam propulerat [b] qui totum orbem sibi miserat. [c] Cui totus mundus nequiuit [3] resistere. illi etiam fugati [d] resistunt.[f] parati mortem [e] pro patria & libertate [f] subire. Hinc ad laudem illorum cenit [4] [g] Lucanus [5] [h] de cesare. Territa quesitis ostendit terga britannis. Emenso iam die secundo cum non haberet cassibellaunus [6] quid comederet.[i] timuit ne fame caperetur. carcerem cesaris [j] | subiturus. Mandauit itaque [k] androgeo.[l] ut sese cum iulio [m] pacificaret ne dignitas gentis ex qua natus fuerat capto ipso. deleretur. Mandauit etiam [7] ei se [n] non promeruisse ut mortem ipsius optaret.[f] [8] quamuis inquietudinem sibi intulisset. [o] Cumque nuncii [9] hæc [10] retulissent.[f] [p] ait androgeus. Non est diligendus princeps qui in bello est mitis ut agnus. in pace ferus ut leo. Dii celi & terre orat me nunc [q] dominus meus [r] qui prius inperabat. [11] [s] Pacificari ne cesari & subiectionem facere desiderat.[f] cuius pacem prius desiderauerat cesar. Proinde uereri [t] debuerat illum.[f] per quem tantum inperatorem [u] ex regno suo pepulit posse istum [v] iterum restituere.[f] Non eram igitur iniuste tractandus qui tunc illud obsequium nunc istud inferre poteram. Insipientia [w] obducitur itaque [x] qui commilitones quibus triumphat iniuriis uel contumeliis infestat. Non enim est. ullius ducis uictoria set illorum qui pro eo sanguinem suum pugnando diffundunt. Tamen pacificabo illum [y] si potero quia iniuria quam mihi intulit satis uindicata est in illo.[f] cum misericordiam meam imploret.

f. 36 rec.

Bern [1] *nanque.* [2] insert *qui.* [3] *nequit.* [4] *eorum cecinit.* [5] *lucanus.* [6] *cassibellannus.* [7] &. [8] *obtaret.* [9] *nuntii.* [10] *hoc.* [11] *imperabat.*

Harlech [a] insert *qui.* [b] *propulerunt.* [c] *submiserat.* [d] *fatigati.* [e] omit *mortem.* [f] insert *mortem.* [g] *eorum cecinit.* [h] *lucanus.* [i] *commederet.* [j] *cesaris carcerem.* [k] *namque.* [l] *Androgeo.* [m] *Julio.* [n] *eciam ei sese.* [o] *ei fecisset.* [p] *hec retulissent nuncii.* [q] omit *nunc.* [r] insert *nunc.* [s] *imperabat.* [t] *uertere.* [u] *imperatorem.* [v] *ipsum.* [w] *Insipiencia.* [x] omit *itaque.* [y] *eum.*

f. 78 vo. the men of Ryfain saw this, they surrounded the mountain seeking to starve out the Bryttaniait. And then Kasswallawn sent to Afarwy to ask him to make peace between himself and Ilkassar. And Afarwy was amazed, and said, "It is not* strange that he who is in war a lamb, and a lion in

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Post hæc [1 a] festinauit androgeus ad iulium. amplexusque ipsius [2 b] genua eum in hunc [c] allocutus est sermonem. Ecce satis uindicasti te in cassibellaunum. misericordiam in [d] illo habe. Quid amplius agendum est. quam ut subiectionem faciens. uectigal [e] romane dignitati reddat. Cumque nichil respon- | disset cesar ait iterum androgeus. Hoc solum pactus sum tibi [f] cesar. ut [g] sumisso [3] cassibellano [4 h] britanniam [i] tibi subdere laborarem. Ecce uictus est cassibellaunus & brittannia [5] tibi auxilio meo subdita. Quid ultra tibi debio? [6 j] Nolit creator omnium ut dominum meum misericordiam meam orantem rectumque mihi de illata iuria [7 k] offerentem patiar [8 l] umquam [9 m] uel [n] in uinculis uinciri. Non leue est interficere cassibellaunum me uiuente cui meum [10] auxilium [o] meum reddere non erubescam nisi consilio meo parueris. Timore igitur androgei mitigatus iulius. cepit a cassibellano [11 p] concordiam cum uectigali singulis annis reddendo. Erat autem [q] uectigal quod spopondit [r] tria milia librarum argenti. Exinde [12] amici facti sunt [s] ad inuicem iulius & cassibellaunus. mutua don [13 t] alter alteri dederunt. Deinde hie- *IV. x* *f. 36 vo.*

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[1] *hec.* [2] *eius.* [3] *summisso.* [4] *cassibellauno.* [5] *britannia.* [6] *debeo.* [7] *iniuria.* [8] *paciar.* [9] *unquam.* [10] omit *meum* here, retain later. [11] *cassibellauno.* [12] *Exin.* [13] *donaria.* *Bern*

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[a] *hec.* [b] *illius.* [c] insert *modum.* [d] *de.* [e] *uectugal.* [f] *tibi pactus sum.* [g] insert *solum.* [h] *summisso cassibellauno.* [i] *brittanniam.* [j] *debeo.* [k] *iniuria.* [l] *paciar.* [m] *uncquam.* [n] omit *uel.* [o] *auxilium meum.* [p] *cassibellauno.* [q] omit *autem.* [r] *sposponderat.* [s] omit *sunt.* [t] *donaria.* *Harlech*

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peace, should seek reconciliation." And then came Afarwy to Ilkassar and said thus to him: "My Lord," said he, "I promised thee the subjection of ynys Brydain, and here it is for thee by letting Kasswallawn be king under thee, paying tribute to the Senate of Ryfain." And *Ilc*assar refused that proposal. And when *Afar*wy saw this, he said, "My Lord, though I did promise thee the subjection of ynys Brydain, I did not promise the destruction of my own race. For they have not done me wrong so far that they cannot make it right, and I will not consent to have my race destroyed." And so Ilkassar granted peace to [G]Kasswallawn, upon his giving three thousand pounds every year to the senate of Ryfain from ynys Brydain. And when this was confirmed, together they came* to llvndain. And there they dwelt that winter. And the following summer ikassar went toward *f. 79 rec.*

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muit [1 a] cesar in britannia.[b] & [c] redeunte uere [d] in gallias transfretauit. Succedente postmodum tempore collectis undique ex
IV. xi omni genere militibus romam contra ponpeium perrexit. Cumque postmodum .vii.[e] anni preterissent defunctus est. cassibellaunus.[f] & in eboraco [2] sepultus.[f] Cui successit tenuantius [3] dux cornubie. frater androgei.[g] nam androgeus [h] romam cum cesare profectus fuerat. Diademate igitur insignitus tenuantius.[f i] regnum in diligentia [4 j] optinuit.[5] Erat ipse bellicosus uir & qui uigorem iustitie [6 k] colebat. Post illum promotus est. ad culmen
f. 37 rec. regale kimbe- | linus [l] filius suus miles strenuus quem augustus cesar nutrierat & armis decorauerat. Hic in tantam amicitiam [7 m] romanorum inciderat ut cum posset tributum eorum retinere [n] gratis inpendebat.[8 o] In diebus illis natus est. dominus noster iesus.[f 9 p] cuius pretioso [10 q] sanguine redemptum est humanum genus [r] quod ante acto temporum.[11 s] demonum catena [12 t] obliga-
IV. xii batur.[13] Kimbelinus [u] igitur [v] cum britanniam.[w] x.[x] annis gubernasset.[f] genuit duos filios quorum primogenito nomen erat. Guuiderus.[f 14 y] alter [15 z] aruirargus.[a'] Exinde [16 b'] expletis uite

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Bern [1] *hiemauit.* [2] *ebroaco.* [3] *Tenuantius.* [4] *diligencia.* [5] *obtinuit.* [6] *iusticie.* [7] *amiciam.* [8] *impendebat.* [9] insert *christus.* [10] *precioso.* [11] *quod a nunc acto tempore.* [12] *cathena.* [13] *obligatur.* [14] *Gvider.* [15] *alteri.* [16] *Exin.*

Harlech [a] *hyemauit.* [b] *Brittannia.* [c] omit &. [d] *uero.* [e] *septem.* [f] insert *est.* [g] *Androgei.* [h] *Androgeus.* [i] *tenuancius.* [j] *cum diligencia.* [k] *iusticie.* [l] *kymbeius.* [m] *amiciciam.* [n] *detinere.* [o] *impendebat.* [p] insert *christus.* [q] *precioso.* [r] *humanum genus redemptum est.* [s] *tempore.* [t] *cathena.* [u] *Kymbeius.* [v] omit *igitur;* insert *filius tenuancii.* [w] *Brittanniam.* [x] *decem.* [y] *nomen primogeniti Guider.* [z] *Alterius.* [a'] *Auiragus.* [b'] *Deinde.*

Ryfain. And Afarwy went with him to oppose Pontenis, who at this time was ruling the empire there. And Kasswallawn remained in ynys Brydain, reigning Seven years, and after his death he was buried at kaer Efroc. And after Kasswallawn, Tenefan, son of llydd, Earl of Kerniw, became king.

And after him Kynvelyn, his son, who had been brought up by Ilkassar, became king. And beyond measure did [G]Kynvelyn love the men of Ryfain so that he did not dislike to pay the tribute to them. And in his time was born Iessu [G]Krist. And after [g]kynvelyn had reigned twelve years, there were born to him two sons, Gwydr and Gwairydd. And when kynvelyn was dead, Gwydr was made king, and when he was settled in his realm, he with-

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suæ[1 a] diebus. cessit gubernaculum regni[b] guiderio.[2 c] Cum igitur tributum quod appetebant romanis[d] denegaret.[3] superuenit claudius qui in[e] inperium[4 f] subrogatus fuerat. Aderat secum princeps militiæ[5] suæ[6 g] uocabulo[h] suo[7 i] lelius hamo cuius consilio prelia quæ[j] gerenda erant tractabantur. Hic itaque ut in ciuitate portcestria[k] applicuit cepit portas eius muro precludere. exitumque[l] ciuibus abnegare. Cupiebat namque[8] ipsos fame affectos[m] uel deditioni[9] sue[n] compellere. uel sine clementia[o] interire. Diuulgato igitur claudii cesaris aduentu *IV. xiii* collegit guiderius[10 p] omnem armatum regni militem & romanum exercitum petiuit. Commisso deinde prelio.[11] acerrime cepit hostes infestare.[q] plus solus cum gladio suo quam maior pars exercitus sui perimens. Iam claudius naues petebat iam romani pene dissipabantur.[r] cum[12] uersutus hamo[13] proiectis illis[r] quibus indutus fuerat. arma | britannica[s] cepit & quasi britannus[t] *f. 37 vo.* contra suos pugnabat. Deinde hortabatur[u] britones[v] ad insequendum. festinatum triumphum promittens. Didicerat enim[w] linguam eorum & mores.[x] quia inter britannicos[z] obsides. rome nutritus fuerat. Exinde[14] accessit ille[v] ille[15] paulatim iuxta

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[1] *sue.* [2] *Guiderio.* [3] *denegaret romanis.* [4] *imperium.* [5] *milicie.* [6] *sue.* [7] This is faded and may have been rubbed out; it is present in the Bern. [8] *nanque.* [9] *dedicioni.* [10] *Guiderius.* [11] *bello.* [12] *Tum.* [13] *haimo.* [14] *Exin.* [15] omit second *ille.* *Bern*

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[a] *sue.* [b] *regni gubernaculum.* [c] *Guiderio.* [d] *romani.* [e] omit *in.* [f] *imperium.* [g] *milicie sue.* [h] *nomine.* [i] omit *suo.* [j] *que.* [k] *porcestria.* [l] *exitum.* [m] *afflictos.* [n] *dedicioni;* omit *sue.* [o] *clemencia.* [p] *Guiderius.* [q] *inuadere.* [r] *armis.* [s] *Brittannica.* [t] *Brittannus.* [u] *hortatur.* [v] *Britones.* [w] *namque.* [x] *Brittannicos.* [v] *iste.* [z] omit second *ille.* *Harlech*

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held the tribute to the men of Ryfain, and when the men of Ryfain knew this, they sent Eloywkassar and a great army with him to ynys Brydain; and when the Emperor had landed, he attacked kaerberis and fought against the fort, but when he did not succeed he closed up the gates of the town *f. 79 vo.* with a stone wall, to shut up the multitude within until they died of famine, and when [W]Gwydr heard it, he prepared a great host, went to [G]Kaerberis, and promptly fell upon the men of Ryfain and more of them were killed by [W]Gwydr himself than by the greater part of his host together. And then came Hamon, the deceiver, who from the hostages of the Bryttaniait at Ryfain had learned the language. He threw aside his own arms and took

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regem [e] adituque inuento ipsum [1] nichil tale timentem mucrone suffocauit. Elapsus deinde inter hostium cuneos sese cum nefanda uictoria inter suos recepit. At aruigarus [2 b] eiusdem frater ut ipsum peremptum inspexit confestim deposuit arma sua[f] armisque regis indutus. hinc & inde britones [c] ad instandum animabat [3 d] quasi ipse [e] guiderius [4 f] fuisset. [g] Qui nescientes casum [h] regis monitu eius resistebant. pugnabant stragem non minimam inferebant. Ad ultimum dilabuntur [i] romani in duas partes campum turpiter deserentes Cesar namque [5] in una parte tutamina nauium petebat[f] hamo [6 j] autem nemora. quia non habebat spacium naues adeundi. Aruiragus [7 k] igitur [l] arbitrans claudium cum eo [m] diffugere. festinauit sequi eum nec cessauit [n] de loco in locum fugare. [o] donec occupauit illos [p] super ripam maris quæ [q] nunc de nomine hamonis eiusdem. [r] hantonia [s] nunccupatur. [8 t] Erat enim [u] portus applicantibus congruus[f] [v] nauesque mercatorum appulse. Quas igitur cum ingredi affectasset hamo superuenit [w] aruiragus[f] [9 x] ipsumque subito interfecit. Portus autem
f. 38 rec. ille ab illo tempore usque in hodiernum | diem portus hamonis
IV. xiv appellatur. Interea claudius resociatis sociis [y] oppugnabat pre-

Bern [1] *illum.* [2] *uirargus.* [3] *perstandum inanimabat.* [4] *Guiderius.* [5] *nanque.* [6] *haymo.* [7] *Aruirargus.* [8] *nuncupatur.* [9] *aruirargus superuenit.*

Harlech [a] *iuxta regem paulatim.* [b] *Auiragus.* [c] *Britones.* [d] *prestandum inanimabat.* [e] insert *esset.* [f] *Guiderius.* [g] omit *fuisset.* [h] *casus.* [i] *dilabantur.* [j] *Hamo.* [k] *Auiragus.* [l] insert *quo.* [m] omit *cum eo.* [n] insert *sequi.* [o] omit *fugare.* [p] *illum.* [q] *que.* [r] *eiusdem hamonis.* [s] *hamtona.* [t] *nuncupatur.* [u] *ibi.* [v] *congruis.* [w] insert *ex inprouiso.* [x] *auiragus.* [y] *turmis.*

the arms of one of the Bryttaniait who had been killed, and came among the armies, and when he got the chance, killed the king, and from there slunk in and out until he reached his own army, and he threw away that armour and put on his own arms. And when [W]Gwairydd learned of his brother's death, he took off his own harness and put on his brother's royal armour, and incited his men to fight manfully, and to put the men of Ryfain to flight. And then Hamon and the larger part of the army with him fled to the place called porth Hamon, or [b]porth Hamwnt it is called to this hour;* and there
f. 80 rec. Hamon was killed. And then Gwairydd went on to the place, where Glywkasser was fighting against kaer beris. And when the company within the

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dictam ciuitatem quæ[a] tunc kaerperis.[1] nunc autem porcestria[2] uocatur. Nec mora mc̃nibus[b] eius dirutis[c] ciuibusque subactis insecutus est. aruiragum[3][d] iam in[e] guintoniam[4][f] ingressum. Exinde[g] obsedit ciuitatem diuersisque machinationibus illam opprimere nitebatur. Aruiragus[h] uero[i] ut sese obsessum inspexit. consociauit caterue̊s suas apertisque portis ad preliandum egressus est. Cumque irruptionem facere affectasset direxit claudius nuncios[j] ad ipsum mandans ut concordiam inirent.[k] Quippe timebat regis audaciam.[l] britonumque[m] fortitudinem preferebat.[n] ipsos[o] sensu & sapientia subiugare[p] quam dubium certamen inire. Mandabat igitur[q] ei[6] concordiam. daturumque promittebat sese filiam suam. si tantum modo regnum britannie[r] sub romana potestate recognouisset.[s] Post positis ergo debelationibus[6][t] suaserunt maiores natu aruirago[u] promissionibus claudii acquiescere.[7][v] Dicebant autem non esse ei[8] dedecori subditum fuisse romanis cum totius[w] orbis inperio[9] potirentur.[x] His[y] uero & pluribus aliis mitigatus[z] paruit consiliis[a'] suorum & subiectionem cesari fecit. Mox claudius misit[b'] propter filiam suam romam.[c'] & auxilio aruiragi uersus[10] orcadas[d'] & prouintiales[11][e']

[1] *kaerpetis.* [2] *portcestria.* [3] *Aruirargum.* [4] *Guintoniam.* [5] *ei igitur.* [6] *debellationibus.* [7] *adquiescere.* [8] *ei esse.* [9] *imperio.* [10] *usus.* [11] *prouinciales.* *Bern*

[a] *que.* [b] *menia.* [c] *diruit.* [d] *auiragum.* [e] omit *in.* [f] *Wintoniam.* [g] *Postmodum.* [h] *Auiragus.* [i] *ergo.* [j] insert *suos.* [k] *iniret.* [l] *audatiam.* [m] *Britonumque.* [n] insert *que.* [o] *ipsum.* [p] *sapiencia subiungere.* [q] *Mandat ergo.* [r] *Brittannie.* [s] *recognosceret.* [t] *debellacionibus.* [u] *Auirago.* [v] *adquiescere.* [w] *tocius.* [x] *potirentur imperio.* [y] *Hiis.* [z] *mitigacionibus.* [a'] *consulum.* [b'] omit *misit.* [c'] insert *misit.* [d'] *Auxilio auiragi usus orcades.* [e'] *comprouinciales.* *Harleck*

fortress perceived the Bryttaniait coming to help them, they came out from the fortress to fight the men of Ryfain. And on both sides many were killed, but yet because of the number of the men of Ryfain, they won the fort, and drove [W]Gwairydd in flight to kaer wynt, and hither came Gloywkassar and his army, and wished to shut up the Bryttaniait until they should die of famine; and when [W]Gwairydd learned this, he arrayed his host and came out. When Gloywkassar saw this, he sent to the Bryttaniait to ask for peace, and forthwith peace was made between them; and to confirm the peace, Gloyw kassar gave his daughter to [W]Gwairy*dd* to wife. And after this, with the power of the Bryttaniaid, the men of Ryfain sub-

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IV. xv insulas potestati sue submisit. Emensa hyeme[1] deinde[a] re-
f. 38 vo. dierunt legati cum filia | eamque patri tradiderunt. Erat autem[b] nomen puellæ[2] genuissa. eratque[d] tanta pulchritudo[e] ut aspicientes in ammirationem[3] duceret. Et ut maritali lege copulata fuit. tanto feruore amoris succendit regem ita ut ipsam solam cunctis rebus preferret. Vnde locum quo ei primo[4] nupserat. celebrem esse. uolens. suggessit claudio ut edificarent[g] in illo ciuitatem. quæ[5] memoriam tantarum nuptiarum[i] in futura tempora preberet. Paruit ergo claudius. precepitque fieri urbem[6] quæ[5] de nomine eius.[l] kaerglou.[m] id est gloucestria[n] nuncupata usque in hodiernum diem in confinio kambrie.[7] & loegrie super ripam sabrine sita est. Quidam uero dicunt ipsam traxisse nomen a gloio[p] duce quem claudius in illa[q] generauerat. cui post aruiragum[r] gubernaculum kambrit[8] ducatus cessit. Edificata igitur[t] urbe ac pacificata insula rediit claudius romam regimenque[u] prouincialium[9] insularum aruirago[w] permisit. Eodem tempore petrus apostolus antiocenam[10] ecclesiam fundauit. Romamque deinde ueniens tenuit ibidem episcopatum.[y] misitque marcum euuanglistam[11] in egyptum[12] predicare euangelium[13]
IV. xvi quod scripserat Et aruiragus[c'] ut claudius recessit[d'] cepit

Bern [1] *hyeme.* [2] *puelle.* [3] *admirationem.* [4] *primo ei.* [5] *que.* [6] *ciuitatem.* [7] *kainbrie.* [8] *kambriti.* [9] *prouinciarum.* [10] *antiochenam.* [11] *Marcum euuangelistam.* [12] *egyptum.* [13] *ewangelium.*

Harlech [a] *deinde hyeme.* [b] omit *autem.* [c] *puelle.* [d] insert *ei.* [e] *pulcritudo.* [f] *admiracionem.* [g] *edificaret.* [h] *qui.* [i] *tantarum nuptiarum memoriam.* [l] *urbem fieri.* [k] *que.* [l] omit *eius.* [m] *Kaerglau.* [n] *gloecestria.* [o] *demetie.* [p] *gloro.* [q] *ipsa.* [r] *Auiragum.* [s] *demetum.* [t] *ergo.* [u] *regnum.* [v] *comprouincialium.* [w] *auirago.* [x] *antiochenam.* [y] *apostolatum.* [z] *ewangelistam.* [a'] *egyptum.* [b'] *ewangelium.* [c'] *Auiragus.* [d'] *discessit.*

dued the Ork islands, and the other islands about them. And when winter slipped away, the maid, matchless in her form and fairness, came from Ryf*ain*, and Gwairydd married her. And then Gloyw kassar built a city which he called kaer-loyw [Gloucester] on the bank of Hafren, on the
f. 80 vo. boundary between kymrv and lloegr. And at this time Krist suffered at [ngh]karissalem; and pedr the Apostle set up his chair at anossia;* and from there he came to Ryfain, to live and exercise Bishop right; and he sent [v]Mark, Teacher and Evangelist, to Eifft [Egypt] to preach the Evangel which he himself had written. And when Gloyw-kassar had opportunity,

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sensum & probitatem habere cepitque ciuitates & oppida [a] reedificare. populumque regni tanta [b] iusticia coercere [1 c] ita ut longe positis gentibus & [d] regibus timori esset. Hinc autem subse- | quente superbia despexit romanam [e] potestatem [f] nec senatui sub- *f. 39 rec.*
iectionem uoluit tenere diucius. [g] set sibimet omnia uendicauit. [h] Quo audito missus uespasianus [2 i] a claudio ut aruiragum [j] pacificaret. uel romanæ [3 k] subiectioni restitueret. Cum igitur in rutupi [l] portu applicare [m] incepisset [n] uespasianus. [4 i] obuiauit ei aruiragus [o] prohibuitque ne portum ingrederetur. [p] Tantam namque [5] multitudinem armatorum conduxerat. [q] ita ut romanis terrori esset nec ob eius irruptionem terram adire auderent Retraxit itaque se uespasianus [4 i] a portu illo. retortisque [r] uelis in totonesio litore [6 s] applicuit. Nactus deinde tellurem kaerpenhuelgoit [t] que exonia uocatur. [t] obsessurus eandem adiuit. Cumque eam. [u] vii. [tem 7 v] diebus obsedisset [w] superuenit aruiragus [x] cum exercitu suo. preliumque commisit. Die illa [y] laceratus fuit ualde [z] utrorumque exercitus. set neuter potitus est uictoria. Mane autem facto. mediante genuissa regina. [t] concordes effecti sunt duces commilitonesque suos in hyberniam legauerunt. [8]

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[1] *coherccre.* [2] *missus est Vespasianus.* [3] *romane.* [4] *Vespasianus.* [5] *nanque.* *Bern*
[6] *littore.* [7] *septem.* [8] *hiberniam ligauerunt.*

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[a] *opida.* [b] *tanta regni.* [c] *cohercere.* [d] omit *gentibus &.* [e] *romanos.* [f] omit *potes-* *Harlech*
tatem. [g] *tenere diutius noluit.* [h] *indicauit.* [i] *uaspasianus.* [j] *Auiragum;* insert *uel.*
[k] *romane.* [l] *ruthupi.* [m] *applicuisset.* [n] omit *incepisset.* [o] *illi Auiragus.* [p] *ingredetur.*
[q] *habebat.* [r] *retorsisque.* [s] *littore.* [t] *Karpenhuelgoid.* [u] insert *obsedisset.* [v] *septem.*
[w] omit *obsedisset.* [x] *Auiragus.* [y] insert *ualde.* [z] omit *ualde.*

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he went to Ryfain, and left the governance of ynys Brydain to [w]Gwairydd. And after he left the island Gwairydd took upon himself rashness, and pride, and withheld the tribute to the men of *Ry*fain. And when [o]gloywkassar* heard this, he sent Vassbassian with a great army to take tribute from ynys Brydain. And when his fleet was fully ready, they made landfall at the port of rydipi. And Gwairydd and his army came against them and forbade him the land. They therefore trimmed their sails and landed at the port of Totnais, and after landing they invested kaer benhwylgoed and fought against it. And when the king learned this, he prepared his army and reached there at the end of the seventh day, and attacked the men of

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Hyeme[1] uero emensa rediuit uespasianus[2 a] romam. & aruiragus[b] in brittannia[3 c] remansit. Deinde in senectutem[d] uergens cepit senatum diligere regnumque suum cum pace & tranquillitate tractare. leges etiam[e] ueteris traditionis confirmare. nouas uero[4] inuenire. maxima donaria cuique probo[5] impertiens.[6 f] Fama
f. 39 vo. igitur per totam europam diuulgata | diligebant eum romani & timebant. ita ut pre omnibus regibus sermo de eo apud romam fieret. Unde iuuenalis cæcum[7 g] quendam neroni dixisse in libro suo commemorat. cum de capto[h] rumbo loqueretur. Inquiens[i] regem aliquem capies. aut de themone britanno[j] decidet aruiragus.[k] Nullus in bello ferocior[k] illo fuit. nullus in pace mitior.[l] nullus iocosior. nullus in dandis muneribus profusior. At ut dies uitæ suæ[8 m] expleuit sepultus est claudiocestriæ[9 n] in quodam templo quod in honorem[o] claudii dicauerat.[p]

IV. xvii Successit ei in regnum[q] filius suus[r] Marius[s] uir miræ[t] prudentiæ.[10 u] & sapientiæ.[11 v] Regnante postmodum illo quidam rex pictorum uocabulo sodric.[12 w] ex[x] sithia[13 y] cum magna classe ueniens applicuit in aquilonarem partem brittannie[14] que albania uocatur.[z] cepitque[a'] prouintiam[15 b'] suam[c']

Bern [1] *Hieme.* [2] *Vespasianus.* [3] *britannia.* [4] *etiam.* [5] *probo cuique.* [6] *imperciens.* [7] *cecum.* [8] *uite sue.* [9] *claudiocestrie.* [10] *mire prudentie.* [11] *sapiencie.* [12] *Sodric.* [13] *sicia.* [14] *britannie.* [15] *prouinciam.*

Harlech [a] *rediit uaspasianus.* [b] *Auiragus.* [c] *Brittannia.* [d] *senectute.* [e] omit *etiam.* [f] *imperciens.* [g] *cecum.* [h] *apto.* [i] *inquirens.* [j] *Brittannico.* [k] *forcior.* [l] *micior.* [m] *uite sue.* [n] *claudiocestrie.* [o] *honore.* [p] *dedicauerat.* [q] omit *in regnum.* [r] insert *in regnum.* [s] *marius.* [t] *mire.* [u] *prudencie.* [v] *sapiencie.* [w] *roduc.* [x] *de.* [y] *scithicia.* [z] *appellatur.* [a'] insert *illam.* [b'] *prouinciam.* [c'] omit *suam.*

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f. 81 rec. Ryfain, and fought with them, and that day many on both sides were killed. And on the next day so great was the number of the men of Ryfain that it was hard to overcome them. And then came the Queen to make peace between them. And together they came to llyndain. And from there they sent combined forces to Iwerddon to subdue it. And when the winter was over, Vassbassian came to Ryfain, and by oaths he pledged [W]Gwairydd in ynys Brydain to the end of his life. And at his death, he was buried in the monastery of kaer-loyw which was built by Gloyw-kassar. And after Gwairydd, Mayric, his son, became king; and in his time came Rodric, the

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uastare Collecto igitur populo suo petiuit illum marius. illatisque preliis. ipsum interfecit. & uictoria potitus est. Deinde erexit lapidem in signum [a] triumphi sui in prouincia que postea de nomine suo wistmaria [b] dicta fuit. in quo inscriptus titulus [c] memoriam eius usque in presentem [1 d] diem testatur Perempto uero sodric' [2 e] deuicto [f] populo qui cum eo uenerant dedit [2 g] partem albanie ad inhabitandum que catanensia [h] nuncupatur. Erat autem deserta. nullo [i] habitatore multis diebus [j] inculta. Cumque | uxores non habentes. [k] filias & cognatas britonum [l] *f. 40 rec.* ab illis petiuissent.' [m] dedignati sunt britones [n] huiusmodi populo natas suas maritare. At illi ut passi fuerunt [o] repulsam.' tranfretauerunt [3 p] in hyberniam. duxeruntque ex patria illa mulieres. ex quibus creata sobole multitudinem suam [q] auxerunt; [r] Set hec hactenus.' cum non proposuerim [s] tractare hystoriam [4 t] eorum siue scotorum [u] qui ex illis & hybernensibus [5 v] originem duxerunt; At marius [6] cum totam insulam summa pace composuisset.' cepit amorem cum populo romano [w] habere. tributa soluens que exigebantur ab eo. [x] Exemplo etiam patris incitatus iusticiam & [y] pacem & [7] leges & honesta omnia [z] per regnum suum [a']

[1] *hodiernum.* [2] insert *dedit;* omit later. [3] *transfretauerunt.* [4] *historiam.* [5] *hibernensibus.* [6] *Marius.* [7] omit &. *Bern*

[a] omit *in signum.* [b] *Westimaria.* [c] *scriptis titulis.* [d] *hodierum.* [e] *roduc.* [f] insert *dedit.* [g] omit *dedit.* [h] *cathanesia.* [i] omit *nullo.* [j] *temporibus.* [k] *haberent.* [l] *Britonum.* [m] *petebant.* [n] *Britones.* [o] *sunt.* [p] *transfretauerunt.* [q] *suam multitudinem.* [r] *hauserunt.* [s] *proposuerunt.* [t] *historiam.* [u] *scottorum.* [v] *hyberniensibus.* [w] *romano populo.* [x] *illo.* [y] omit &. [z] *omnia honesta.* [a'] *regna sua.* *Harlech*

king of the ffichdiait from sseithia with a great army to Alban, and subdued it. And when the king knew this, he came against him, and fought him and put him to flight, and in that flight Rodric was slain. And then Meyric gave part of Alban to those people to dwell in. And when they had settled that place, the ffichdiaid found no mates. And so they came to the Bryttaniaid and asked their daughters as their wives, — but it seemed *f. 81 vo.* unworthy to the bryttaniait to give them to them. And so the ffichdiait went as far as iwerddon and took Gwyddylessav [Goidelic women] as wives, and from them have the Yssgottiait descended. And when [v]Mayric had quieted this island, of his free accord and friendship he granted peace to the men of Ryfain. And he put new laws in all parts of his dominions, and

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IV. xviii exercebat. Cum autem cursum uite sue expleuisset.[f] [a] filius suus [1 b] coilus [c] regni gubernaculum suscepit; Hic [d] ab infantia.[2 e] rome nutritus erat.[3 f] moresque romanorum edoctus in maximam ipsorum amicitiam [g] inciderat; Set & ipse tributum eis reddebat.[f] aduersari [h] diffugiens; Quippe uidebat totum mundum subditum illis. eorumque potestatem quosque pagos [i] quamque prouintiam [4 i] superare. Soluens igitur [k] quod exigebatur.[f] in pace quod possidebat optinuit.[5] Nullus in regibus maiorem reuerentiam nobilibus [l] regni prestabat.[6] quia ipsos aut in pace manere permittebat aut assiduis donariis [m] munerabat.

IV. xix Natus est ei [n] unicus filius.[f] cui nomen erat [o] lucius.[7] Qui [8 p] defuncto patre cum [8 q] regni diademate insignitus fuisset.[f] omnes actus bonitatis illius imitabatur. ita ut ipse coilus [r] a cunctis [9] censeretur. Exitum quoque [s] suum
f. 40 vo. preferre uolens principio.[f] epistolas suas eleutherio [10] | pape direxit. petens ut ab eo christianitatem reciperet. Serenauerunt [t] enim [u] mentem eius miracula que [11] tyrones christi per diuersas nationes faciebant. Vnde in amorem uere [v] fidei anhelans.[f] [w] pie peticionis effectum consecutus est. Siquidem beatus pontifex comperta eius deuotione duos religiosos doctores Faganum [12 x] &

Bern [1] insert *uocabulo.* [2] *infancia.* [3] *fuerat.* [4] *prouinciam.* [5] *obtinuit.* [6] *prerabat.* [7] *filius nomine lucius.* [8] insert *cum;* omit later. [9] *ab omnibus.* [10] *eleutero.* [11] *quæ.* [12] *faganum.*

Harlech [a] *complesset.* [b] insert *uocabulo.* [c] *coillus.* [d] omit *Hic.* [e] *infancia.* [f] *fuerat.* [g] *amiciciam ipsorum.* [h] *reddebat eis aduersa.* [i] *paganos.* [j] *prouinciam.* [k] insert *tributum.* [l] *reuerenciam nobilioribus.* [m] *muneribus.* [n] omit *ei.* [o] omit *erat.* [p] insert *cum.* [q] omit *cum.* [r] *coillus.* [s] *Exitumque.* [t] *Serenauerant.* [u] *autem.* [v] omit *uere.* [w] *anelans.* [x] *fagarium.*

ruled in a quiet peace as long as he lived. And after Mayric died, Koel, his son, became king. He had been reared at Ryfain. And so greatly did he love the men of Ryfain that though he could have withheld the tribute, he did not withhold it while he lived. And after Koel, lles, his son, became king. And he was of like disposition with his father; and when he was well established in his kingdom, he sent to Elenteriws, the bishop of Ryfain, to beg him that he would send to ynys Brydain teachers of the christian faith, so that by their instruction and preaching he might believe in [G]Krist. And he sent him two teachers, Dyfan and ffagan,* and they preached to him of Krist's

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Duuianum[1 a] misit ad illum; qui uerbum[b] dei incarnatum[c] predicantes abluerunt ipsum[d] baptismate[2] sacro & ad christum conuerterunt. Nec mora[3 e] undique nationum[f] populi exemplum regis insecuntur.[f 4] eodemque lauacro mundati. cælesti[5 g] regno restituuntur.[h] Beati igitur doctores cum per totam fere insulam paganismum deleuissent.[i] templa quæ[6 i] in honore plurimorum[j] deorum fundata fuerant[k] uni deo eiusque[l] sanctis dedicauerunt. diuersisque cetibus ordinatorum repleuerunt. Fuerunt tunc in brittannia[7] .xxviii.[m] flamines set[n] & .iii.[8 o] archiflamines[9] quorum potestati ceteri iudices morum atque phanatici submittebantur. Hos etiam ex precepto apostolici ydolatriam[p] eripuerunt. & ubi erant flamines[10 q] episcopos.[r] ubi archiflamines.[9 s] archiepiscopos[t] posuerunt. Sedes autem archiflaminum[11] in tribus nobilibus[12 u] ciuitatibus fuerant.[v] Lundoniis uidelicet atque eboraci.[w] & in urbe legionum. quæ[6 i] super oscam fluuium in glamorgantia[13 x] ueteres muri & edificia sitam[y] fuisse testantur; His[z] igitur[a'] tribus euacuata supersticione .xxviii.[b'] episcopi[14] subduntur. Diuisis ergo[15 c'] parrochiis[d'] subiacuit metropolitano eboracensi | deira & albania[e'] quas magnum flumen humbri a leogria[16] secernit.[f'] Lundoniensi[17 g'] metropolitano submissa est *f. 41 rec.*

[1] *duuianum.* [2] *babtismate.* [3] insert *concurrentes.* [4] *insequntur.* [5] *celesti.* [6] *que.* [7] *britannia.* [8] *tres.* [9] *archiflammes.* [10] *flammes.* [11] *archiflammum.* [12] *nobilibus tribus.* [13] *glamorgancia.* [14] *episcopis.* [15] *quoque.* [16] *loegria.* [17] *Londoniensi.* *Bern*

[a] *duuianum.* [b] *uerbi.* [c] *incarnacionem.* [d] *illum.* [e] insert *concurrentes.* [f] *nacionum.* [g] *celesti.* [h] *restituuntur regno.* [i] *que.* [j] *pluriorum.* [k] *erant.* [l] *eius.* [m] *Viginti octo.* [n] *nec non.* [o] *tres.* [p] *ydolatrie.* [q] *archiflamines.* [r] *archiepiscopos.* [s] *flamines.* [t] *episcopos.* [u] *nobilioribus.* [v] *fuerunt.* [w] *eboraco.* [x] *glamorgancia.* [y] *sita.* [z] *Hiis.* [a'] *ergo.* [b'] *uiginti octo.* [c'] *quoque.* [d'] *parochiis.* [e'] *Albania.* [f'] *secernit a loegria.* [g'] insert *uero.* *Harlech*

coming in the flesh. And they washed him in holy and faithful baptism, and all the people of his kingdom after him. And then lles gave over the temples, which had been built for the false Gods, and ordered that they should be consecrated in the name of almighty god and the saints, and set in them various grades of ordained men to live there and to render divine worship to god. At that time there were eight and sixty Bishop-houses* in ynys Brydain, and three archbishop-houses bearing rule over the others and those three were in the three chief cities of the island, namely llyndain, and kaer- *f. 82 rec.*

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loegria. & cornubia. Has duas prouincias seiungit sabrina.[1] [a]
IV. xx kambria id est gualia.[2] que urbi [b] legionum subiacuit. Denique [c] restauratis omnibus redierunt antistites romam & cuncta que fecerant a beatissimo papa confirmari impetrauerunt. Confirmatione [d] igitur facta reuersi sunt in brittanniam [3] [e] cum pluribus aliis comitati.[f] [f] quorum doctrina [g] britonum [h] fideles in christo [i] in breui [j] corroborati sunt.[k] Eorum nomina & actus in libro repperiuntur [4] [l] quem gildas [5] [m] de uictoria aurelii ambrosii inscripsit. Quod autem ipse tam lucido tractatu parauerat.[r] nullatenus opus fuit ut inferiori stilo renouaretur

V. i Interea gloriosus ille rex lucius cum infra regnum suum cultum uere fidei magnificatum esse uidisset.[r] maximo gaudio fluctuans possessiones & territoria que prius templa idolorum [n] possederant in meliorem usum uertens.[r] ipsa ecclesiis fidelium permanere concessit. Et quia maiorem honorem ipsis impendere debuerat aumentauit [6] [o] illas amplioribus & [p] agris & mansis.[q] omnique libertate sullimauit.[r] Inter hec & ceteros propositi sui actus in urbe claudiocestrie ab hac uita migrauit.[s] & in ecclesia prime sedis honorifice [t] sepultus est anno ab incarnatione domini. C.LVI. Caruerat ipse [u] sobole que [v] sibi succederet.

Bern [1] insert *&*. [2] *Gualia.* [3] *britanniam.* [4] *reperiuntur.* [5] *Gildas.* [6] *augmentauit.*

Harlech [a] insert *a.* [b] *rubi.* [c] *Deinde.* [d] *Confirmacione.* [e] *Brittanniam.* [f] *commitati.* [g] insert *gens.* [h] *Britonum.* [i] *in fide christi;* insert *ex quo uenerunt.* [j] insert *tempore.* [k] *corroborata fuit.* [l] *reperiuntur.* [m] *Gildas.* [n] *ydolorum.* [o] *augmentauit.* [p] omit *&*. [q] *mansionibus.* [r] *sublimauit.* [s] omit *migrauit.* [t] omit *honorifice.* [u] *namque.* [v] *qui.*

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efroc, and kaerllion on wysc. And when partition was made between the arch bishop-houses, to the Bishop-house of Kaer Efrawc belonged deifyr and brynaich, and all the gogledd, defined by the hymyr. And to the Arch Bishop-house of llyndain, lloegr and [Ch]Kerniw, as defined by the hafren. And to the Arch Bishop-house of Caer llion, Kymry, from the hafren upwards; for Caer llion was primate over the other two. And afterwards the king gave them great gifts of land and soil. And at kaer loyw he ended his life, and was buried in the monastery there, one hundred and thirty-six years
f. 82 vo. after Krist came in the flesh. And there were at that time in ynys Brydain twenty-eight temples.* And also three above these. And those twenty-

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unde defuncto illo & [a] discidium inter britones [b] ortum [c] fuit. & romana potestas infirmata. Cumque id rome [1] | nunciatum fuisset legauerunt senatusores [2 d] seuerum [e] senatorem. duasque legiones cum illo. ut patriam [f] romane [g] potestati restituerent. [h] Qui [i] ut appulsus [j] fuit. prelium [k] commisit cum britonibus. [l] partemque sibi submisit. Partem uero illam quam subiugare nequibat. [f] diris debellationibus [m] infestare laborauit. ita ut eam trans deiram [n] in [3] albaniam fugaret. [o] At illa duce sulgenio [4 p] omni nisu resistebat. sepiusque stragem maximam & conciuibus & romanis inferebat. Conducebat autem in auxilium sibi quoscumque insulanos populos inueniebat. & sic multociens cum uictoria redibat. Irruptionem igitur eius grauiter ferens imperator iussit construi uallum [q] inter deiram & albaniam. ut impetum eius propius accedere prohiberet. Communicato igitur sumptu [r] fecerunt illud a mari usque ad mare. quod multo tempore post hostium accessus detinuit. At sulgentius [5 s] cum diutius [t] seuero resistere nequiuisset. transfretauit in scithiam [6] ut pictorum

v. ii f. 41 vo.

[1] *Rome.* [2] *senatus.* [3] *& albaniam.* [4] *Sulgenio.* [5] *sulgenius.* [6] *sithiam.* *Bern*

[a] *eo;* omit *&.* [b] *Britones.* [c] omit *ortum.* [d] *senatus.* [e] *scuerum.* [f] *patria sue.* [g] omit *romane.* [h] *restituerctur.* [i] *Mox.* [j] *apulsus.* [k] *prelia.* [l] *Britonibus.* [m] *duris debellacionibus.* [n] *scotiam.* [o] *fugauit.* [p] *fulgencio.* [q] *uallium.* [r] *sumpto.* [s] *fulgencius.* [t] *diucius.* *Harleck*

eight temples were under the ownership of the three others, and their domains were at the command of the others. In each one of those temples was placed a consecrated Bishop; and in each of the three principal ones an Arch Bishop, in the principal cities already named. Then since Illes had no heir, there sprang up discord between the Bryttaniait and the men of Ryfain. And from that time on the men of ryfain weakened. And when this was told to the Senate of Ryfain, they sent sseferys, a senator of Ryfain, with a legion of fighting men, that is, twenty thousand. And for the most part he prevailed against the Bryttaniait. Some of them, with ssilien as prince over them, fled through daifyr and brynaich, and many fights were there between them, to that emperor's great concern. And so he ordered a dike to be made between daifr and Alban by a common tax, from sea to sea, by which it would be easy to resist the Bryttaniait. And when Silien saw that it profited neither himself nor the Bryttaniaid to fight the men of Ryfain, he went as far as sseithia to seek support. And when he had secured

f. 83 rec.

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auxilio dignitati restitueretur. Cum ibi [a] omnem iuuentutem patriæ [1 b] collegisset reuersus est maximo nauigio in brittanniam.[2 c] atque eboracum obsedit. Quod cum per ceteras nationes diuulgatum esset.[d] maxima pars britonum [e] seuerum deseruit. & ad [f] sulgentium [3] abiuit.[g] Nec ob id [h] ab inceptis suis destitutus est [4] seuerus.[5] set conuocatis romanis ceterisque britonibus [i] qui sibi adherebant.[j] obsidiónem petiuit. & cum sulgentio [6 k]
f. 42 rec. dimicauit. Set cum pugnam acrius confecisset | interfectus est cum multis suorum. & sulgentius [7 l] letaliter uulneratus.[8 m] Exinde [9] sepultus est eboraci.[n] quam legiones eius optinuerunt.[10] Reliquid [11] ipse [n] duos filios bassianum [12] & ietam.[13 o] quorum ieta [14] romana matre [p] genitus erat. bassianus [q] uero.[r] britannica.[r] Defuncto igitur patre sullimauerunt [s] romani ietam [15] in regem fauentes illi. quia ex utraque parte [t] romanus fuerat.[u] Quod abnegantes britanni [v] bassianum elegerunt.[w] quia materno sanguine ipsis coniunctus erat. Proinde commiserunt pugnam fratres.[x] unde ieta [14] interficitur.[r] & bassianus regno potitur.

Bern [1] *patrie.* [2] *britanniam.* [3] *sulgenium.* [4] *fuit.* [5] *Seuerus.* [6] *Sulgenio.* [7] *Sulgenius.* [8] insert *cum multis suorum.* [9] *Exin.* [10] *obtinuerunt.* [11] *Reliquit.* [12] *Bassianum.* [13] *Getam.* [14] *Geta.*

Harlech [a] *Cumque.* [b] *patrie.* [c] *Brittanniam.* [d] *fuisset.* [e] *Britonum.* [f] omit *ad.* [g] *fulgencium adiuit.* [h] *ea.* [i] *Britonibus.* [j] *adheserunt.* [k] *fulgencio.* [l] *fulgencius.* [m] insert *est.* [n] *ille.* [o] *ictam.* [p] *matre romana.* [q] *Bassianus.* [r] *Brittannica.* [s] *sublimauerunt.* [t] *utroque parente.* [u] *fuit.* [v] *Brittanni.* [w] *elegerunt bassianum.* [x] *fratres pugnam.*

all the Youth of that country, he came back to ynys Brydain and invested Kaer Efrawc, and fought against it. And when the rumour had run through the realm, the greater part of the Bryttaniait forsook the emperor and came over to ssilien. And then without delay sseferys went with his army to fight with silien. And Silien smote him with a deadly wound, and of that sseferys died, and was buried at kaer Efrawc.

And two sons had sseferys, Bassian and [E]Getta. And Getta's mother descended from Ryfain, but the mother of Bassian from ynys Brydain. And after his father's death, the men of Ryfain made Getta their prince, because his mother's descent was from Ryfain. And then the Bryttaniait took Bassian as their king because of his mother's descent from ynys Brydain; and hence strife arose between the brothers. And upon a day they met, and at that meeting Getta was killed, and Bassian got the kingship

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Eo tempore fuerat [a] in britannia [b] iuuenis quidam nomine carausius.[c] [1] ex infima gente creatus. Qui cum probitatem suam in multis debellationibus [e] examinasset. profectus est romam.[c] petiuitque [2] licentiam [d] a senatu ut maritima britannie [e] ab incursione barbarica nauigiis tueretur. Quod si sibi committeretur. promittebat se tot & tanta adepturum.[c] quibus rem publicam magis augmentaret quam si sibi regnum britannie [e] traderetur. Cumque senatum promissis suis illusisset.[c] [f] impetrauit quod poposcerat. [g] & cum sigillatis cartis in britanniam [h] rediuit. Mox collectis [i] nauibus asciuit sibi magnam uirtutem iuuentutis patrie & ingressus est [3] mare. & circuiuit omnia littora regni. [j] & maximum tumultum per populum faciebat. *v. iii*

Interea [4] in comprouincialibus insulis appulsus [k] agros populando. [l] ciuitates & oppida [m] diruendo incolis omnia sua eripiebat. Sic igitur ipso agente confluebant ad eum [n] quicumque in aliena anelabant. [5] | ita ut in breui [o] tantum haberet exercitum. quanto [p] nullus uicinus [q] princeps resistere quiuisset. Ob hoc itaque tumidum habens animum dixit britonibus [r] ut se [6] sibi [s] regem facerent. & ipse interfectis atque exterminatis *f. 42 vo.*

[1] *Carausius.* [2] *petiuit.* [3] *intrauit.* [4] Initial omitted in Cambridge MS. [5] *anhelabant.* [6] *sese.* *Bern*

[a] *fuit.* [b] *Brittannia.* [c] *debellacionibus.* [d] *licenciam.* [e] *Brittannie.* [f] omit *suis;* *Harlech*
illigasset. [g] *popossceral.* [h] *Brittanniam.* [i] *collatis.* [j] *maris.* [k] *apulsus.* [l] insert &.
[m] *urbes.* [n] *illum.* [o] *Breui;* insert *tempore.* [p] *quod.* [q] *muris.* [r] *Britonibus.* [s] *ut sese.*

for his own. And at this time there was a Young man in ynys Brydain, Karan was his name. He came of humble lineage, but was renowned for bravery, proved in many battles. And he went to Ryfain and asked the senators of Ryfain for a commission to protect ynys Brydain with his ships against the alien people, and from that he promised much benefit. And then he went back again to ynys Brydain; and built up the island's power, and went to sea, frequenting many different ports, and he made great disturbance in the islands round about, laying them waste, killing and burning. And all those who loved violence and plunder came to him until he had such great multitudes that he had fear of no man. And then, seeing all things prospering for him, he sent to the Bryttaniad asking them that he might become their king, and [if he did] he would destroy the men of Ryfain, *f. 83 vo.*

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romanis [a] totam insulam a barbara gente liberaret. Quod cum impetrasset.[b] dimicauit confestim cum basiano [1 c] & interfecit eum & [d] gubernaculum [e] regni suscepit. Prodiderant enim basianum [2 f] picti. quos dux sulgenius [g] frater matris sue [h] in brittanniam [3 i] conduxerat. Nam dum sibi auxiliari debuissent promissis & donariis carausii corrupti in ipso prelio diuerterunt se a bassiano. & in commilitones suos irruerunt. Unde stupefacti ceteri cum ignorarent quis socius esset quis ostis.[f 4 j] dilabuntur. & uictoria cessit carausio.[5] Qui ut triumphum [k] habuit.[f] dedit pictis locum mansionis in albania. ubi cum britonibus [l] mixti per subsequens
v. iv euum permanserunt. Cum igitur inuasio carausii [6] rome nuntiata [7 m] fuisset.[f] legauit senatus allectum cum tribus legionibus ut tyrannum interficeret. regnum [8 n] britannie [o] romane potestati restitueret. Nec mora postquam appulsus [p] fuit. preliatus est cum carausio. ipsoque interfecto.[f] solium [q] regni suscepit. Deinde maximam intulit cladem [9] britonibus.[f] quia [r] relicta republica societati carausii adherebant.[s] Britones ergo [10 t] id [u] grauiter tolerantes erexerunt in regem asclepiodotum [v] ducem cornubie.[11]

Bern [1] *bassiano.* [2] *bassianum.* [3] *britanniam.* [4] *hostis.* [5] *Carausio.* [6] *Carausii.* [7] *nunciata.* [8] *regnumque.* [9] *cladem intulit.* [10] *uero.* [11] *Cornubie.*

Harlech [a] *ipse eis romanis interfectis & exterminatis.* [b] *impetrauisset.* [c] *bassiano.* [d] omit *&.* [e] *gubernaculumque.* [f] *bassianum.* [g] *fulgencius.* [h] *matris sue frater.* [i] *Britanniam.* [j] *hostis;* insert *ocius.* [k] *uictoriam.* [l] *Britonibus.* [m] *nunciata.* [n] *regnumque.* [o] *Brittannie.* [p] *cum apulsus.* [q] *solum.* [r] *&.* [s] *adheserunt.* [t] *uero.* [u] omit *id.* [v] *Asclipiadotum.*

and chase them out of this island, and deliver them from the alien nation. And when he got the victory, he went with a great host against Bassian and the men of Ryfain and the ffichdiait. And in the first battle the ffichdiait turned against the men of Ryfain; in that battle Bassian was killed, and the
f. 84 rec. men of Ryfain were put to flight, for they could not tell who were against them and who were not. And after [G]Karan got the victory through the treachery of the ffichdiait, he gave Essgottlond to them, and there they still are in the place called Prydyn. And when the Senators of Ryfain knew this, they sent Alectys, a Senator of Ryfain, with three legions of fighting men to ynys Brydain. Against them set out Karan and his host, and fought with them, and in that battle was Karan slain. And Electys raised a great storm among the Bryttaniait; and they held it dire misfortune, and chose Alyssglapitwlws as their prince, — for he was Earl of Kerniw, — and

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communique assensu facto[f] persecuti sunt allectum. & ad prelium prouocauerunt. Erat enim [a] tunc lundoniis. | festumque *f. 43 rec.*
patriis diis celebrabat. At cum aduentum asclepiodoti [b] comperisset[f] relicto sacrificio egressus est cum tota fortitudine sua contra ipsum. & acerrimam pugnam ei [1 c] ingessit. Preualuit autem asclepiodotus.[d] dissipauitque [e] turmas suas. atque in fugam coegit. & usque in sequendo [2 f] multa milia & [g] regem allectum peremit.[h] Cum itaque sibi cessisset uictoria. luuius [i] gallus [3] allecti collega residuos romanos conuocauit in urbe.[j] clausisque ianuis turres ac ceteras munitiones [k] muniuit. cogitabatque sic asclepiodoto [l] resistere. uel imminentem [4] necem [m] uitare.[n] At asclepiodotus [d] cum ita factum esse uidisset[f] obsedit ocius ciuitatem. mandauitque omnibus ducibus britannie [o] quod allectum cum multis militibus [5 p] interfecerat. obsidebatque [q] gallum & reliquias [r] romanorum infra lundonias. unde quosque supplici [s] rogatu poscebat ut sibi in auxilium festinarent. Leuiter enim exterminandum [6] erat romanorum genus [t] ex britannia.[u] si [v] communi uirtute illos inclusos ut aiebat [w] inuaderent. Ad edictum itaque [x] ipsius uenerunt demeti. & uenedoti. deiri. &

[1] omit *ei.* [2] *insequendo.* [3] *Gallus.* [4] *iminentem.* [5] *milibus.* [6] *extermidandum.* *Bern*

[a] omit *enim.* [b] *asclipiadoti.* [c] omit *ei.* [d] *asclipiadotus.* [e] *dissipauit.* [f] *insequendo.* [g] omit *&.* [h] *interfecit.* [i] *liuius.* [j] *urbem.* [k] *& alias municiones.* [l] *asclipiadoto.* [m] *iminentem mortem.* [n] *euitare.* [o] *Brittannie.* [p] *milibus.* [q] *obseditque.* [r] *reliquos.* [s] *simplici.* [t] *genus romanorum erat.* [u] *Brittannia.* [v] *set.* [w] omit *ut aiebat.* [x] *quoque.* *Harlech*

went against Alectys unto llyndain, where he was keeping a feast of his ancestral gods. And when Alectys grasped the purpose of the business, he marshalled his host and attacked the Bryttaniait. And then there was great slaughter, but in the end the men of Ryfain fled, and the Bryttaniait chased them, and killed thousands of them; and there was killed Alectys. And the men of Ryfain shut the gates of llyndain against them. Boiysgalys, Alectys's comrade was he, took upon himself to command the men of Ryfain. But Alyssglapitwlws surrounded the city, and sent to all the princes *f. 84 vo.*
of ynys Brydain, saying that he was sitting down before kaer Lvndain, and ordering all to come without delay to aid him. Upon the summons hastily came the men of South Wales and men of North Wales, and the men of daifr and brynnaich, and the men of Allan.* And when all were

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albani.[a] & quicumque ex genere britonum[b] fuerant.[c] Cumque omnes ante conspectum ducis[d] conuenissent.[e] iussit machinationes[1][f] innumeras fieri. & menia ciuitatis prosternere. Paruit ilico quisque fortis. & audax. & urbem acerrime inuaserunt. Nec mora diruerunt muros. atque sibi introitum[f] fecerunt. stragemque romanis[g] dabant. At romani cum sese interfici sine intermissione uidissent.[e] suaserunt gallo[2] ut[h] sese & ipsos dedi-
f. 43 vo. tioni[i] traderet.[j] & misericordiam asclepiodoti[k] rogaret[l] ut | uiui abscedere sinerentur. Interfecti etenim omnes fere fuerant preter unam solam legionem que adhuc utcumque[m] resistebat. Assensum ergo prebens gallus.[e 3] tradidit se atque[n] suos asclepiodoto.[o] Cumque ipse[p] misericordiam de illo habere[q] captaret uenerunt uenedoti. & facto agmine decollauerunt omnes una die super[4] torrentem infra urbem. quiue[r] postea de nomine ducis britannice[5][s] nantgallun.[6][t] saxonice uero galabroc[u] nuncupatus fuit.

V. v Triumphatis itaque romanis cepit asclepiodotus[v] regni diadema. & capiti suo annuente populo[w] imposuit. Exinde[7] tractauit patrias[x] recta iusticia[y] & pace[z] .x.[a'] annis. raptorumque seuitiam[8][b'] atque latronum mucrones coercuit.[c'] In diebus eius orta est[d'] diocletiani[9] imperatoris

Bern [1] *maginationes*, with *chi* written above the *gi*. [2] *Gallo*. [3] *Gallus*. [4] *supra*. [5] *britannie*. [6] *nantgallim*. [7] *Exin*. [8] *seuiciam*. [9] *diocleciani*.

Harlech [a] *Albani*. [b] *Britonum*. [c] *erant*. [d] omit *ducis*. [e] *ma- machinaciones*. [f] *introitum sibi*. [g] omit *romanis*. [h] omit *ut*. [i] *dedicioni*. [j] *tradere*. [k] *asclipiadoti*. [l] *rogare*. [m] *usque*. [n] omit *atque*. [o] *suo asclipiadoto*. [p] *ille*. [q] omit *habere*. [r] *que*. [s] *Brittanice*. [t] *nantigallum*. [u] *gallabroc*. [v] *asclipiadotus*. [w] *annuente populo capiti suo*. [x] *patris*. [y] *relictam iusticiam*. [z] *pacem*. [a'] *decem*. [b'] *seuiciam*. [c'] *cohercuit*. [d'] omit *est*.

before the city, they battered down the walls, through them and over them they went in, and began to kill the men of Ryfain. And when they saw this, they went to the king, and begged him for protection and to be let go alive to their country. But whilst the king was taking counsel as to them, the men of Gwynedd waylaid the men of Ryfain and killed them all.* And then Alyssglapytwlws took the crown of the kingdom and ruled it twenty years. And in his time began the tempest which Diaklessiawn, the em-

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persecutio. qua[a] fere deleta est[b] christianitas in insula.[c] quæ[1][d] a tempore lucii regis integra & intemerata permanserat. Superuenerat enim[2][e] maximianus herculius[f] princeps milicie predicti tyranni. cuius imperio omnes subuerse sunt ecclesie. & cuncte sacre scripture que inueniri[g] poterant[h] in mediis foris exuste. atque electi sacerdotes cum fidelibus[i] sibi subditis trucidati ita ut agmine denso certatim ad amena celorum regna quasi ad propriam sedem festinarent. Magnificauit igitur misericordiam suam nobis deus. qui gratuito munere persecutionis[j] tempore ne penitus crassa atre noctis caligine populus britonum[k] offuscaretur.[l] clarissimas lampades sanctorum[m] martyrum[n] ei accendit. Quorum nunc sepulture & passionum loca non minimum diuine caritatis[3][o] ardorem intuentium[p] mentibus incuterent.[4] si non lugubri barbarorum diuortio[5][q] ciuibus adempta[6][r] fuissent. Inter ceteros utriusque sexus summa magnanimitate in aciæ[7][s] | christi per- *f. 44 rec.*
stantes passus est albanus uerolamius[t] Julius[u] quoque & aaron urbis legionum ciues.[v] Quorum albanus[w] caritatis[8] gratia feruens confessorem suum amphibalum[8] a persecutoribus insectatum. &[x] iam iamque comprehendendum. primum in domo sua[y] occuluit. & deinde mutatis uestibus sese discrimini mortis optulit.[9] imitans in hoc christum animam suam pro ouibus ponentem. Ceteri autem duo inaudita[z] membrorum discerptione[a'] lacerati ad egregias ierusalem[10] portas absque cunctamine cum martyrii[b']

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[1] *que.* [2] omit *enim.* [3] *karitatis.* [4] *incutterent.* [5] *diuorcio.* [6] *adepta.* [7] *acie.* *Bern*
[8] *Amphibalum.* [9] *obtulit.* [10] *irusalem.*

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[a] *persecucio. quia.* [b] *delecta fuit.* [c] *insulam.* [d] *que.* [e] omit *enim.* [f] *herculus.* *Harlech*
[g] *inuente.* [h] *fuerant.* [i] insert *suis.* [j] *persecucionis.* [k] *Britonum.* [l] *obfuscaretur.*
[m] insert *lampades.* [n] omit *martyrum.* [o] *claritatis.* [p] *intuencium.* [q] *diuorcio.*
[r] *adepta.* [s] *acie.* [t] *Albanus uerolanus.* [u] *iulius.* [v] *ciuis.* [w] *Albanus.* [x] omit &. [y] *iam primum comprehendit & in domum suam.* [z] *inaudito.* [a'] *discepcione.* [b'] *martirii.*

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peror of Ryfain, raised against the christians, until he almost wiped out all christianity. And then came Maxen and Erkwlff, two princes, by order of that brutal one, and destroyed the Churches, burned the books of holy scripture, and killed the [lay] christians and clergy. And then were killed Saint Alban of Virolan,* and Aron of kaer llion, his companion. And then rose up Koel, Earl of Kaer loyw, and warred against Alyssglapitwlws, and *f. 85 rec.*

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v. vi tropheo conuolauerunt.[a] Interea insurrexit[b] in regem asclepiodotum[1] [c] coel[2] dux kaelcolim[3] [d] id est colecestrie.[4] [e] & conserto prelio peremit[5] illum. regnique diademate sese insigniuit. Cumque id senatui nuntiatum[6] fuisset.[f] [f] gauisi sunt propter mortem[7] regis. qui per omnia romanam[8] potestatem turbauerat. Recolentes quoque dampnum quod de amisso regno habuerant. legauerunt constantium[9] [g] senatorem qui hyspaniam ipsis subdiderat. uirum sapientem. audacem. & qui pre ceteris rem publicam[h] augere laborauerat. Porro coel[2] rex britonum[i] cum aduentum ipsius comperisset timuit ei[j] prelia ingerere. quia fama ipsius asserebat nullum regem ipsi resistere posse. Ut igitur infra insulam constantius[10] [k] applicuit.[f] direxit coel[2] legatos suos ad illum petiuitque pacem. & subiectionem promisit. Eo tamen[l] pacto ut regnum britannie[m] possideret. nichilque aliud preter solitum tributum romane dignitati solueret. Hoc igitur nuntiato[11] [n] adquieuit ei constantius.[10] [k] pacemque receptis obsidibus con-
f. 44 vo. firmauerunt | Emenso deinde mense grauissima infirmitas occupauit coel[2] ipsumque infra octo[12] dies morte affecit. Quo defuncto insigniuit se constantius[10] [k] regni diademate. duxitque filiam[o] coel.[2] cui nomen erat helena.[p] Pulcritudo[13] eius prouinciales[q] puellas superabat. nec uspiam[14] adeo decora[r] reperiebatur.[14] [s] Caruerat pater alia sobole que solio regni potiretur.

Bern [1] *Asclepiodotum.* [2] *Coel* [3] *kaercolum.* [4] *Colocestrie.* [5] *interemit.* [6] *nunciatum.* [7] *necem.* [8] *Romanam.* [9] *Constantium.* [10] *Constantius.* [11] *nunciato.* [12] *viii.* [13] *Pulchritudo.* [14] insert *repperiebatur altera. que in musicis instrumentis siue in liberalibus artibus doctior illa censeretur.* Omit *adeo . . . reperiebatur.*

Harlech [a] *conuolarunt.* [b] omit *insurrexit.* [c] *asclipiadotum;* insert *insurrexit.* [d] *caercolum.* [e] *colocestrie.* [f] *nunciatum esset.* [g] *constantinum.* [h] *publicam rem.* [i] *dux Britonum.* [j] omit *ei.* [k] *constantinus.* [l] omit *tamen.* [m] *Britannie.* [n] *nunciato.* [o] *duxit filiamque.* [p] *eleiza.* [q] *conprouinciales.* [r] omit *adeo decora.* [s] insert *altera. quem musicis instrumentis siue in liberalibus artibus doctior illa censeretur.*

quickly Koel slew him. And then Konstans, a senator of Ryfain, who had been subduing Yssbaen, came to ynys Brydain, and warred against [G]Koel, and he fixed a day intending to attack; but suddenly they made peace. And at the end of a week and a month after this, Koel died, and ten years had he reigned. And then Konstans took as his wedded wife, Elen, [G]Koel's only daughter, who was called Elen lyddawc, whose like for lovely form

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unde eam ita docere laborauerat. ut regimen[a] patrie[b] post obitum suum facilius tractare quiuisset. Cum igitur illam in societatem[1] thori recepisset constantius.[2][c] generauit ex ea[d] filium[e] uocauitque[3] constantinum.[4] Exinde[5] cum .xi.[e] anni preterissent ipse apud[f] eboracum morti subiacuit. regnumque filio donauit. Qui ut solio regni[g] potitus est cepit infra paucos annos probitatem maximam[6] habere. leoninam feritatem ostendere. iusticiam inter populos tenere. Latronum rapacitatem ebetabat.[7][h] tyrannorum seuicianı conculcabat.[i] pacem ubique renouare studebat. Ea[j] tempestate[k] erat quidam tyrannus *v. vii*
romæ[8][l] uocabulo[m] maxentius.[n] qui quosque nobiles quosque probissimos[9] ciues[o] exeredare[10] nitebatur.[p] pessimaque tyrannide[11][q] rem publicam opprimebat. Incumbente igitur seuitia[12] ipsius[r] diffugiebant exterminati ad constantinum[4] in britanniam.[s] & ab ipso honorifice excipiebantur. Denique cum multi tales ad illum[t] confluxissent. incitauerunt eum. in odium aduersus predictum tyrannum. & talia ei sepissime obiciebant. Quo usque calamitatem & exilium nostrum | paci- *f. 45 rec.*
eris constantine?[13] Ut quid moraris nos in natale[u] solum restituere? Tu solus es ex generatione[v] nostra. qui quod amisimus nobis[w] reddere expulso uales maxentio.[x] Quis etenim princeps regi britannie[y] conferri queat siue in fortitudine robustorum militum. siue in copia auri & argenti? Obsecramus te redde nobis possessiones nostras. redde coniuges & liberos nostros. romam cum exercitu nobiscum petendo. His[z] igitur & aliis incitatus constan- *v. viii*

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[1] *societate.* [2] *Constantius.* [3] insert *eum.* [4] *Constantinum.* [5] *Exin.* [6] *magnam.* *Bern*
[7] *hebetabat.* [8] *rome.* [9] *nobilissimos.* [10] *exhereditare.* [11] *tyrannide.* [12] *seuicia.*
[13] *Constantine.*

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[a] *regnum.* [b] *patris.* [c] *constantinus.* [d] *ex ea generauit.* [e] *undecim.* [f] *aput.* [g] *ho-* *Harlech*
noris. [h] *hebetare.* [i] *conculcare.* [j] *Eo.* [k] *tempore.* [l] *rome.* [m] *nomine.* [n] *maxencius.*
[o] *uiros.* [p] *exhereditare conabatur.* [q] *tyrannide.* [r] *ipsius seuicia.* [s] *Brittanniam.*
[t] *eum.* [u] *nathale.* [v] *generacione.* [w] *solus.* [x] *maximiano.* [y] *Brittannie.* [z] *Hiis.*

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and face was never seen before; and to them was born a son called Kystemim, son of Konstant. This one conquered Ryfain from [v]Maxen the cruel, — he and his three Uncles, his mother's brothers, namely Llywelyn

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tinus[1] adiuit romam. subiugauitque illam sibi. & postmodum monarchiam [a] tocius[2] mundi optinuit.[3] Conduxerat secum tres auunculos helene. ioelinum[4] [b] uidelicet & trahern. necnon & marium. ipsosque in senatorium ordinem promouit. Interea insurrexit [c] octauius[5] dux geuuisseorum[6] [d] in proconsule[7] [e] romane[8] dignitatis. cui[9] [f] regimen insule promissum [g] fuerat. & solio regni ipsis interfectis est potitus.[h] Cumque id constantino nuntiatum[10] [i] fuisset direxit trahern[11] auunculum helene cum tribus legionibus ut insulam romane[8] dignitati restitueret. Appulsus [j] itaque trahern[11] in littore[12] [k] iuxta urbem qui[13] [l] britannice [m] kaerperis nuncupatur impetum fecit in ipsam. atque infra duos dies cepit. Quo per uniuersas nationes [n] diuulgato rex octauius omnem armatam[14] [o] tocius insule collegit manum.[14] [p] uenitque sibi in obuiam haut longe a guintonia.[15] [q] in campo qui britannice [r] maisurian appellatur cepitque preliari. & uictoria potitus
f. 45 vo. est. Trahern itaque naues laceratis militibus [s] adiuit. | ingressusque eas petiuit albaniam [t] equoreo itinere. & prouintias[16] [u] uastare uacauit. Cumque id regi octauio iterum nunciatum fuisset [v] resociatis turmis secutus est eum. & in prouincia que westmarilanda[17] [w] uocata [x] fuit dimicauit. set sine uictoria diffugit. At trahern ut sibi uictoriam [z] cedere prospexit[18] insecutus est oc-

Bern [1] *Constantinus.* [2] *tolius.* [3] *obtinuit.* [4] *Ioelinum.* [5] *Octouius.* [6] *Gewisseorum.* [7] *proconsules.* [8] *Romane.* [9] *quibus.* [10] *Constantino nunciatum.* [11] *Trahern.* [12] *litore.* [13] *que.* [14] *omnem armatam manum collegit.* [15] *Guintonia.* [16] *prouincias.* [17] *Westmarialanda.* [18] *perspexit.*

Harlech [a] *post monarchicam.* [b] *Iohelinum.* [c] *surrexit.* [d] *Gewisseorum.* [e] *proconsules.* [f] *quibus.* [g] *commissum.* [h] *potitus est.* [i] *nunciatum.* [j] *Apulsus.* [k] *litore.* [l] insert *marsurian.* [m] *brittannice.* [n] *naciones.* [o] insert *manum.* [p] omit *manum.* [q] *Wintonia.* [r] *Brittannice.* [s] *laceratis militibus naues.* [t] *albaniam petiuit.* [u] *prouincias.* [v] *Westmarilanda.* [w] omit *uocata.* [x] *uictoria.*

and [Th]Trahaern and Mayric. And this Trahaern came with three legions of armed men to wrest ynys Brydain from Eydaf, the Earl of Erging and Eyas, and took kaer-beris. And toward the close of the second day Eydaf drew near Kaer wynt to [V]Maes Vrien, and there he gained his first victory. And [D]Tryhaern was driven in flight to his ships and made land-fall in Alban
f. 85 vo. to renew war. And then [D]Trahayarn defeated and pursued Eydaf from place to place until he fled to Llychlynn, to seek support from Gyttbert,

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tauium. nec eum [a] quietem habere permisit donec illi urbes cum diademate eripuit. Octauius igitur propter amissum regnum anxius nauigio norguegiam [1] [b] petiuit ut auxilium a rege gunberto [2] [c] adquireret. Interea familiaribus suis edictum fecerat ut omni nisu elaborarent nec [d] trahern [3] imminere [e] Comes ergo opidi [4] [f] municipii qui ipsum pre ceteris diligebat preceptis illius parere non distulit. Nam dum trahern [3] ex urbe lundoniarum quadam die recederet. delituit cum centum [g] militibus in quadam [h] conualle nemoris qua [5] ille transiturus erat. atque [i] in ipsum pretereuntem inopinatum [6] fecit impetum.[i] ac inter commilitones interfecit. Quod cum nunciatum esset octauio [j] reuersus est in britanniam.[k] & dissipatis romanis solium regni recuperauit. Exinde [7] tantam probitatem tantamque copiam [l] auri & argenti in breui tempore nactus fuit. ita ut neminem [m] timeret. Regnum autem britannie [n] ab illo tempore usque in diebus graciani [8] & ualentiniani [9] feliciter [o] optinuit.[10] Denique senio confectus *v. ix* disponere populo uolens quesiuit a consiliariis suis quem post ipsius fata in regem de progenie sua erigere [p] affectassent. Unicam enim [11] [q] tantum filiam habens [r] filio caruerat. cui regimen patrie permitteret. | Fuerant [s] itaque qui laudabant ut filiam suam *f. 46 rec.*

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[1] *Norguegiam.* [2] *Guberto.* [3] *neci Trahern.* [4] *oppidi.* [5] *quam.* [6] *inopinum.* *Bern*
[7] *Exin.* [8] *Graciani.* [9] *Valentiniani.* [10] *obtinuit.* [11] omit *enim.*

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[a] omit *eum.* [b] *norwegiam.* [c] *Gunberto.* [d] *neci.* [e] *tradere.* [f] *oppidi.* [g] *c.* [h] *quodam.* *Harlech*
[i] *et impetum fecit super eum inopinum. ac inter* etc. [j] *octauio nunciatum esset.* [k] *Brittanniam.* [l] *tantumque;* omit *copiam.* [m] *nemine.* [n] *Brittannie.* [o] omit *feliciter.*
[p] *eripere.* [q] omit *enim.* [r] *habuit.* [s] *Fuerunt.*

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king of Prydyn,* and asked him to cause Trahayarn's death.* So the Earl of the strong castle lay in wait for [D]Trahayarn with a hundred horse in a glen, along which he must pass, and when Trahayarn came, he quickly killed him. And then Eydaf gained the mastery of ynys Brydain, and took the kingdom's crown, and straightway was greatly enriched, and gathered men and steeds and arms and goods, so that it was not easy for any king to contend with him. And so Eydaf held this kingdom until there came two Emperors from Ryfain, Grassiant and Afalawnt. And he ruled ynys Brydain almost to the end of his life, wanting a true heir and having no other except one only daughter. And then he caused all the nobles of ynys Brydain to

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alicui nobilium romanorum cum regno maritaret. ut firmiori pace fruerentur. Alii uero [1] censebant conacum [2] [a] meridiacum [3] [b] nepotem suum [c] in solium regni initiandum.[4] [d] filiam uero alicui alterius regni principi [e] cum auro & argento copulandam. Dum hec inter ipsos gererentur. accessit caradocus [5] dux cornubie [6] consiliumque dedit ut maximianum senatorem [f] inuitarent [g] filiamque ei cum regno donarent.[h] & sic perpetua pace fruerentur Erat autem patre britannus.[i] quia ioelinus [7] [j] auunculus constantini [8] de quo superius mentionem [9] feceram ipsum genuerat.[10] [j] Matre uero & natione [11] [k] romanus ex utroque sanguine regalem ferebat [l] procreationem [m] Iccirco [12] [n] igitur stabilitatem pacis [o] promittebat. quia sciebat illum & [p] ex genere imperatorum & ex origine [q] britonum [r] ius in britanniam [s] habere. Cum itaque [t] tale consilium dedisset dux cornubiensium [u] indignatus est [v] conanus [13] nepos regis qui omni nisu in regnum anelabat.[14] totamque [w] curiam propter talia turbauit. At caradocus ceptis suis desistere nolens misit mauricium [15] filium suum romam [16] ut ea maximiano indicaret. Erat ipse mauricius [17] pulcre [18] stature. magneque probitatis atque audatie.[19] & qui ea [x] que iudicabat armis si [y] contradictio fieret & duellio [z] probabat.

Bern [1] omit *uero.* [2] *Conanum.* [3] *meriadocum.* [4] *iniciandum.* [5] *Caradocus.* [6] *Cornubie.* [7] *Ioelinus.* [8] *Constantini.* [9] *mencionem.* [10] *generauerat.* [11] *nacione.* [12] *Iccirgo.* [13] *Conanus.* [14] *anhelabat.* [15] *Mauricum.* [16] *Roman.* [17] *Mauricus.* [18] *pulchre.* [19] *audacie.*

Harlech [a] *conanum.* [b] *meridiadocum.* [c] *suum nepotem.* [d] *in regnum iniciandum.* [e] *principis.* [f] *imperatorem.* [g] *inuitaret.* [h] *donaret.* [i] *Britannus.* [j] *iohelinus de quo superius mencionem feceram auunculus helene constantini matris ipsum genuerat.* [k] *nacione.* [l] *proferebat.* [m] *procrealiacionem.* [n] *Icirco.* [o] *stabilem pacem.* [p] omit *&.* [q] *genere.* [r] *Britonum;* insert *&* *per hoc.* [s] omit *in; Brittanniam.* [t] *igitur.* [u] *cornubie.* [v] omit *est.* [w] *totam.* [x] omit *ea.* [y] insert *ei.* [z] omit *&; duello.*

be summoned to take counsel with them as to the governance of the island, and also as how best to bestow Elen his daughter. And some advised him to give his kingdom to his nephew, [G]Kynan Mairiadawc, his brother's son, and to give Elen his daughter to a Prince of some other country,* with plenty
f. 86 rec. of treasure from this island with her. Others advised that she should be given to a prince of this island and the realm with her. And then said Kradawc, the Earl of Kerniw, "We are under subjection to the Senate of Ryfain. My advice is that you send to Ryfain, and choose Maxen Wledic,

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Qui ut presentiam [a] maximiani [1] adiuit receptus est [b] ut decebat. & super commilitones honoratus. Erat tunc maxima inquietudo inter ipsum maximianum [2] & duos imperatores gracianum [3] fratremque suum [4] ualentinum.[5 c] | quia passus fuerat [d] repulsam de *f. 46 vo.* tercia parte imperii [e] quam petebat.[f] Vt igitur mauricius [6] uidit [g] maximianum [2] ab imperatoribus oppressum.[h] eum in hec uerba affatur. Ut quid gracianum [3] times maximiane.[7 i] cum tibi pateat uia qua ei imperium eripere poteris? Ueni mecum in britanniam [j] insulam. & diadema regni possidebis. Octauius enim [k] rex senio & languore grauatus [l] nichil aliud desiderat nisi ut aliquem talem inueniat cui regnum suum cum filia donet. Masculina namque [8] prole caret. consiliumque a proceribus suis petiuit [m] cui unicam filiam suam cum regno [n] copularet. Et ut affectui eius [o] paruerunt [9 p] heroes. decreuit [q] ut tibi concederetur regnum & puella. direxeruntque [r] me ad te ut [10 s] tibi notificarem. Si igitur mecum ueniens inceptum istud [t] ab incepto [u] perpetraueris cum [11 v] copia auri & argenti britannie.[w] multitudine etiam [x] bellicosorum militum ibidem [12] manentium [y] romam ualebis [13] redire.[z] expulsisque

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[1] *presenciam Maximiani.* [2] *Maximianum.* [3] *Gracianum.* [4] omit *suum.* [5] *Valentinum.* [6] *Mauricus.* [7] *Maximiane.* [8] *enim.* [9] *parerent.* [10] insert *id.* [11] omit *cum.* [12] *ibide.* [13] *poteris.* *Bern*

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[a] *presenciam.* [b] insert *ab illo.* [c] *ualentinianum;* insert &. [d] *fuit.* [e] *regni.* [f] *petebant.* [g] omit *uidit.* [h] insert *uidit.* [i] *maximine.* [j] *Brittannicam.* [k] *igitur.* [l] *senio aggrauatus & languore nichil.* [m] *petiuitque consilium a proceribus cui unicam* etc. [n] omit *cum regno.* [o] omit *eius.* [p] *parerent.* [q] *decreuerunt.* [r] *direxerunt.* [s] insert *id.* [t] *illud.* [u] omit *ab incepto.* [v] omit *cum.* [w] omit *britannie.* [x] *eciam.* [y] *manen.* [z] *adire.* *Harleck*

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for he is son to [L]Llywelyn, the uncle of Elen Lyddawc, and his mother was the daughter of a prince of the Senate of Ryfain, — and give thy daughter to him and the kingdom with her. And from this we shall get the support of the senate of Ryfain to defend our country against the alien nation." And on this they stayed. And thereupon Kradawc, the Earl, sent his son, [V]Mayryc, to Ryfain. And it was but seldom that there was agreement between the men of Ryfain and all the countries.* When [V]Mayric saw their discord, he said to [V]Maxen, "I wonder that you put up with those men yonder." "What shall I do?" said Maxen. "Come," said he, "with me to ynys Brydain, and marry Elen, the daughter of Eydaf, the king of the Bryttaniaid, and with her take the realm; thus by the strength of the

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imperatoribus eam subiugare. Sic enim egit cognatus tuus constantinus.[1] pluresque reges nostri qui imperium ascenderunt.[a]
v. x Adquiescens igitur uerbis eius maximianus[2] petiuit britanniam.[b] petendo subiugabat[c] francorum[d] urbes. subiugando aurum & argentum coaceruabat.[e] milites undique sibi associabat. Exinde[3 f] occeanum mare ingressus in portum hamoṃonis secundis uelis[g] applicuit. Cumque regi nuntiatum esset[4 h] expauit stupore uehementi existimans hostilem exercitum superuenisse.[i]
f. 47 rec. Uocato igitur conano[5] nepote | suo iussit eum colligere omnem armatum militem insule.[j] atque in[j] obuiam[k] hostibus procedere. Collegit ilico conanus[6] cunctam[7] iuuentutem regni. &[8] uenit[l] ad portum hamonis[m] ubi tentoria sua[n] maximianus[2] erexerat. Qui ut aduentum tante multitudinis comperit,[o] maximis angustiis[9 p] cruciabatur. quia ignorabat quid faceret. Paucioribus namque[10] cateruis comitatus dubitabat & uirorum multitudinem & audaciam. quia de pace nullam spem habebat. Conuocatis igitur maioribus natu & mauricio[11] discere[12] cepit[q] quid contra[r] euentum agendum fieret.[s] Cui mauricius.[13] Non est[t] cum tot bellicosis[u] pugnandum militibus.[14 v] nec ea de causa[w] uenimus,[x] ut

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Bern [1] *Constantinus.* [2] *Maximianus.* [3] *Exin.* [4] *nunciatum fuisset.* [5] *Conano.* [6] *Conanus.* [7] *omnem.* [8] omit &. [9] *angustiis.* [10] *nanque.* [11] *maurico.* [12] *dicere.* [13] *Mauricus.* [14] *militibus pugnandum.*

Harlech [a] *ascenderant.* [b] *Britanniam.* [c] *subiugauit.* [d] *franciam.* [e] *coarcerbabat.* [f] *Postmodum.* [g] *uelis secundis.* [h] *Cumque igitur id regi nunciatum fuisset.* [i] *superuenisse exercitum.* [j] omit *in.* [k] insert *in.* [l] *uenitque.* [m] omit *hamonis.* [n] omit *sua.* [o] *comperisset.* [p] *augustiis.* [q] *dicere precepit.* [r] insert *talem.* [s] *foret.* [t] *Nonne nobis cum tot.* [u] *Bellicosis.* [v] *militibus pugnandum.* [w] *nec eadem causa.* [x] *in.*

Bryttaniait you may conquer any island that resists you." And on this
f. 86 vo. Maxen settled. And then he collected a fleet, and went to ffraink, and forced them to do his will and to give him gold and silver. And then warning was brought to the king of the Bryttaniaid that a fleet was at sea, and that it was not known where it would land. And then Eydaf ordered [G]Kynan Mairiadoc to marshal all the Youth of ynys Brydain to defend the land against the alien nation. And then Kanan with a mighty host reached the hill of Kent. And when [V]Maxen saw the size of the army, he rushed to [V]Mayryc and said to him, "There is need of good counsel and strength to face an army as large as this with all signs of fighting on it." And then

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britanniam bello [1 a] subiugaremus. Pax roganda est & hospitandi licentia.[2 b] donec animum regis sciamus. Dicamus nos missos esse [c] ab imperatoribus eorumque mandata octauio deferre. & callidis uerbis populum istum mulceamus. Cumque id omnibus placuisset.[f] assumpsit secum. cim xii [3 d] canutos [e] proceres sapientiores [f] ceteris & ramos oliue in dextris uenitque [g] conano [4] in obuiam. Videntes ergo [h] britones [i] uiros reuerende [5] etatis & oliuam in signum pacis gestantes.[f] assurgunt eis [6] honorifice [j] & uiam [7] patefaciunt ut liberius ducem [8] adeant. Mox illi [k] presentia [l] conani meridiadoci [9] stantes.[f] salutauerunt eum ex parte imperatorum im & senatus. dixeruntque maximianum missum [10] ad regem octauium ut mandata gratiani [11 m] & ualentiniani [12] | eidem *f. 47 vo.* portaret. Ad hec conanus.[13] Ud [14 n] quid ergo eum tanta sequitur multitudo? Non hec facies [o] legatorum esse solet. immo superuenientium [p] hostium qui iniuriam inferre meditentur.[15 q] Tunc mauricius.[16] Non decebat tantum uirum [r] inglorium [s] sine commilitonibus incedere. presertim cum per [17 t] romanam potentiam [u] & propter actus auorum suorum pluribus regibus odiosus habeatur.[18] Nam si raro comitatu [v] incederet fortasse ab inimicis rei publice perimeretur. Pace uenit. pacemque [w] petit. quod ex actu suo credi debet.[19 x] Ex quo namque [20] applicuimus sic nosmetipsos habuimus ut nemini iniuriam intulerimus [21 y] Expensam nostram ut gens pacis ferimus. quia necessaria ementes nichil ui

[1] *prelio.* [2] *licencia.* [3] *.xii.* [4] *Canono.* [5] *uerende.* [6] *ei.* [7] *honori & uiam.* *Bern*
[8] *regem liberius.* [9] *presencia Conani mediadoci;* the original reading in the Cambridge MS. was *meridiado* which the scribe tried to change to *meriadoci.* [10] *Maximianum missum esse.* [11] *Graciani.* [12] *Valentii.* [13] *Conanus.* [14] *Ut.* [15] *meditantur.*
[16] *Mauricus.* [17] omit *per.* [18] *habebatur.* [19] *debeat.* [20] *nanque.* [21] *intulimus.*

[a] *Brittanniam prelio.* [b] *licencia.* [c] omit *esse.* [d] *duodecim.* [e] *antiquos.* [f] *sapien-* *Harlech*
ciores. [g] *uenit.* [h] *igitur.* [i] *Britones.* [j] *honori.* [k] insert *in.* [l] *presencia.* [m] *graciani.*
[n] *Ut.* [o] *acies.* [p] *superueniencium.* [q] *meditantur.* [r] insert &. [s] *gloriosum.*
[t] *propter.* [u] *potestatem.* [v] *commitatu.* [w] *pacem.* [x] *debeat.* [y] *intulimus.*

were chosen twelve of the oldest and most prudent men, and they were sent ashore in a boat, and each of them bore in his hand a green olive branch as token of peace. And they came to GKynan Mairiadawc, and greeted him courteously, and said that they were envoys from VMaxen Wledic to the king of the Bryttaniaid. Then Kynan asked, "Why then came he with so

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cuiquam subripuimus cuipiam.[1 a] Cumque hesitasset conanus[2] an pacem an prelium committeret. accessit caradocus[3] dux cornubie. accesserunt[b] ceteri[c] proceres & dissuaserunt conano[4] post hanc peticionem bellum ingerere. Qui licet dimicare maluisset.[f] depositis[d] armis concessit eis pacem. duxitque maximianum[5] lundonias ad regem. & rem ex ordine manifestauit.

v. xi Tunc caradocus dux cornubie[6] assumpto[e] mauricio filio suo secum[f] iussit[7] astantes semoueri. regemque in hec uerba adiuit. Ecce quod longo tempore desiderabant qui fidelitati tue ueriori affectu obedientiam[8 g] seruant disponente deo successibus tuis accessit. Preceperas namque proceribus tuis consilium dare quid

f. 48 rec. de filia tua quid de regno tuo tibi[h] agendum | foret cum tua etas in tantum his[i] diebus repugnet ut populum tuum[j] diutius gubernes. Alii itaque censebant diadema conano[9] nepoti tuo tradendum. filiamque tuam alicubi digne maritandam. timentes ciuium exterminationem[k] si alterius lingue[l] princeps superueniret. Alii concedebant[m] regnum filie & alicui lingue nostre[10] nobili.[n] qui tibi post obitum succederet. Maior autem pars laudabat ut ex genere imperatorum mandaretur aliquis cui nata cum diademate donaretur. Promittebant enim[o] stabilem & firmam[p] inde pacem[q] prouenturam.[11] cum romana potestas ipsos protegeret. Ecce egro tibi[r] dignatus est deus subuectare[s] iuuenem istum & ex genere romanorum & ex regali prosapia britonum[t] creatum cui filiam tuam meo consilio maritare non differas.[12 u]

Bern [1] *cuiquam surripimus;* omit *cuipiam.* [2] *Conanus.* [3] *Carodocus.* [4] *dissuaderunt Conano.* [5] *Maximianum.* [6] *Caradocus dux Cornubie.* [7] *assumpto secum filio suo Maurico. iussit.* [8] *obedicentiam.* [9] *Conano.* [10] *nostre lingue.* [11] *prouenturam pacem.* [12] *differes.*

Harleck [a] *cuiquam surripimus;* omit *cuipiam.* [b] omit *accesserunt.* [c] *ceterique.* [d] *dispositis.* [e] insert *secum.* [f] omit *secum.* [g] *obedienciam.* [h] omit *tibi.* [i] *hiis.* [j] omit *tuum.* [k] *exterminacionem.* [l] *regni.* [m] *censebant.* [n] *alicui nobili nostre loquele.* [o] *autem.* [p] *firmam & stabilem.* [q] *pacem inde.* [r] *ergo;* omit *tibi.* [s] *subuectare deus.* [t] *Britonum.* [u] *maritatum differes.*

great a force as that, if he comes in peace?" They said, "Lest he should

f. 87 rec. suffer violence upon his voyage." And when [G]Kynan knew their errand, he desired to fight them, lest he should lose his kingship. Then said Kradawc, the Earl of Kerniw, "Let these men go on to the king and let what he wishes be done to them." Then went they to the fort in arvon [Caernarvon]

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Quamquam [1] autem id [a] abnegares quid iuris tibi & [b] contra illum in regnum britannie [c] fieret.[f] constantini [2] [d] etenim consanguineus est [e] & nepos [f] regis nostri coel [3] [g] cuius filiam helenam nequimus [h] abnegare hereditario iure [i] regnum istud possidere. Cumque hec retulisset caradocus.[f] [4] adquieuit ei octauius. communique sensu [5] illato regnum britannie [j] cum filia sua illi donauit. Quod uidens conanus meriadocus [6] indignatus est ultra quam credi [k] potest secessitque [l] in albaniam. & exercitum colligere uacauit.[f] [m] ut maximianum [7] inquietaret. Multitudine ergo consociata preteriuit humbri flumen. & [n] quasque [8] prouincias ultra citraque [9] [o] depopulauit. [p] Quod cum maximiano | nuntiaretur. [10] [q] collecta *f. 48 vo.* tota fortitudine sua.[f] festinauit [r] in obuiam. & cum illo [s] preliatus est.[f] & cum uictoria rediit. [11] Nec tamen deficiebat conanus. [12] set resociatis iterum [t] cateruis destructioni prouinciarum imminebat. [u] Redibat ergo maximianus. [13] & commissis preliis [14] [v] quandoque superatus abibat. Denique cum alter alteri dampnum maximum [w] intulisset.[f] concordiam annuentibus amicis fecerunt. [x]

Emenso deinde quinquennio. superbiuit [15] [y] maximianus [13] *v. xii* propter infinitam copiam auri & argenti que illi cotidie affluebat.[f] parauitque nauigium. [z] omnemque armatum militem britannie [a'] collegit. Non enim ei regnum britannie sufficiebat.[f] [b'] quin affectaret [c'] gallias subiugare. [16] Ut igitur trans-

[1] *Quanquam.* [2] *Constantini.* [3] *Coel.* [4] *Caradocus.* [5] *consensu.* [6] *Conanus meriadiadocus.* *Bern*
[7] *Maximianum.* [8] *quasdam.* [9] *ultra & citra.* [10] *Maximiano nunciaretur.*
[11] *rediuit.* [12] *Conanus.* [13] *Maximianus.* [14] insert *quanque cum triumpho.* [15] insert *se,* which has been erased in the Cambridge MS. [16] omit *Non . . . subiugare.*

[a] omit *id.* [b] omit *&.* [c] *Britannie.* [d] *Constantini.* [e] omit *est.* [f] insert *coel.* *Harleck*
[g] omit *coel.* [h] *nequiuimus.* [i] *iure hereditario.* [j] *Brittannie.* [k] *exprimi.* [l] *secessit.*
[m] *uoluit.* [n] omit *&.* [o] *ultra & citra.* [p] *depopulans.* [q] *nunciaretur.* [r] insert *ei.*
[s] *ipso.* [t] *iterum resociatis.* [u] *iminebat.* [v] insert *quandoque cum triumpho.* [w] *magnum.*
[x] *admittendum amicis inierunt.* [y] insert *se.* [z] insert *maximum.* [a'] *Brittannie militem.*
[b'] *Non sufficiebat regnum Brittannie.* [c'] *affectare.*

where Eydaf, with his daughter Elen, held his court. And without delay Maxen took Elen as his wedded wife, and the government of the kingdom with her. And when [G]Kynan learned it, he went to Alban, raised a large army there, and came through hymyr, and began to ravage that district,

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fretauit adiuit primitus armoricum [a] regnum quod nunc britannia [b] dicitur. & populum francorum qui inerat debellare incepit. At franci duce himbaldo [1 c] obuiam uenientes pugnam fecerunt contra illum. set in maiori parte periclitati fugam [d] inierunt. [e] Ceciderat namque [2] dux hinbaltus [3 f] & quindecim [4] milia armatorum qui ex omni regno illo conuenerant. Vt igitur tantam cladem ingessit maximianus. [5] maximo [g] fluctuauit gaudio. quia interitu tot [6] uirorum sciebat patriam leuiter [h] deinde [i] subdendam. Uocauit ergo conanum ad se extra turmas. & paulisper subridens ait. Ecce unum ex pocioribus gallie regnis [j] subiu-
f. 49 rec. gauimus. ecce spem | ad cetera habere possumus. festinemus urbes & opida [7] capere. antequam rumor huius periculi in ulteriorem galliam euolans uniuersos populos ad arma prouocet. Nam si istud regnum habere poterimus. non hesito quin totam galliam potestati nostre subdemus. Ne pigeat igitur [k] te regnum britanniçe [l] insule [m] cessisse mihi licet spem possidendi eam habuisses. [n] quia quicquid in illa amisisti. tibi in hac patria restaurabo. Promouebo etenim te in regem regni huius. & erit hec altera britannia. [b] & eam ex genere nostro expulsis indigenis repleamus. Patria namque [2] fertilis est [8] segetibus. & flumina piscosa sunt. nemora perpulcra. [9] & saltus ubique ameni. nec est uspiam meo iudicio gracior [10] tellus. Ad hec inclinato capite gracias [11 o] egit conanus. promisitque [12] se fidelem in obsequio suo
v. xiii mansurum dum uiueret. Exinde conuocatis [p] cateruis ierunt redonim. [13] ipsamque eodem die ceperunt. Audita namque [2]

Bern [1] *imbalto* [2] *nanque.* [3] *imbaltus.* [4] *.xv.* [5] *Maximianus.* [6] *tantorum.* [7] *oppida.* [8] *est fertilis.* [9] *perpulchra.* [10] *gratior.* [11] *grates.* [12] *promisit.* [13] *Redonim.*

Harlech [a] *amoricum.* [b] *Brittannia.* [c] *inbalto duce.* [d] *fuerunt.* [e] omit *inierunt.* [f] *inbaltus.* [g] *magno.* [h] *leuiter patriam.* [i] omit *deinde.* [j] *regnis gallie.* [k] *ergo.* [l] *Brittannie.* [m] omit *insule.* [n] *possidendi eam spem habuisses.* [o] *grates.* [p] *Post uocatis.*

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until Maxen came and put them to flight. Then the second time Kynan and his army came back; and peace was made between them, to win together and lose together. And at the end of the fifth year after this, Maxen and [Ch]Kynan went to ffraink to the place where Hymblat was prince, and killed him. And then Maxen said to [G]Kynan Mairiadawc, "Since I have

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seuicia britonum.[a] peremptorumque casum[1] diffugerunt[b] ciues cum festinatione[c] mulieribus relictis atque infantibus. Exemplo istorum fecerunt ceteri per urbes & oppida.[d] ita[e] ut facilis aditus britonibus[f] pateret. Qui ubicumque intrabant interficiebant. quicquid erat masculini sexus.[g] solis mulieribus parcentes. Postremo cum uniuersas prouincias penitus ab omni incola deleuissent munierunt ciuitates. & opida militibus britannie.[h] & promůnitoria[2][i] in diuersis locis statuta. Seuicia ergo maximiani[3] per | ceteras prouintias[4] galliarum[j] diuulgata.[k] timor nimius quos- *f. 49 vo.*
que duces quosque principes[k] inuadebat. ita ut nullam aliam spem nisi in uotis soluendis haberent. Diffugiebant itaque ab omni[5] pago ad ciuitates & oppida & ad quecumque[6][l] loca[m] tutum prestabant refugium. Maximianus ergo sese timori esse comperiens. maiorem audaciam resumit. exercitumque suum profusis donariis augere festinat. Quoscumque[n] enim aliena captare callebat.[o] associabat sibi. & nunc auro nunc argento ceterisque muneribus illos[7][o] ditare non diffugiebat. Exinde tantam multi- *v. xiv*
tudinem collegit quantam existimabat sibi[p] sufficere ad omnem galliam[8] subiugandam.[9][q] Distulit tamen seuiciam suam paulisper ulterius ingerere. donec sedato regno quod ceperat[10] ipsum britannico[r] populo repleuisset Fecit itaque[s] edictum suum ut centum milia[11] plebanorum in britannica[12][t] insula colligerentur. qui ad eum[u] uenirent.[v] Preterea .xxx. M.[w] militum qui ipsos[x] infra patriam qua mansuri erant ab hostili irruptione tuerentur.[y] Cumque omnia perpetrasset.[y] distribuit eos per uniuersas amorici[z]

[1] *casu.* [2] *promunctoria.* [3] *Maximiani.* [4] *prouincias.* [5] *omi.* [6] *quecunque.* *Bern*
[7] *illum.* [8] *Galliam.* [9] *subiugare.* [10] *acceperat.* [11] *c. M.* [12] *britannia.*

[a] *Britonum.* [b] *diffugierunt.* [c] *festinacione.* [d] *opida.* [e] omit *ita.* [f] *Britonibus.* *Harlech*
[g] *masculini sexus erat.* [h] *Britannie.* [i] *promontoria.* [j] *galliarum prouincias.* [k] *quosque principes quosque duces.* [l] *quemcumque.* [m] insert *que.* [n] *Quosque.* [o] *illum.* [p] *sibi existimabat;* insert *posse.* [q] *subiugare.* [r] *Britannico.* [s] *Fecitque.* [t] *Brittannica.* [u] *qui cum eo.* [v] *uenerant.* [w] *triginta milia.* [x] *eos.* [y] *amorrici.*

taken from thee ynys Brydain, I will give thee [L]Llydaw." And this was the first time that the Bryttaniait came to [l]llydaw, and from this time on it *f. 87 vo.*
is called little Bryttaen. And from there Maxen marched to the city of Roam, to Normandi, and for fear of him the ffraink fled, leaving the castles

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regni nationes. fecitque alteram britanniam.[a] & eam conano meridiaco[1 b] donauit. Ipse[c] uero cum ceteris commlitonibus[2 d] suis ulteriorem galliam[3] adiuit. grauissimisque[e] preliis illatis subiugauit eam. nec non & totam germaniam.[4 f] in omni prelio uictoria potitus.[g] Thronum[h] autem imperii sui apud treueros
f. 50 rec. statuens ita de- | bacatus[5 i] est in duos imperatores gracianum[6] & ualentinianum quod uno interempto.[f i] alterum ex roma fu-
v. xv gauit.[k] Interea inquietabant conanum[7] amoricosque[8] britones[l] galli atque[m] aquitani[9 n] crebrisque irruptionibus sepissime infestabant. Quibus[o] ille[10] resistens & mutuam cladem reddebat. & commissam patriam uiriliter defendebat.[o] Cumque sibi cessisset uictoria.[f] uoluit commilitonibus suis coniuges dare ut[p] eis nascerentur heredes.[f] qui terram illam perpetuo possiderent. Et ut nullam commixtionem cum gallis facerent.[f] decreuit ut ex britannia[q] insula mulieres uenirent que ipsis[11] maritarentur. Direxit ergo nuntios[12] suos[r] in britanniam[e] insulam[s] ad dionotum regem cornubie[13] qui fratri suo caradoco[14] in regnum succes„serat. ut curam huius rei susciperet.[t] Erat autem dionotus rex nobilis[15 u] & prepotens. & cui maximianus[16] principatum insule commendauerat dum ipse predictis negociis intenderet.[v] Habebat etiam[w] filiam mire pulcritudinis.[17] quam[x] conanus[18] semper[19] adoptauerat.[x]

Bern [1] *Conano meridiadoco.* [2] *commilitonibus.* [3] *Galliam.* [4] *Germaniam.* [5] *debachatus.* [6] *Gracianum.* [7] *Conanum.* [8] *armoricosque.* [9] *equitani.* [10] *ipse.* [11] *qui issis.* [12] *nuncios.* [13] *Cornubie.* [14] *Caradoco.* [15] *Erat ipse nobilis.* [16] *Maximianus.* [17] *pulchritudinis.* [18] *Canonus.* [19] *super omnia.* The Cambridge MS. has *super omnes* in the margin.

Harleck [a] *Brittanniam.* [b] *meriadoco.* [c] *Ille.* [d] *commilitonibus.* [e] *grauissisque.* [f] insert *quia.* [g] insert *est.* [h] *Tronum.* [i] *debellatus est.* [j] *quod in uno tempore.* [k] insert *alterum ocidit.* [l] *armoricanosque Britones.* [m] &. [n] *aquitanni.* [o] omit *Quibus* to *defendebat.* [p] insert *ex.* [q] *Brittannia.* [r] omit *suos.* [s] omit *insulam.* [t] *susceperat.* [u] *Ecce ipse nobilis.* [v] *intenderat.* [w] *eciam.* [x] *cui nomen erat ursula quam conannus super omnia adoptauerat.*

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and the cities empty. And from there Maxen went to Ryfain and fought against Grassian and Nafalawnt, the emperors of Ryfain; and quickly he killed the one and banished the other from Ryfain. At this time there were many conflicts between the Bryttaniaid of Illydaw and the ffraink. And when this had been so for a long time, the men of Illydaw, desirous of getting

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Dionotus igitur uiso conani[1] nuntio[2 a] uolens mandatis suis parere. collegit per diuersas prouincias[3] nobilium filias[b] numero[c] .xi. milia. De ceteris ex infima gente creatis .lx. milia. & omnes infra urbem lundonie[4] conuenire precepit. Naues quoque[d] ex diuersis litoribus iussit adduci.[e] quibus ad predictos[f] coniuges transfretarent. Quod licet multis in tanto cetu placuisset.[f] displicebat | tamen pluribus que maiori affectu & parentes & patriam diligebant. Nec deerant forsitan alique[5] que castitatem nuptiis preferentes maluissent in qualibet natione uitam amittere.[f g] quam hoc modo[6] diuicias exigere. Quippe diuersas[h] diuersa iuuarent.[f] si quod optabant[7 i] ad effectum ducere quiuissent. Parato autem nauigio ingrediuntur mulieres naues. & per[j] tamensem[k] fluuium maria petunt.[l] Postremo cum uela uersus armaricanos[8 m] diuertissent.[f] insurrexerunt contrarii uenti in classem. & in breui[n] totam societatem dissipauit.[9 o] Periclitantur[p] ergo naues infra maria. in[q] maiori parte submerse.[10 r] Que uero tantum periculum euaserunt.[s] appulse sunt in barbaras[t] insulas. & ab ignota gente siue trucidate siue mancipate. Inciderant siquidem[u] in nefandum exercitum wanii[v] & melge.[w] qui iussu graciani naciones maritimorum & germanie.[f x] dira clade[y] opprimebant. Erat enim[z] wanius[a'] rex humorum.[11 b']

v. xvi

f. 50 vo.

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[1] *Conani.* [2] *nuncio.* [3] insert *suas.* [4] *londonie.* [5] *aliquæ.* [6] *mundo.* [7] *adoptabant.* [8] *armoricanos.* [9] *dissipant.* [10] *submersse.* [11] *hunorum.* *Bern*

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[a] *nuncio.* [b] *filias nobilium.* [c] *numer.* [d] *uero.* [e] insert *in.* [f] omit *ad; predicte.* [g] *admittere.* [h] *diuersis.* [i] *si optatum suum.* [j] omit *per.* [k] *thamensem.* [l] *petiuit.* [m] *armoricannos.* [n] *Breui;* insert *tempore.* [o] *dissipabant.* [p] *Periclitabantur.* [q] omit *in.* [r] *submersa.* [s] *inuaserunt.* [t] *Barbaras.* [u] *quidem.* [v] *gualii.* [w] *Melge.* [x] omit *& germanie.* [y] *classe.* [z] *autem.* [a'] *Guanius.* [b'] *hunorum.* *Harlech*

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suitable wives, sent messengers to ynys Brydain, to the Earl of Kerniw, who had been left as guardian of the kingdom; and begged him to send to [G]Kynan Mairiadoc eleven thousand daughters of noblemen of the island as wives for them, and sixty maidens of servile descent, and attendants. And when that number of maidens had been collected, they started with their fleet, but at sea an adverse wind arose and scattered the ships to various shores, and sunk some of them. At that time Gwnwas and Melwas were warring on the sea against the men of ssermania in interest of Grassian,

f. 88 rec.

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melga [1 a] uero pictorum. Ipsos asciuerat [2] sibi [b] gracianus. miseratque in germaniam [3] ut eos qui maxiimiano [4 c] fauerent inquietarent. Per maritima ergo seuientes,[f] obuiauerunt predictis puellis [d] in partes illas appulsis.[e] Inspicientes ergo eam pulcritudinem earum,[f 5 f] lasciuire cum eis [g] uoluerunt. Quod [h] cum abnegassent puelle,[f] irruerunt in [i] eas ambrones. maximamque partem sine
f. 51 rec. mora truci- | dauerunt.[j] Tunc [k] nefandi pictorum & humorum [6] duces [l] wanius & melga [1 m] qui parti graciani & ualentiani [7 n] fauebant cum didicissent insulam britannie [o] ab omni armato milite uacuatam,[f] iter festinatum uersus illam direxerunt. associatisque sibi collateralibus insulis in albaniam applicuerunt. Agmine igitur facto inuaserunt regnum quod rectore & defensore [p] carebat. uulgus irracionabile [8] cedentes. Abduxerat enim secum maximianus [q] ut predictum est [r] omnes bellicosos iuuenes qui reperiri [9] potuerunt,[f] unde & [10 s] inermes colonos [t] atque inconsultos reliquerat. Quos cum predicti duces [u] compererunt [11 v] minime resistere posse. [12 w] stragem non minimam facientes urbes & prouincias ut ouium caulas uastare non cessabant. Cum igitur tanta [x] calamitas maximiano nunciata fuisset,[f] misit gracianum [13] municipem cum duabus legionibus ut auxilium subuectaret.[y] Qui ut

Bern [1] *Melga.* [2] *asciuerunt.* [3] *germiniam.* [4] *maximiano.* [5] *Inspicientes ergo earum pulcritudinem.* [6] *hunorum.* [7] *ualentiniani.* [8] *irrationabile.* [9] *repperiri.* [10] omit *unde &.* [11] *comperunt.* [12] *posse resistere.* [13] *Gratianum.*

Harlech [a] *Melga.* [b] *sibi asciuerat.* [c] *maximiano.* [d] *predictas puellas.* [e] *in partibus illis appulsas.* [f] *earum pulcritudinem.* [g] *illis.* [h] *Set.* [i] *super.* [j] omit *ambrones; magnamque partem sine pietate trucidauerunt.* [k] *Deinde.* [l] *duces pictorum & hunorum.* [m] *Guanius & Melga.* [n] *Valentiniani.* [o] *Brittannie.* [p] *defensatore.* [q] omit *maximianus.* [r] insert *maximianus.* [s] omit *unde &.* [t] *inhermesque colones.* [u] omit *duces;* insert *guanius & Melga.* [v] *comperierunt.* [w] *posse resistere.* [x] *tantam.* [y] *subuectarent.*

the emperor of Ryfain. And those men met two ships of these maidens, which had been scattered in the sea of ffraink. And when the above mentioned men were told by the maidens that ynys Brydain was left empty, they reversed their sails, and made for ynys Brydain. For this Gwnwas was king of hynawd,* and Melwas was king of Paittio. And when they landed in the gogledd, they killed the people wherever they marched. And when [v]Maxen heard this in Ryfain, he sent two legions of soldiers, with Grassian as commander, to defend ynys Brydain. And so there was a battle

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insulam [a] uenerunt preliati sunt cum prefatis hostibus.[b] & acerrima[1] nece affectos[c] ipsos in hyberniam fugauerunt. Interea interfectus fuit maximianus rome ab amicis[d] graciani.[2] & britones[e] quos secum duxerat interfecti & dissipati. Qui eaudere potuerunt.[f] uenerunt ad conciues[f] suos armoricam[g] que iam altera britannia[h] uocabatur.

Gracianus[3] municeps cum de nece maximiani audisset[4] *VI. i* cepit diadema regni. & sese in regem promouit. Exinde[5] tantam tyrannidem in populum exercuit. ita ut cateruis | factis irruerent in eum plebani & interfecerunt. Quod cum per *f. 51 vo.* cetera regna diuulgatum fuisset.[f] reuersi sunt predicti hostes ex hybernia.[6][i] & secum[j] scotos.[k] norguengenses.[7] &[8] dacos[l] conducentes. regnum a mari usque ad mare ferro & flamma affecerunt. Ob hanc infestacionem ac dirissimam opressionem.[9][m] legati romam cum epistolis[n] mittuntur. militarem[o] ad se uindicandam[p] lacrimosis postulationibus[q] poscentes. & subiectionem sui in perpetuum uouentes si hostes[10][r] longius arcerentur.[11][s] Quibus mox committitur legio[t] preteriti mali immemor que ratibus trans occeanum[u] in patriam[v] uecta cominus cum hostibus

[1] *accerrima.* [2] *Gratiani.* [3] *Gratianus.* [4] *audiuisset.* [5] *Exin.* [6] *hybernia.* [7] *norguegenses.* [8] omit *&.* [9] *oppression m.* [10] *hostis.* [11] *arceretur.* *Bern*

[a] *in insulam.* [b] *hostibus prefatis.* [c] *afficientes.* [d] *inimicis.* [e] *Britones.* [f] *conscisues.* [g] *in armorica Brittannica.* [h] *brittannia.* [i] *hybernia.* [j] omit *secum.* [k] *scottos.* [l] *dacos Norguegenses.* [m] *oppressionem.* [n] *cum epistolis romam.* [o] insert *manum.* [p] *uindicandum.* [q] *postulacionibus.* [r] *hostium.* [s] *arceretur.* [t] *legio committitur.* [u] *occeasum.* [v] omit *in patriam.* *Harlech*

between them and the warriors, and many on both sides were killed, and [w]Gwnnwas and Melwas were driven in flight to iwerddon. At this time Maxen was killed in Ryfain, and the whole multitude who came from ynys Brydain, except those who escaped to llydaw on foot. And when Grassian heard of the death of Maxen and his chief men, Grassian took the govern- *f. 88 vo.* ment of ynys Brydain into his own possession and wore the crown of the kingdom on his head, and reigned for a long time in cruelty towards the bryttaniait; and at last his own men killed him. And when [w]Gwnwas and Melwas heard of the killing* of grassian by his own men, they collected the men of llychlyn and of Dennmark and the yssgottiaid and ffichiait, and they

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congressa est. Magnam denique ex his [a] multitudinem sternens omnes e finibus [b] depulit. atque oppressam plebem a tam [c] atroci dilaceratione [d] liberauit. Ad quos iussit construere murum inter albaniam & deiram a mari usque ad mare. ut esset arcendis [e] hostibus a turba [1] instructus terrori. ciuibus uero tutamini. Erat autem albania penitus frequentatione [f] barbarorum uastata.[f] atque [2] cum [g] hostes superueniebant.[f] oportunum infra illam habebant receptaculum. Collecto igitur priuato [h] & publico sumptu.[f] incumbunt [3] indigene operi. & murum perficiunt.

VI. ii Romani ergo [i] patrie denuntiabant [4] [j] nequaquam se tam [k] laboriosis expedicionibus posse frequentius [l] uexari. & ob inbelles [5] & erraticos latrunculos [m] romana stegmata
f. 52 rec. tantum [6] | talemque [7] exercitum terra ac mari fatigari. set ut pocius [8] solis [n] consuescendo [o] armis ac uiriliter [p] dimicando. terram. substanciam. coniuges. liberos. & quod his [q] maius est libertatem uitamque totis uiribus [r] defenderent. Ut igitur hanc amonicionem [9] [s] publice [10] [t] facerent.[f] [u] iusserunt conuenire omnes bellicosos [v] uiros insule infra lundoniam. [11] [w] nam romam repedare moliebantur Cum autem conuenissent [x] cuncti.[f] commissus

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Bern [1] *turbis.* [2] *& qui.* [3] *incunbunt.* [4] *denuntiantes.* [5] *imbelles.* [6] omit *tantum.* [7] *talem.* [8] *potius.* [9] *ammonitionem.* [10] omit *publice.* [11] *londoniam.*

Harlech [a] omit *ex his.* [b] *a confinibus.* [c] omit *a tam.* [d] *attroci dilaceracione.* [e] *ardendis.* [f] *frequentacione.* [g] *& quicumque.* [h] The Harlech scribe has placed an abbreviation over the final *to* which appears to be a mistake but which might be read "privat*ione.*" [i] *igitur.* [j] *denunciantes.* [k] omit *tam.* [l] *frequencius.* [m] *eraticos latiunculos.* [n] *solitis.* [o] *conuescendo.* [p] *ac uiribus;* insert *taliter.* [q] omit *his.* [r] omit *totis uiribus.* [s] *admonicionem.* [t] omit *publice.* [u] *fecerunt.* [v] *bellicos.* [w] *lundonias.* [x] *uenissent.*

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came to ynys Brydain and ravaged it with fire and sword from one sea to the other, and killed multitudes. And then after the Bryttaniaid saw that they had no success in opposing them, they sent to Ryfain asking aid from them. And they obtained a legion of armed men with Sefervys as prince over them. And when they reached ynys Brydain they met the enemy and drove them out of its bounds. And then, by common agreement, they made a stone wall by united labours between daifyr and the gogledd, so that
f. 89 rec. it would be harder for the alien nation to oppress them in the future. And after going from that place to llyndain, the men of Ryfain ordered [G]Kyhy-

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fuit [a] sermo gutholino [b] lundoniensi [1] metropolitano. qui ipsos in hec uerba adiuit. Cum uos [c] iussu astantium [d] principum alloqui debeam.[2] [e] magis in fletum prorumpere cogor.[f] quam in excelsum sermonem. Miseretur [3] enim me [f] orphanitatis & debilitatis que uobis [g] accessit postquam [4] maximianus regnum istud omni milite omnique [h] iuuentute spoliauit. Vos autem reliquie [i] eratis [j] plebs usus belli ignara. que ceteris negociis [k] ut in terris colendis. diuersisque commercii machinationibus intendebant.[l] Cum igitur superuenerunt ab alienis nationibus inimici.[m] uelud [5] oues sine pastore errantes uos & ouilia uestra [n] deserere coegerunt. donec romana potestas uos possessionibus uestris. restituit. Eritne ergo spes uestra semper [o] in alieno tutamine. & non instruetis manus uestras peltis. ensibus. hastis. in latrones nequaquam uobis forciores [6] si [p] segnicia [7] & torpor [q] abesset?[r] Iam tedet romanos | tanti [8] [s] assidui itineris quo uexantur.[t] ut pro *f. 52 vo.* uobis cum hostibus congrediantur. Prius omne tributum quod soluitis amittere preeligunt.[t] quam hoc modo diutius terra [9] & ponto fatigari. Quod [10] si tempore militum uestrorum fueratis uulgus. putatis [11] iccirco [t] humanitatem a uobis diffugisse? Nonne homines transuerso ordine nascuntur. ita ut ex rustico generetur miles. & ex milite rusticus? Miles etiam [u] de mangone uenit. & mango de milite. Hac ergo consuetudine quamuis unus ab altero

[1] *gutthelino londoniensi.* [2] *deberem.* [3] *Miseret;* the Cambridge scribe may have attempted to erase the abbreviation *ur.* [4] *priusquam.* [5] *uelut.* [6] *fortiores.* [7] *segnitia.* [8] *omni.* [9] *terra* & *terra.* [10] *Quid.* [11] *putabilis.* *Bern*

[a] *est.* [b] *Guethelino.* [c] *nos.* [d] *astancium.* [e] *deberem.* [f] *Meminet me enim.* [g] *nobis.* [h] *omni.* [i] omit *reliquie.* [j] *erratis.* [k] *negotiis.* [l] *machinacionibus intendebatis.* [m] insert *uos.* [n] omit *uos* &; *uestra ouilia.* [o] *Eritne semper spes uestra.* [p] *forciores nisi.* [q] *tempora.* [r] *adessent.* [s] *tam.* [t] *putabatis idcirco.* [u] *eciam.* *Harlech*

lyn to say that the Bryttaniait had been losing their men and their property, and that they themselves had been laying out more gold and silver than they ever got from ynys Brydain while seeking to defend the Bryttaniait, and that in future they would not labour to defend it. And the afflicted people gave a dolorous cry because they saw all their supports failing them. And then the men of Ryfain took ship and went to their country. And when [W]Gwynwas and Melwas knew this, they gathered the largest force they

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procedat. non existimo [a] eos [1] esse. quod est hominis amittere. Cum igitur sitis homines habetote uos ut homines. & inuocate christum ut audatiam [b] adhibeat. & libertatem uestram defendite. Cumque finem dicendi fecisset tanto murmure infremuit [c] populus.[f] ut ipsos subita [d] audacia repletos [e] diceres.

VI. iii Post hec romani forcia monita formidoloso populo tradunt.[2] exemplaria instruendorum armorum relinquunt. In littore [3] quoque occeani quo naues illorum [f] habebantur ad meridianam plagam quia exinde barbari timebantur turres per interualla ad prospectum maris collocari precipiunt. Set facilius est accipitrem ex miluo [g] fieri.[f] [h] quam ex rustico subitum [i] eruditum. Et qui profundam doctrinam ei [j] diffundit idem facit ac si margaritam [k] inter porcos spargeret.[l] Nam ut uale dicto
f. 53 rec. romani tanquam ultra non [m] | reuersuri abscesserunt.[f] [n] emergunt [4] [o] iterum predicti hostes [p] ex nauibus quibus in hyberniam uecti [q] fuerant [r] cum ceteris [5] cuneis scotorum [s] & pictorum. & cum norgueigensibus. [6] [t] dacis. & ceteris [u] quos conduxerant. & omnem albaniam murotenus capessunt. Cgnita [7] [v] etiam [w] condebitorum reuersione [8] & [x] reditus denegatione.[f] [x] confidentiores [y] solito destructioni insule eminent.[z] Ad hec in edificio [9] [a'] murorum statuuntur rustici segnes.[b'] ad pugnam [10] inhabiles. ad fugam trementibus precordiis inepti. qui diebus ac noctibus stupido sedili marcebant.[c'] Interea non cessant uncinata hostium tela.[c'] quibus miserrimum uulgus de muris trahebatur. & solo allidebatur.

Bern [1] omit *eos.* [2] insert &. [3] *litore.* [4] *Emerguntur.* [5] *tetris.* [6] *norguegensibus.* [7] *Cognita.* [8] *reuerssone.* [9] *in edito.* [10] *pugna.*

Harlech [a] *estimo.* [b] *audaciam.* [c] *fremuit.* [d] *subdita.* [e] omit *repletos.* [f] *eorum.* [g] *muluo.* [h] *facere.* [i] *subito.* [j] *eis.* [k] *margaritas.* [l] *aspergeret.* [m] *non ultra.* [n] *abcesseruni.* [o] *emergerunt.* [p] insert *Guanius & Melga.* [q] *uecti in hyberniam.* [r] *fuerunt.* [s] *scotlorum.* [t] *norguegensibus;* insert &. [u] *ceterisque.* [v] *Cognita.* [w] *autem.* [x] omit & *reditus denegatione.* [y] *confidenciores.* [z] *iminebant.* [a'] *in edito.* [b'] *senes.* [c'] omit *marcebant* to *tela.*

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could, landed in Alban, made war on the Bryttaniait, and killed* them, subdued Alban as far as the hymyr, and made many raids on them. And when the Bryttaniait saw that they could not withstand their enemies, they

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Hoc itaque[1 a] eis proficiebat inmature mortis supplicium qui tali funere rapiebantur.[f] quo fratrum[b] pignorumque suorum miserandas imminentes[c] pœnas[d] cito[2] exitu deuitarent. O diuinam ob preterita scelera ultionem.[e] o tot bellicosorum militum per uesaniam maximiani absenciam.[f] qui si in tanta calamitate adessent. non superuenisset populus quem non in fugam[3] propellerent. Quod manifestum fuit dum manebant. nam & longe posita regna adiciebant potestati sue.[g] & britanniam[h] cum tranquillitate possidebant. Sic est cum regnum tutamini rusticorum deseritur. Quid plura? Relictis ciuitatibus muroque celso.[f] iterum ciuibus fuge. iterum dispersiones disperabiliores solito. iterum ab hoste insectationes.[i] iterum crudeliores strages accelerant. Et sicut agni a lupis ita deflenda plebs ab inimicis | de- *f. 53 vo.*
cerpitur.[i] Igitur rursum misere[k] reliquie mittunt epistolas ad agicium[l] romane potestatis uirum hoc modo loquentes.

Agitio[m] ter consuli gemitus britonum.[n] Et post pauca querentes adiciunt. Nos mare ad barbaros[o] barbari ad mare repellunt. Interea oriuntur duo genera funerum.[4 p] Aut enim submergimur.[f] aut iugulamur. Nec pro eis[q] quicquam adiutorii habentes tristes redeunt legati.[f 5 r] atque conciuibus suis[6] suam[s] repulsam denunciant. Inito itaque[t] consilio trans- *VI. iv*
fretauit guithelinus[u] lundoniensis[7] archiepiscopus in minorem britanniam[v] que tunc armorica siue letauia dicebatur.[f] ut auxilium

[1] *scilicet.* [2] *penas cilu.* [3] *fuga.* [4] *funeris.* [5] omit *legati.* [6] omit *suis.* [7] *londoniensis.* *Bern*

[a] omit *itaque;* insert *si licet.* [b] *qui fratrem.* [c] *iminentesque.* [d] *penas.* [e] *ulcionem.* *Harlech*
[f] *maximam abscenciam.* [g] *sue potestati adiciebant.* [h] *Brittanniam.* [i] *infestaciones.*
[i] *discerpitur.* [k] *miseri.* [l] *Agecium.* [m] *Agecio.* [n] *Britonum.* [o] insert &. [p] *funerum genera.* [q] *Nec proceres.* [r] omit *legati.* [s] omit *suam.* [t] *Initoque.* [u] *Guetelinus.*
[v] *Britanniam.*

sent a piteous appeal to Gittiws, the emperor of Ryfain, begging his aid to withstand their enemies. But when the Senate of Ry*f*ain heard their prayer, they denied it wholly, and from that time out renounced ynys Brydai*n* and its tribute. And when the Bryttaniait learned of the refusal *f. 89 vo.*
of the men of Ryfain, they sent [G]Kyhylyn, the Archbishop of llyndain, to

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a confratribus [a] suis postularet. Regnabat tunc in illa aldroenus quartus a conano cui maximianus regnum illud [b] donauerat sicut iam predictum est. Qui uiso tante reuerencie uiro[f] excepit illum cum honore. causamque aduentus sui inquisiuit.[c] Cui guithelinus.[d] Satis inquit [1 e] patet nobilitati tue. & te in fletum mouere potest miseria quam nos conbritones [f] tui passi sumus ex quo maximianus insulam nostram suis spoliauit militibus istudque regnum quod possides & [2] cum [g] diuturna pace possideas ab ipsis inhabitari precepit. Insurrexerunt etenim in nos [h] pauperculas uestrum [i] reliquias omnes comprouinciales insule. & insulam nostram omni copia diuiciarum [3] repletam euacuauerunt. ita ut uniuerse eiusdem naciones [4] tocius cibi baculo.[j] excepto uenatorie artis solatio careat.[k] Nec fuit qui obuiaret[f] cum nullus potens. nullusque [l] bellicosus ex nostris remanserit.[5 m] Nam romani | in
f. 54 rec. tedium nostri uersi sunt. & omnino auxilium suum abnegauerunt. Ab omni [n] igitur alia spe repulsi adiuimus misericordiam tuam te implorantes ut presidium adhibeas. & debitum tibi regnum a barbarorum irruptione [o] protegas. Quis etenim alius [p] te inuito [6] diademate constantini & maximiani coronari debeat. cum aui tui [q] atque [7] proaui ipso insigniti fuerint? Para ergo [8 r] nauigium tuum [s] & [t] ueni. ecce regnum britannie in manus tuas trado.[t] Ad hec aldroenus. Olim tempus erat quo non negarem insulam britannie [u] recipere[f] si quis eam largiretur Non enim [v] existimo [w] alteram patriam fertiliorem [x] fuisse[f] dum pace & tranquillitate frueretur [y] At nunc quoniam infortunia [z] patrie accesserunt [a] uilior facta est & mihi & ceteris principibus odiosa.

Bern [1] omit *inquit.* [2] insert *utinam.* [3] *diuitiarum.* [4] *nationes.* [5] *remansit.* [6] *inuitato.* [7] *neque.* [8] omit *ergo.*

Harlech [a] *a fratribus.* [b] omit *illud.* [c] *Quesiuit.* [d] *Guetelinus.* [e] omit *inquit.* [f] *Britones.* [g] *utinam.* [h] insert *pauperculos uestrum.* [i] *nostrum.* [j] *sustentaculo.* [k] *solacio careant.* [l] *nullus.* [m] *remansit.* [n] *illo.* [o] *irrupcione.* [p] *alter.* [q] omit *tui.* [r] omit *ergo.* [s] *tutum nauigium.* [t] omit & to *trado.* [u] *Brittannie.* [v] omit *enim.* [w] *estimo.* [x] *feliciorem.* [y] *feruere.* [z] *infortunium accessit.*

[L]Llydaw to ask help from Aldwr, king of llydaw, for he was the fourth king after Kynan Mairiadawc. And when [G]Kyhylyn had told the king the distress of the Bryttaniait caused by the alien nation, the king was grieved,

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Super omnia uero mala potestas romanarum [1 a] in tantum nocuit. ut [2 b] nemo stabilem dignitatem infra illam habere queat. quin [c] iugo seruitutis oneratus libertatem amittat. Quis igitur [d] non mallet minus [3] alias cum libertate possidere. quam diuicias ipsius sub iugo seruicii habere? Regnum istud quod nunc potestati mee [4 e] subditum est cum honore & sine obsequio quod altiori impendam [f] possideo. Vnde illud [g] ceteris nacionibus [5] preferre [6] preelegi.[7] cum ipsum [h] libertate gubernem. At tamen quamuis quia ius [8 i] in insulam aui mei [9 j] & ataui [9 k] habuerunt.[l] trado tibi constantinum fratrem meum & duo milia [10] militum. ut si deus concesserit[l] ut [m] patriam [11] a barbarica irruptione liberet.[l] [12 n] sese diademate illius insigniat.[o] Habeo [p] namque [13] quendam [q] fratrem predicto nomine uocatum | qui in [r] milicia ceterisque probitatibus uiget. *f. 54 vo.*
Illum tibi cum prefato numero committere non diffugiam. si placet ut recipiatur. Nam de ampliori numero commilitonum [s] censeo tacendum.[14 t] cum inquietudo gallorum cotidie immineat.[u] Vix finem dicendi fecerat.[l] grates egit archiepiscopus. uocatoque constantino.[l] ei in hec uerba arrisit. Christus uincit. christus regnat. christus imperat. Ecce rex britannie [v] deserte. assit modo christus. ecce defensio nostra. ecce spes nostra & gaudium. Quid plura? Paratis in litore nauibus.[w] eliguntur ex diuersis partibus

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[1] *romanorum.* [2] *ita ut.* [3] *micius.* [4] *mox.* [5] *nationibus.* [6] *preferri.* [7] *preelegit.* *Bern*
[8] *quamuis.* [9] omit *mei;* insert after *ataui.* [10] .M. [11] *dimiserit patriam.* [12] insert &.
[13] *nanque.* [14] *tacere censeo.*

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[a] *romanarum.* [b] *ita ut.* [c] *qui.* [d] *Quisquis.* [e] *mee potestati nunc.* [f] *alciori* *Harlech*
impendam. [g] *istud.* [h] insert *cum.* [i] *quoniam ius.* [j] omit *mei.* [k] *attaui;* insert *mei.*
[l] *permiserit.* [m] omit *ut.* [n] insert &. [o] *insignet.* [p] *habeat.* [q] omit *quendam.*
[r] insert second *in.* [s] omit *commilitonum.* [t] *tacendum censeo.* [u] *imineat.* [v] *Britannie.*
[w] *nauibus in litore.*

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and gave them two thousand armed horsemen with his brother [Ch]Kystennin as leader over them. And when the ships were made ready they set sail toward ynys Brydain, and at the port of Totnais they came to the land of lloegr. And when [W]Gwnnwas and Melwas heard this, they made ready, joined battle, and fiercely fought; and on both sides multitudes were killed. But in the end Kystennin and the Bryttaniait got the victory by the slaughter of their enemies. And after this they came to kaer vyddav,

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VI. v regni [a] milites. & guithelino [1 b] traduntur. Cumque [2] omnia parata fuissent.[c] ingressi sunt mare. atque in totonesio portu applicuerunt. Nec mora collegerunt reliquam iuuentutem insule. & cum hostibus congressi.[c] uictoriam per beati uiri meritum [3 c] adepti sunt. Exinde [4] confluxerunt undique britones [d] prius dispersi. & facta infra silcestria [5 e] contione.[c f] erexerunt constantinum in regem. regnique diadema [g] capiti suo imposuerunt. Dederunt etiam [h] ei coniugem ex nobili genere [i] ortam.[c] quam guithelinus [6 i] archiepiscopus educauerat. Cumque [2 k] illam cognouisset.[c] genuit [7 l] ex ea [m] tres filios. quorum nomina fuerunt constans.[n] aurelius.[8] ambrosius.[o] uterpendragon.[p] Constantem uero primogenitum tradidit in ecclesia [q] amphybali [r] infra guintoniam.[c s] ut monachilem ordinem [t] susciperet. Ceteros autem duos aurelium [9 u] uidelicet [v] & uterpendragon.[c w] guithelino [1 x] ad nutriendum commisit. Postremo cum .x. [y] anni preterissent.[c] |
f. 55 rec. uenit quidam pictus qui in obsequio eius [10 z] fuerat. & quasi secretum colloquium cum eo [11 a'] habiturus in uirgulto quodam semotis cunctis eum cum cultro interfecit.

VI. vi Defuncto igitur [b'] constantino.[c] fuit dissensio [c'] inter proceres. quis in regnum sublimaretur.[12] Alii itaque acclamabant [d'] aurelium [13 e'] ambrosium. alii uterpendragon.[f'] alii ceteros ex [g'] generatione [h'] propinquos. Denique [i'] cum nunc sic nunc aliter contendissent.[c] accessit uortigirnus [14 j'] consul

Bern [1] *Guithelino.* [2] *Cunque.* [3] *meritis.* [4] *Exin.* [5] *silcestriam.* [6] *Guithelinus.* [7] *progenuit.* [8] *Aurelius.* [9] *Aurilium.* [10] *in obsequium suum.* [11] omit *cum eo.* [12] *sullimaretur.* [13] *Aurelium.* [14] *Vortegirnus.*

Harlech [a] *regni partibus.* [b] *Guitelino.* [c] *per meritum beati uiri.* [d] *Britones undique.* [e] *cerestriam.* [f] *cognitione.* [g] *diademate.* [h] *eciam.* [i] insert *romanorum.* [j] *Guetelinus.* [k] *Cum.* [l] *progenuit.* [m] omit *ex ea.* [n] *Constans.* [o] *Aurelius. Ambrosius.* [p] *Uterpendragon.* [q] *ecclesiam.* [r] *amphibali.* [s] *Wintoniam.* [t] *monachalem usum.* [u] *Aureliuus.* [v] omit *uidelicet.* [w] *Vter.* [x] *Guethelino.* [y] *decem.* [z] *obsequium suum.* [a'] omit *cum eo.* [b'] *ergo.* [c'] *discensio.* [d'] *acclamauerunt.* [e'] *Aurelium.* [f'] *Vterpendragon.* [g'] omit *ex.* [h'] *generacione.* [i'] *Deinde.* [j'] *Vortegirnus.*

where Kystennin put on the kingdom's crown. And there was given him to wife the daughter of one of the princes of Ryfain, who had been fostered by [G]Kyhylyn the Archbishop.* And by her he had three Sons, namely,

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gewisseorum [1 a] qui omni nisu [2] in regnum anelabat [3] & [b] adiuit constantem monachum. illumque in hec uerba allocutus est. Ecce pater tuus defunctus [c] est & fratres tui propter etatem sullimari nequeunt. [d] nec alium uideo in progenie tua quem in regem populus promoueret. [4 e] Si igitur consilio meo acquiescere [5 f] uolueris. possessionemque meam augmentare. conuertam populum in affectum sublimandi [6] te in regnum. [g] & ex tali habitu [h] licet ordo repugnet te abstrahendi. [i] Quod cum audisset constans. maximo gaudio fluctuauit. & quicquid [7] callebat ipsum uelle ei [j] iureiurando promittebat. Cepit itaque eum uortigirnus [8 k] duxitque regiis ornamentis indutum lundonias. [9] atque uix [l] annuente populo erexit in regem. [m] Tunc defunctus fuerat guithelinus [10 n] archiepiscopus. nec affuit [o] alter qui ipsum [p] inungere [11] presumpsisset qui [12 q] ex monacho [r] transferebatur. Nec tamen iccirco postposuit [s] diadema quod ipse uortigirnus [8 t] uice episcopi functurus [u] manibus suis capiti suo imposuit. [v] Sullimatus [w] *VI. vii*
igitur constans [x] totam iusticiam regni commisit uortigirno. [13 z] &
semetipsum in consilium | eius [14 y] tradidit. ita ut nichil absque *f. 55 vo.*
precepto ipsius [a] faceret. Quippe debilitas sensus ipsius id faciebat. nam infra claustra aliud quam regnum tractare didicerat. Quod cum calluisset uortigirnus [8 k] cepit apud se deliberare qualiter sullimari [a'] potuisset in regem [b'] nam id prius super omnia con-

[1] *geuuisseorum.* [2] *nisi.* [3] *anhelabat.* [4] *prouecret.* [5] *adquiesere.* [6] *sullimandi.* *Bern*
[7] *quiquid.* [8] *Vortegirnus.* [9] *londonias.* [10] *Guithelinus.* [11] *iniungere.* [12] *quia.*
[13] *Vortegirno.* [14] *eiusdem.*

[a] *Gewisseorum.* [b] *anhelabat;* omit &. [c] *mortuus.* [d] *nequeunt sublimari.* [e] *promouet.* [f] *adquiescere.* [g] *regem.* [h] *ordine.* [i] *extraham.* [j] omit *ei.* [k] *Vortegirnus.* *Harlech*
[l] *uirum.* [m] *populo annuente in regem erexit.* [n] *Guethelinus.* [o] *fuit.* [p] *illum.* [q] &.
[r] *monaco.* [s] *preposuit.* [t] *Vorthegirnus.* [u] omit *functurus.* [v] *capiti suo manibus suis imposuit.* [w] *Sublimatus.* [x] *Vortegirno.* [y] *eiusdem.* [z] *ipsiuus.* [a'] *sublimari.* [b'] *in regem potuisset.*

Konstant, and Emrys, and Ythyr ben dragwn. And this Konstant was reared in the monastery of Amffibalys at kaer Wynt, and the other Sons were *f. 90 rec.*
given in fosterage to [G]Kyhylyn. And when [G]Kystennin had ruled in blessed peacefulness for twelve years, there came one of the ffichtiaid, and under the pretence of talk with him apart from others, with a knife wounded him in the top of his breast, — and of that wound he died. And then after

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cupiuerat.[1] Videbat etenim congruum tempus instare. quod desiderium suum leuiter ad effectum duci poterat. Totum namque[2] regnum disposicioni eius[2 a] commissum fuerat. nec constans[3] qui rex dicebatur nisi pro umbra principis astabat. Nullius enim asperitatis[b] nullius iusticie fuerat[c] in[4 d] populo suo. nec a uicinis gentibus timebatur. Duo autem[5 e] fratres eiusdem uterpendragon[f] atque aurelius ambrosius[g] in cunis[h] adhuc iacentes inhabiles erant ut in regnum promouerentur. Preterea infortunium illud[i] acciderat quod proceres regni qui maiores erant natu[j] defuncti fuerant.[k] solusque uortigernus[6 l] astutus & sapiens magnique consilii uidebatur. Ceteri autem[m] pene omnes pueri[n] erant ac iuuenes. peremptisque in anteactis preliis eorundem patribus atque auunculis honores utcumque[o] possidebant. Hec igitur omnia comperiens uortigernus[6 l] meditabatur quo[p] ingenio tectius[q] &[7] callidius[r] constantem. monachum deponeret. ut in locum ipsius erumperet. Quod tamen[8 s] differre preelegit donec prius diuersas[t] naciones[9 u] melius potestati & familiaritati sue submisisset[10] Cepit igitur petere thesauros[v] regis ab ipso in custodiam. eiusque ciuitates cum municionibus[11] dicens. quia rumor asserebat collaterales insulanos superuenire affectasse.
f. 56 rec. Quod cum impetrasset[f 12 w] posuit[13] | ubique familiares suos qui easdem urbes in fidelitate sua[x] seruarent. Deinde premeditatam prodicionem[14] machinans adiuit constantem. dixitque illi[y] opor-

Bern [1] *concupierat.* [2] *nanque disposicioni eius regnum.* [3] *Constans.* [4] *nec a.* [5] insert *pueri.* [6] *Vortegirnus.* [7] *ac.* [8] *tandem.* [9] *nationes.* [10] *summisset.* [11] *munitionibus.* [12] *impetrauisset.* [13] *posuitque.* [14] *proditionem.*

Harlech [a] *disposioni eius regnum.* [b] insert *fuerat.* [c] omit *nullius iusticie fuerat;* insert *nec.* [d] *a.* [e] *enim;* insert *pueri.* [f] *Vterpendragon.* [g] insert &. [h] *cuius.* [i] *illud infortunium.* [j] *natu erant.* [k] *sunt.* [l] *Vortegirnus.* [m] insert *pueri.* [n] omit *pueri.* [o] *ubicumque;* insert *erant.* [p] *que.* [q] *rectius.* [r] *calidius.* [s] omit *tamen.* [t] insert *portiones &.* [u] *nationes.* [v] omit *thesauros.* [w] *impetrauisset.* [x] *sua fidelitate.* [y] omit *illi.*

Kystennin was dead, disunion arose among the nobles of the island about choosing a king, some of them wishing to make Emrys king and some of them wishing to make Ythyr king, and others to make king some one of their own friends. And in the end, when no agreement between them was reached, came Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenav, since he was one of the Elder Nobles*

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tere numerum familie sue augmentare. ut securius superuenturis [a] hostibus resisteret. Cui constans. Nonne omnia disposicioni tue [b] commisi? Fac ergo quecumque uolueris. ita tamen ut in fidelitate mea proueniant.[1] Ad hec uortigernus.[2 c] Dictum est mihi pictos uelle conducere dacos & norguengenses [3 d] super nos [e] ut inquietudinem [f] maximam inferant. Quamobrem laudarem & consilium saluberrimum esse censeo ut quosdam ex pictis in curia tua retineas. qui mediatores inter te & ceteros existant Nam si uerum est quodre bellare inceperint. [g] explorabunt tibi consociorum suorum machinationes & uersucias quas leuius uitare poteris. Ecce occulta occulti [h] amici prodicio. Non enim id [h] laudabat ut salus inde proueniret constanti. set quia sciebat pictos gentem esse [i] instabilem. & ad omne scelus paratam. Inebriati [j] enim [4 k] siue in iram inducti [l] commoueri facile possent [5 m] aduersus regem. ita ut absque cuntamine [6 n] ipsum interficerent. Vnde si id contigisset. haberet aditum promouendi sese in regem ut sepius affectauerat. Directis itaque in scotiam [o] nuntiis [p] inuitauit centum [7] pictos milites. ipsosque infra familiam regis recepit. [q] Receptos autem [r] honorabat super omnes. diuersisque donariis ditabat. Cibis [s] & potibus ultra modum saciabat. [8 t] ita ut pro rege illum haberent. Adorantes igitur illum per plateas psallebant. Dignus est uortigirnus [2 c] imperio. dignusque [u]

[1] *proueniat.* [2] *Vortegirnus.* [3] *norguegenses.* [4] *ergo.* [5] *possent facile.* [6] *cunctamine.* [7] *.c.* [8] *satiabat.* *Bern*

[a] *superuenturus.* [b] *tue disposicioni.* [c] *Vortegirnus.* [d] *norguegenses.* [e] *inequitudinem.* [f] *inceperunt.* [g] omit *occulti.* [h] omit *id.* [i] *esse gentem.* [j] *Inebritati.* [k] omit *enim;* insert *uino.* [l] *conducti;* insert &. [m] *posse.* [n] *cunctamine.* [o] *scotiis.* [p] *nunciis.* [q] *recipit.* [r] *itaque.* [s] insert *eciam.* [t] *saciebat.* [u] omit *dignusque;* insert &. *Harleck*

of ynys Brydain, and his counsel had highest credit. After considering that none but one of the sons of [G]Kystennin had rightful title to the island, he went to kaer Wynt to [G]Konstant Vynach [the monk], for he was the oldest of the three sons of [G]Kystennin, and asked what honours he would confer upon himself if he made him king. The monk promised him everything he might wish in return for that. And then Gwrthayrn took the young man away from the monastery, against the will of the Abbot and his company, and ordained him king. And he made Gwrthayrn high *f. 90 vo.*

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sceptro britannie.[a] constans uero indignus.[b] Ad hec ~~uortigirnus~~[1][c]
f. 56 vo. magis ac magis eos donare[2] nitebatur.[d] ut magis placeret. At cum amorem eorum omnino adeptus fuisset. inebriauit[3] illos. finxitque[4][e] se uelle recedere ex britannia.[f] ut ampliores possessiones perquireret. Dicebat autem id tantillum quod habebat non posse sibi[g] sufficere ut quinquaginta[h] militibus stipendia donaret.[i] Deinde quasi tristis secessit[j] ad hospicium suum. ipsosque potantes in aula deseruit. Quo uiso ultra quam credi potest contristati sunt picti.[f] arbitrantes uerum fuisse quod dixerat. Murmurantes igitur[5][k] ad inuicem dicebant. Ut quid monachum[l] istum uiuere permittimus? Ut[m] quid non interficimus eum. ut uortegirnus[1] solio regni pociatur? Quis etenim alius[6] ei in regnum succederet?[m] Dignus namque[7] est[n] imperio. & honore. dignus etiam[o] omni dignitate.[f] qui nos ditare non cessat.
VI. viii Post hec irrumpentes thalamum.[f] impetum fecerunt in constan-

Bern [1] *Vortegirnus.* [2] *domare.* [3] *inhebriauit.* [4] *finxit.* [5] omit *igitur.* [6] omit *alius.* [7] *nanque.*

Harlech [a] *Brittannie.* [b] *indigne.* [c] *Vortegirnus.* [d] omit *donare nitebatur;* insert *honorabat.* [e] *dixitque.* [f] *Brittannia.* [g] omit *sibi.* [h] *lx.* [i] *preberet.* [j] *secessit quasi tristis.* [k] omit *igitur.* [l] *Monarchum.* [m] omit *Ut quid non* to *succederet.* [n] *est namque.* [o] *eciam.*

steward over ynys Brydain. And when it had been so for some time, Gwrtheyrn pondered treacherously by what means he could himself become king. And then he told the King that a fleet was at sea, and that no one knew where it would land, and that it would be best to strengthen the castles with men and arms and food and drink. And the king ordered him to do as he wished, for he had given to him the governance of the island. And after [W]Gwrthayrn had the king's answer he himself went from castle to castle, and he then chose four score of the sons of the highest nobles of the race of the ffichtiait, to attend at the head of the king's stallion. And when it had been so for a time, by honours and gifts and easy service Gwrtheyrn pleased them well. And one night as they were drinking wine in the king's hall after the king had gone to sleep, Gwrthayrn complained to the ffichdiait that he had no wealth and
f. 91 rec. so could be of but small benefit to any one: "Could I do honour to any one, I would do it to yourselves." "How is it?" said they, "Is it not thou who art the king?" "No, in truth I have no lordship but Erging and Eyas." And so after Gwrtheyrn had gone to sleep, they went to the king's Chamber,

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tem. peremptoque illo. caput [a] coram [1] uortegirno,[b] tulerunt. Quod cum inspexisset uortegirnus.[c] quasi contristatus in fletum erupit. nec unquam prius maiori [2] gaudio fluctuauerat. Vocatis tamen ciuibus lundonie.[3] nam infra eam hoc [4 d] contigerat. iussit cunctos proditores alligari. alligatosque decollari.[e] quia tantum scelus facere presumpserant. Fuerunt ergo qui estimabant prodicionem illam per uortegirnum [e] fuisse machinatam.[5] pictos uero nullatenus nisi assensu illius huiusmodi factum [6] incepisse.[f] Fuerunt etiam [g] qui nichil hesitantes.[f] ipsum a tali crimine purgabant. Re tandem in dubio relicta nutritores [h] duorum fratrum aurelii [i] ambrosii atque utherpendragon [7 i] diffugerunt [8 k] cum eis in minorem brittanniam.[9 l] timentes | ne a *f. 57 rec.* uortegirno [b] perimerentur. Ibidem excepit illos rex budicius.[m] & honore quo decebat educauit.[n]

At [10] Vortegirnus cum neminem sibi parem in regno con- *VI. ix* spexisset imposuit capiti suo diadema regni. & conprincipes [o] suos supergressus est.[p] Prodicione [11] tandem [q] eius [r] diuulgata. insurrexerunt in eum comprouincialium populi insularum.[s] quos picti in albaniam conduxerant. Indignati namque picti commilitones suos qui propter constantem interfecti fuerant.[t] in ipsum uindicare nitebantur.[t] Anxiebatur igitur [u] uortegirnus [c] cotidie dampnumque exercitus sui in preli-

[1] *coronam.* [2] *magori.* [3] *londonie.* [4] omit *hoc.* [5] *machinatum.* [6] omit *huiusmodi factum.* [7] *Vterpendragon.* [8] *diffugierunt.* [9] *britannium.* [10] *Vt.* [11] *Proditione.* *Bern*

[a] *capud.* [b] *Vortegirno.* [c] *Vortegirnus.* [d] *id.* [e] *Vortegirnum.* [f] *nisi per ipsum hoc incepisse.* [g] *eciam.* [h] *nutriores.* [i] *Aurelii.* [j] *Vterpendragon.* [k] *diffugierunt.* [l] *Britanniam.* [m] *Budicius.* [n] *educabat.* [o] omit *conprincipes.* [p] insert *principes.* [q] *tamen.* [r] insert *tandem.* [s] *insularum populi.* [t] *conabantur.* [u] *ergo.* *Harleck*

cut off his head, and came to [W]Gwrtheyrn, and cast the head into his lap, saying, "Take this, and, if thou wilt, be king." And when Gwrtheyrn saw this, he wept, from deception and not from anger, and he caused these men to be seized and he put them in prison. And when the nobles of ynys Brydain learned of the killing of the king, they gathered in llyndain, ordered the four score men who had killed the king to be hanged, and committed the realm to [W]Gwrtheyrn until a lawful king over it could be had.* And when [G]Kyhylyn knew of the killing of the king, he fled secretly to [W]Gwrgant, Earl

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ando perpeciebatur.[1] [a] Anxiabatur [b] etiam ex alia parte timore aurelii [c] ambrosii fratrisque [2] sui utherprendragon.[3] [d] qui ut predictum est [4] in minorem britanniam [e] propter ipsum diffugerant. Cotidianus etenim [f] rumor [g] aures eius impleuerat ipsos iam adultos esse nauigium [5] maximumque [h] in debitum regnum
VI. x uelle moliri. [i] Interea tres applicuerunt ciuile [6] [j] quas longas naues dicimus in partibus cancie [7] [k] plene armatis militibus. quibus duo fratres horsus & hengistus ducatum prerabant. [l] Fuerat tunc uortegirnus [m] dorobernie [n] que nunc cantuaria dicitur. ut consuetudo eum conduxerat ciuitatem illam sepissime uisitare. Cui cum retulissent nuntii [o] ignotos uiros magneque stature homines in magnis nauibus applicuisse. [f] dedit pacem. ipsosque ad se conduci precepit. Mox ut conducti fuerunt. [f] uertit [p] oculos suos in duos germanos. nam ipsi pre ceteris & nobilitate & decore preminebant. Cumque etiam [q] ceteros aspectu peragrasset. [f r] |
f. 57 vo. quesiuit que patria produxerat illos. & que causa eos [s] in regnum suum direxerat. [t] Cui hengistus respondere pro aliis cepit.[8] nam ipsum [u] & etas maturior [9] [v] & sapientia [w] preponebat. [x] Rex ceterorum nobilissime saxonia [y] tellus edidit nos. una ex regionibus germanie. Causa autem [z] aduentus nostri est ut tibi siue alteri principi obsequium nostrum offeramus.[10] Fueramus etenim expulsi a patria nostra. nec ob aliud [11] nisi quia [a'] consuetudo regni expetebat. Consuetudo namque [12] in patria nostra est ut cum

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Bern [1] *perepetiebatur.* [2] *fratris.* [3] *Vterpendragon.* [4] omit *est.* [5] *nauigiumque construxisse. adque reditum suum in debitum*, etc. [6] *cuille.* [7] *cantie.* [8] *incepit.* [9] *maturior etas.* [10] *offeremus.* [11] *alud.* [12] *nanque.*

Harlech [a] *paciebatur.* [b] *anxiebatur.* [c] *Aurelii.* [d] *Vterpendragon.* [e] *Brittanniam.* [f] *autem.* [g] *timor.* [h] *maximumque naugium;* insert *construxisse atque reditum suum.* [i] *molliri.* [j] *interea applicuerunt tres chiule.* [k] *cantie.* [l] *prestabant.* [m] *Vortegirnus.* [n] *dornubie.* [o] *nuncii.* [p] *conuertit.* [q] *eciam.* [r] *peragraret.* [s] omit *eos.* [t] *duxerat.* [u] *illum.* [v] *maturior etas.* [w] *sapiencia.* [x] *proponebat.* [y] *saxonica.* [z] *hec.* [a'] *ut.*

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habundantia [1 a] hominum in eadem superuenerit. [b] conueniunt ex diuersis prouinciis principes. & tocius [2] regni iuuenes coram se uenire precipiunt. Deinde proiecta sorte pociores [c] atque forciores [3] eligunt. qui extera [4 d] regna petituri uictum sibi perquirant & patria ex qua orti sunt a superflua multitudine liberetur. Superfluente [e] igitur nouiter in regno nostro hominum copia conuenerunt principes nostri. sortemque [f] proicientes. elegerunt iuuentutem istam quam in presencia tua cernis. preceperunt [g] ut consuetudini ab [h] antiquo statute [i] parerent. Nos quoque duos germanos quorum ego hengistus. iste horsus nuncupamur. prefecerunt eis [5 j] duces. nam ex ducum progenie [k] progeniti fueramus Obedientes ergo decretis ab euo [l] sanccitis [6 m] ingressi sumus maria. regnumque tuum duce mercurio petiuimus. Ad nomen itaque mercurii erecto uultu [n] rex inquirit cuiusmodi religionem haberent. Cui hengistus. Deos patrios. saturnum. [7] iouem. [8] atque ceteros qui mundum istum [o] gubernant colimus. maxime [p] autem mercurium. quem woden [9 q] lingua nostra appellamus. Huic ueteres nostri dedicauerunt quartam feriam septimane. que usque in hodiernum diem | nomen wennes dei [10 r] de *f. 58 rec.*
nomine ipsius sortita est. Post illum colimus deam inter ceteras [s] potentissimam uocabulo [t] feriam. [u] quam ex nomine eius [v] fridai [11 w] uocamus. Ad hec uortegirnus. [12 x] De incredulitate uestra que [13] pocius crudelitas [14 y] dici potest. uehementer doleo. De

[1] *habundatia.* [2] *totius.* [3] *potiores atque fortiores.* [4] *extra.* [5] *ei.* [6] *sancitis.* *Bern*
[7] *Saturnum.* [8] *Iouem.* [9] *worden.* [10] *wonnesdei.* [11] *Fridei.* [12] *Wortegirnus.* [13] omit *que.* [14] *incredulitas.*

[a] *abundancia.* [b] insert *in eadem.* [c] *potenciores.* [d] *externa.* [e] *Superfluentem.* *Harleck*
[f] *sortem.* [g] *preceperuntque.* [h] omit *ab.* [i] *antiqui statucionis.* [j] *ei.* [k] *genere.*
[l] *eis.* [m] *sancius.* [n] *Wltu.* [o] omit *istum.* [p] *maximum.* [q] *Woden.* [r] *Wodenesday.*
[s] omit *inter ceteras.* [t] *nomine.* [u] insert *cui etiam dedicauerunt sextam feriam.* [v] omit *eius.* [w] *fridei.* [x] *Vortegirnus.* [y] *incredulitas.*

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aduentu autem uestro gaudeo. quia in congruo tempore uos necessitati mee siue deus siue alius obtulerit.[a] Opprimunt etenim[b] me inimici mei undique. & si laborem preliorum meorum mecum communicaueritis[f] retinebo uos honorifice infra regnum meum.[e] diuersisque[d] muneribus & agris ditabo. Paruerunt ilico barbari. & federe confirmato. in curia ipsius remanserunt. Nec mora emergentes ex albania picti exercitum ualde grandem fecerunt. ceperuntque aquilonares partes insule[e] deuastare. Cumque id[f] uortegirno[g] nunciatum fuisset[f] collegit milites suos atque trans humbrum in obuiam perrexit. Deinde ut cominus conuenerunt hinc[h] & illinc & ciues & hostes[f] acerrimam pugnam commiserunt. Nec multum oportuit ciues pugnare. nam saxones qui aderant tam uiriliter preliabantur[f] ita ut hostes qui prius solebant
VI. xi uincere sine mora in fugam[i] propellerent. Uortegirnus ergo per illos uictoria potitus. donaria sua ampliauit eis. atque duci eorum hengisto dedit agros plurimos in lindesia[1 j] regione. quibus sese & commilitones suos sustentaret. Hengistus uero[2] cum esset uir doctus atque astutus. comperta amicitia[k] quam[l] rex ad erga[3] illum gerebat. ipsum in hunc sermonem adiuit.[l] Domine un-
f. 58 vo. dique inquietant te inimici tui.[4] &[m] conciues | tuos[m] qui te diligunt. Omnes minantur tibi. dicuntque se conducturos aurelium[n] ambrosium ex armarico[5 o] tractu. ut te deposito. ipsum in regem promoueant. Si placet ergo mittamus in patriam nostram & inuitemus ex ea milites.[p] ut numerus noster[q] ad cer-

Bern [1] *lindeseia.* [2] *ergo.* [3] *rex aduersus.* [4] *inimici tui te inquietant.* [5] *armorico.*

Harlech [a] *optulit.* [b] omit *etenim.* [c] insert *&.* [d] *diuersis.* [e] omit *insule.* [f] omit *id.* [g] *Vortegirno id.* [h] *illinc.* [i] *fuga.* [j] *lindeseia.* [k] *amicia.* [l] *quam aduersus eum gerebat in hunc ipsum sermonem adiut.* [m] *& pauci sunt ex ciuibus tuis.* [n] *Aurelium.* [o] *armorico.* [p] *milites ex ea.* [q] *noster numerus.*

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tandum augeatur. Set unam[a] discrecionem tue[1] clementie[b] implorarem. nisi repulsam pati timerem. Ad hec uortegirnus.[c] Mitte ergo legatos tuos ad germaniam. & inuita quos[2] uolueris. & pete a me quod desideras. & nullam repulsam pacieris.[3d] Inclinato igitur[e] capite gratias[f] egit hengistus. & ait. Ditasti[4] me largis mansionibus & agris. nec tamen eo honore quo ducem decuerat. cum duces me progenuerint.[g] Quippe inter cetera danda esset mihi ciuitas siue oppida. ut dignior inter proceres regni tui censerer. Dignitas namque consulis siue principis adhibenda esset mihi[h] ex utrorumque genere[i] edito. Cui uortegirnus.[c] Prohibitus sum huiusmodi donaria uobis dare.[j] quia alienigene estis & pagani. nec adhuc mores uestros & consuetudines[k] agnosco ut uos cum[l] ciuibus[5] meis parificem. Nec si uos ut proprios ciues existimassem inciperem donare quod proceres regni[m] dissuaderent. Cui hengistus. Concede inquit[n] mihi seruo[6] tuo quantum una corrigia[o] possit ambiri infra terram quam dedisti. ut ibidem promontorium[7] [p] edificem. quo me si opus fuerit recipiam. Fidelis etenim tibi sum. & fui. & ero. & in fidelitate tua que agere desidero faciam. Motus itaque rex uerbis ipsius eiusdem peticioni adquieuit.[8] | precepitque legatos suos in germaniam *f. 59 rec.*
mittere. ut milites ex ea inuitati festinatum auxilium inuitarent. Nec mora missa in germaniam legatione. cepit hengistus corium tauri.[q] atque ipsum in unam corrigiam[r] redegit. Exinde saxosum[s] locum quod[t] maxima cautela elegerat circuiuit cum corrigia[u]

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[1] *clementie tue.* [2] *quod.* [3] *patieris.* [4] *Ditauisti.* [5] omit *cum; conciuibus.* *Bern*
[6] *serue.* [7] *promuntorium.* [8] *acquieuit.*

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[a] *unum.* [b] *clementie tue.* [c] *Vortegirnus.* [d] *pacieris repulsam.* [e] omit *igitur.* *Harlech*
[f] *grates.* [g] *progenuerunt.* [h] omit *mihi.* [i] *progenie.* [j] *largiri.* [k] *consuetudinem.*
[l] omit *cum.* [m] omit *proceres regni;* insert *ciues.* [n] *inquid.* [o] *coria.* [p] *promonitorium.*
[q] *corium tauri hengistus accepit.* [r] *coriam.* [s] *saxonum.* [t] *quem.* [u] *corigia.*

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& infra spacium mensuratum.ſ [1] [a] castellum edificare cepit.[2] [b] Quod ut [c] edificatum fuit.ſ traxit nomen ex corrigia.[d] quia cum ea metatum fuerat. Dictum namque [3] fuit [e] postmodum britannice [f] kaercarrei.[g] saxonice uero [h] thanceastre.[4] [i] quod [j] latino sermone [k]
VI. xii castrum corrigie appellamus.[l] Interea uero reuersi sunt nuncii ex germania.[m] conduxerantque.[n] x & viii [o] naues electis militibus plenas. Conduxerunt etiam filiam hengisti uocabulo Renwein.[p] cuius pulcritudo nulli secunda uidebatur. Postquam autem uenerunt.ſ inuitauit hengistus uortegirnum [q] regem in domum suam. ut [5] & [r] nouum edificium. & nouos milites qui applicuerant uideret. Uenit ilico rex priuatim. & laudauit tam subitum opus. & milites inuitatos retinuit. Vt ergo regiis epulis refectus fuit. egressa est puella de thalamo aureum ciphum [s] plenum uino ferens. Accedens deinde propius regi flexis genibus dixit. Lauerd King.ſ [t] wassheil.[6] [u] At ille uisa facie puelle.ſ admiratus [7] est tantum eius decorem. & incaluit. Denique interrorogauit [8] [v] interpretem suum quid dixerat puella. & quid ei respondere deberet.[9] [w] Cui interpres [x] dixit. Uocauit te dominum regem. &
f. 59 vo. uocabulo salutacionis [10] honorauit. | Quid autem respondere debes.ſ est. drincheil.[y] Respondens deinde uortegirnus [z] drinc heil [11] [y] iussit puellam potare.ſ cepitque ciphum [s] de manu ipsius & osculatus est eam & potauit. Ab illo [a'] die usque in hodiernum

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Bern [1] *metatum.* [2] *incepit.* [3] *nanque.* [4] *thanccastre.* [5] omit *ut.* [6] *Waesseil.* [7] *ammiratus.* [8] *interrogauit.* [9] *debeat.* [10] *salutationis.* [11] *drincheil.*

Harlech [a] *metatum.* [b] *incepit.* [c] *cum.* [d] *corigia.* [e] *fuerat.* [f] *Brittannice.* [g] *kaercarei.* [h] omit *uero.* [i] *thancastre.* [j] insert *in.* [k] *latinum sermonem.* [l] *appllamus.* [m] insert *&.* [n] *conduxerunt.* [o] *xviii.* [p] *rowen.* [q] omit *uortegirnum.* [r] *& ut.* [s] *cỳphum.* [t] *kỳng.* [u] *Wesséyl.* [v] *interrogauit.* [w] omit *& quid ei respondere deberet.* [x] *interpretes.* [y] *drinkhe'yl.* [z] *inde Vortegirnus.* [a'] insert *autem.*

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mansit consuetudo illa[a] in britannia.[b] quia in conuiuiis qui potat ad alium dicit washeil.[1 c] Qui uero post illum recipit potum.[c] respondet drincheil.[d] Uortegirnus[e] autem diuerso genere potus inebriatus.[2] intrante sathana in corde suo.[3] amauit puellam. & postulauit eam a patre suo. Intrauerat[f] inquam sathanas in corde suo.[3] quia christianus cum[g] esset.[4] cum pagana coire desiderabat. Hengistus ilico ut erat prudens comperta leuitate animi regis.[c] consuluit[h] fratrem suum horsum.[i] ceterosque maiores natu qui secum aderant. quid de peticione regis faceret.[5] Omnibus itaque[6 j] unum consilium fuit ut puella regi daretur.[k] & ut peterent pro ea prouinciam cancie[7] ab illo. Nec mora data est[8 l] puella uortegirno. & prouincia cancie[7] hengisto.[c] nesciente gorangono[9 m] comite qui in eadem regnabat. Nupsit itaque rex[n] eadem nocte pagane que ultra modum placuit ei. unde inimicitiam[o] procerum. & filiorum suorum citissime incidit. Generauerat namque[10 p] filios primitus. quibus erant nomina. vortimer.[q] katigernus.[r] paschent. In tempore illo uenit sanctus *VI. xiii* germanus[11 s] altisiodorensis[12] episcopus. & lupus trecacensis[t] ut uerbum dei britonibus[u] predicarent. Corrupta namque fuerat christianitas eorum[v] tum propter paganos.[w] tum[13] propter pelagi-|

[1] *Waesseil.* [2] *inhebriatus.* [3] omit *amauit . . . sathanas in corde suo.* [4] *cum christianus esset.* [5] *facerent.* [6] *Set omnibus;* omit *itaque.* [7] *cantie.* [8] *fuit.* [9] *Gorangono.* [10] *nanque.* [11] *Germanus.* [12] *altissiodorensis.* [13] *cum.* *Bern*

[a] *illa consuetudo.* [b] *Brittannia.* [c] *Wesheil.* [d] *drinkeÿl.* [e] *Vortegirnus.* [f] *Intrauit.* [g] *cum christanus.* [h] *consulit;* insert *horsum.* [i] omit *horsum.* [j] insert *Set;* omit *itaque.* [k] *daretur regi.* [l] *fuit.* [m] *Goraniggono.* [n] insert *in.* [o] *inimiciciam.* [p] insert *tres.* [q] *Vortimer.* [r] *Catingernus.* [s] *Germanus.* [t] *tetracanensis.* [u] *Britonibus.* [v] *christianitas eorum fuerat.* [w] insert *quos rex in societatem eorum posuerant.* *Harlech*

of Kent, unknown also to any of the nobles of the island. And when the princes and nobles of the island learned this, they also were sore distressed, as were also his sons by his other wife. Their names were Kyndayrn, and Gwerthevyr, and [f]Passgen. And at this time Simawn, the Bishop, and *f. 91 vo.* Lippys his companion were preaching in the island and teaching the faith to the Christians, for since the pagans came upon them there was misbelief among them, because of the false preaching of that antichrist named Pelagian. For that man had corrupted the faith of the Bryttaniait; and by preaching of these saintly men, the Bryttaniait were turned to the catholic

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f. 60 rec. anam heresim. cuius uenenum ipsos multis diebus affecerat. Beatorum igitur uirorum predicatione restituta est inter eos uere fidei religio. quia multis miraculis cotidie preclarebant Multa per eos miracula [a] ostendebat deus. que gildas [1 b] in tractatu [c] suo luculento [d] dictamine annotauit. [2 e] Data autem puella regi [f] ut predictum est. [f] dixit hengistus ad eum. [g] Ego sum pater tuus. [f] & consiliarius [3 h] tibi esse debeo. Noli igitur [4 i] preterire [j] consilium meum. quia [k] omnes inimicos tuos uirtute gentis mee superabis. Inuitemus adhuc filium meum octam cum fratruele suo ebissa. [f] bellatores enim uiri sunt. [5] Da eis regiones que sunt in aquilonaribus partibus. britannie [l] iuxta murum [m] inter deiram & scotiam. Detinebunt namque ibidem impetum [n] barbarorum. ita ut in pace citra humbrum remanebis. Paruit uortegirnus. [f o] precepitque illis [p] inuitare quoscumque scirent [q] ad auxilium sibi ualere. [r] Missis itaque [s] legatis. [f] uenerunt octa & ebissa [t] & cherdic [6] cum trescentis [7 u] nauibus armata manu repletis. Quos omnes suscepit [v] uortegirnus [o] benigne. maximisque muneribus donauit. [w] Uincebat namque inimicos suos per eos. & in omni

Bern [1] *gilotas.* [2] *parauit.* [3] *consiliator.* [4] omit *igitur.* [5] *sunt uiri.* [6] *cherdick.* [7] *trecentis.*

Harlech [a] *miracula per eos.* [b] *Gildas.* [c] *tractu.* [d] *locolenio.* [e] *parauit.* [f] *regi puella.* [g] *regem.* [h] *consiliator.* [i] omit *igitur.* [j] *pretermittere.* [k] *&.* [l] *Brittannie.* [m] omit *iuxta murum.* [n] omit *impetum.* [o] *Vortegirnus.* [p] *illos.* [q] *scirecte.* [r] *preualere.* [s] *igitur.* [t] *edissa.* [u] *trecentis.* [v] *recepit.* [w] *ditauit.*

faith.* And then came Hainssiestr to the king and bade him to supper. And the daughter of Hainster was one of the fairest women in the world; the king lusted to sleep with her that night, and got his wish by promising to marry her. And the next day Hainssiestr said to the king, "Thou art now son to me and I father to thee, and therefore right it is that thou shouldest follow my advice from this time out, and I will advise thee well, so that thou shalt not be driven out by the alien nation. Send to Sermania for Octa, my son, and Assaf his uncle, who is a warrior good and renowned, and give them Yssgottlont, which is the place that troubles thee with many wars, and they will hold it against men from afar." Thereupon the king sent to ssermainia to call in those men, and then there came from ssermania
f. 92 rec. three hundred ships of armed men, with Octaf, Assaf, and [Ch]Kledric as princes over them, to ynys Brydain. And when the princes of the island

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prelio uictor existebat. Hengistus etiam inuitabat paulatim [a] naues. & cotidie numerum suum augebat. Quod cum uidissent [b] britones.[c] timentes prodicionem [1] eorum dixerunt regi. ut ipsos ex finibus regni sui expelleret. Non enim debebant pagani christianis communicare. nec [d] intromitti.[f] quia lex christiana [2] [e] prohibebat. | Insuper tanta multitudo superuenerat.[f 3] ut [4] ciui- *f. 60 vo.*
bus terrori essent. Iam nesciebatur quis paganus esset quis christianus. quia pagani filias.[g] & consanguineas eorum sibi associauerant. Talia obic entes.[f] dissuadebant regi retinere illos. ne in prodicione aliqua ciues supergrederentur.[h] At uortegirnus [i] diffugiebat consilio eorum adquiescere. [5] quia super omnes gentes propter coniugem suam [i] ipsos [k] diligebat. Quod cum uidissent britones.[f c] deseruerunt ilico uortegirnum.[l] & unanimiter irati.[f] uortimer [6 m] filium suum in regem erexerunt. Qui adquiescens eis per omnia.[f] incepit [n] expellere barbaros [o] atque obpugnare. [7 p] & diris irruptionibus [q] afficere. Quatuor bella gessit cum eis. & in omnibus superauit. Primum super fluuium derewend.[8 r] secundum super uadum epiffordum.[s] ubi conuenerunt horsus & cathigernus [9 t] alter filius uortegirni.[u] congressuque facto.[f] ceciderunt ambo. alter alterum letaliter aggressus. Tercium bellum super

[1] *audatiam.* [2] *christiana lex.* [3] *aduenerat.* [4] *ita ut.* [5] *acquiescere.* [6] *Vortimerum.* [7] *oppugnare.* [8] *derwend.* [9] *catigernus.* *Bern*

[a] *paulisper.* [b] *Quos cum uidentes.* [c] *Britones.* [d] insert *uero.* [e] *christiana lex.* [f] *aduenerat;* insert *ita.* [g] *filias paganorum.* [h] *super egrederentur.* [i] *Vortegirnus.* [j] *propter coniugem suam super omnes gentes.* [k] *illos.* [l] *Vortegirnum.* [m] *Vortimer.* [n] *cepit.* [o] *barbaros expellere.* [p] *obpungnare.* [q] *irrupcionibus.* [r] *derWent.* [s] *epifford.* [t] *catigernus.* [u] *Vortegirni.* *Harlech*

learned this, they were saddened by the multitude they heard had come to land and sent to the king demanding that he should banish them, and drive them away. But when [W]Gwrtheyrn knew this, naught did he but encourage the men of Sermania by giving them lands and possessions. And when the Bryttaniaid knew this, they chose [W]Gwerthevyr, son of Gwrthayrn, as their king, and began to make war upon the ssaesson. And then Gwerthevyr won four fields from them. The first battle was on the Avon boundary;* the second battle at ryd y pyssgod [Fishford], and there [G]Kyndayrn and Hors met and each slew the other. The third battle was on the seashore, and the ssaesson fled to ynys Daned [Thanet], Gwerthevyr

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ripam maris. quo naues muliebriter ingressi.ᶠ ᵃ diffugierunt hostes. & insulam thaneth pro refugio ᵇ adierunt.[1] ᶜ At uortimerus ᵈ obsedit illos ᵉ ibidem. & nauali ᶠ prelio cotidie infestabat. Cumque[2] impetum britonum diutius ᵍ tolerare nequirent.ᶠ miserunt uortegirnum ʰ regem qui in omnibus bellis cum ipsis aderat ad filium suum uortimerum ⁱ petentes licentiam ʲ abscedendi.ᶠ ᵏ petendique germaniam cum salute. Cumque inde colloquium haberent. interim ingressi sunt ˡ crulas ᵐ suas. relictisque mulieribus & filiis.ᶠ
VI. xiv f. 61 rec. germaniam redierunt. Uictoria deinde | potitus uortimerus.ᶠ ⁿ cepit reddere possessiones[3] ereptas ciuibus. ipsosque diligere & ᵒ honorare. & ecclesias iubente sancto germano ᵖ renouare. Set bonitati eius inuidit ilico diabolus.ᶠ qui in corde Renwen[4] ᵠ nouerce sue ingressus incitauit eam ut neci ipsius imineret.[5] Que ergo ʳ ascitis uniuersis ueneficiis.ᶠ dedit illi per quendam familiarem suum ˢ uenenum potare.ᶠ quem innumerabilibus donariis corruperat. Quod cum hausisset inclitus bellator ᵗ ille.ᶠ subita infirmitate grauatus est ita ut nullam spem uiuendi haberet. Nec mora iussit omnes milites suos uenire ad se.ᵘ & indicata morte ᵛ que superueniebat. distribuit eis aurum atque argentum suum. & quicquid congesserant. attaui.[6] ʷ Flentes ˣ quoque ʸ & eiulantes ᶻ consolabatur.ᶠ docens uiam uniuerse carnis esse quam ᵃ′ initurus ᵇ′ erat. Audaces autem & bellicosos

Bern [1] *adiuerunt.* [2] *Cunque.* [3] *possesiones.* [4] *Roawen.* [5] *immineret.* [6] *quicquit ataui congesserant.*

Harlech ᵃ *digressi;* insert *qui.* ᵇ *profugio.* ᶜ *adiuerunt.* ᵈ *Vortimer.* ᵉ *eos.* ᶠ *naualli.* ᵍ *Britonum diucius.* ʰ *Vortegirnum.* ⁱ *uortimerium.* ʲ *licenciam.* ᵏ *abscedendique;* omit *petendique.* ˡ omit *sunt.* ᵐ *chiulas.* ⁿ *Vortimerius.* ᵒ *atque.* ᵖ *Germano.* ᵠ *Rowen.* ʳ omit *ergo.* ˢ *suam.* ᵗ *debellator.* ᵘ *ad se uenire.* ᵛ *fortuna.* ʷ *attaui congesserant.* ˣ *Flente.* ʸ insert *illos.* ᶻ *ululantes.* ᵃ′ *qua.* ᵇ′ *ituri erant.*

following them and slaying them. And when the ssaesson saw there was no place to escape to, they left their wives and children, and themselves fled to their country. And when ᵂGwerthevyr had defeated them, he returned to ynys Brydain. And when Rawnwen, Gwrthayrn's wife, heard that the
f. 92 vo. ssaesson were all slain, she gave gold and silver to his own servant* to poison the king. And when he perceived that he was poisoned, he summoned all the princes and charged all of them to defend their country against the alien nation, loyal to their truest duty. He then divided his treasure among

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iuuenes qui ei in debellationibus [a] suis astare solebant hortabatur. ut pro patria pugnantes eam ab hostili irruptione tueri niterentur. Audacia autem maxima docente. iussit piramidem fieri sibi [1] aerseam. [2 b] locarique in portu. quo saxones applicare [3] solebant. Corpus uero [c] suum postquam defunctum foret sepeliri [4] desuper. [f] ut uiso busto barbari retortis uelis in germaniam redirent. Dicebat enim neminem illorum audere propius accedere. si etiam bustum ipsius aspicerent. O maximam [d] uiri audaciam. [e] qui eis quibus uiuus terrori fuerat. post obitum etiam ut timeretur optabat. Set defuncto illo. aliud | egerunt [f] britones. [g] quia in *f. 61 vo.* urbe trinouantum corpus illius sepelierunt. Post obitum autem *VI. xv* ipsius restitutus est uortegirnus in regnum. qui precibus coniugis sue commotus. [5] misit nuncios [6] suos ad hengistum in germaniam. [7] mandauitque ei [8 h] ut iterum in britanniam [i] rediret. At tamen priuatim & cum paucis. [f] quia timebat ne si aliter superuenisset [j] discordia inter barbaros [k] & ciues oriretur. Hengistus ergo [l] audita [9] morte [10 m] uortimeri. [f n] trescenta [11] milia [o] armatorum [p] associauit. paratoque [12] nauigio in britanniam [q] reuersus est. Sed [r] cum tante multitudinis aduentus uortegirno & principibus regni nunciatus esset indignati sunt ualde. [f] initoque consilio

[1] omit *sibi.* [2] *aeriam.* [3] *applicari.* [4] *sepiliri.* [5] *commotus.* [6] *nuntios.* [7] *germiniam.* [8] *sibi.* [9] *audito.* [10] *obitu.* [11] *trecenta.* [12] *paratque.* *Bern*

[a] *bellacionibus.* [b] *attritam.* [c] omit *uero.* [d] *maxima.* [e] *audacia.* [f] *gerunt.* [g] *Britones.* [h] *sibi.* [i] *Brittanniam.* [j] *uenirel.* [k] *Barbaros.* [l] *uero.* [m] *audito obitu.* [n] *Vortimerii.* [o] *ccc.M.* [p] insert *sibi.* [q] *Britanniam.* [r] *Set.* *Harlech*

all his princes, and ordered them to burn his body, and put the ashes in a bronze figure of a man, and to display the image at the ports at which an alien nation should threaten to land, for doubtless they would not come when they saw his image there. And when Gwerthefyr was dead, the princes did not do as he ordered them, but buried him in Llyndain, and they made Gwrtheyrn king a second time, for lack of any lawful man. And when he got the governance of the island the second time, Rawnwen sent to ssermania to Hainssiestr, her father, telling him to raise an ample army and to come to ynys Brydain and telling him that Gwerthevyr was dead. And when Hainssiestr knew this, he came with sixty ships of armed men to ynys brydain. When the bryttaniait learned of the landing of such a

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constituerunt preliari cum eis. atque ipsos ex litoribus [a] expellere. Quod cum filia sua hengisto per internuncios indicasset.[f 1] confestim cogitauit quid potius contra id agendum esset. Diuersis igitur machinationibus [b] peragratis.[f] unum ex omnibus elegit. ut gentem regni [c] sub specie pacis adoriretur prodere. Misit itaque [d] legatos suos ad regem. iussitque nunciare quod non conduxerat tantam multitudinem uirorum ut uel secum in regno remanerent.[e] uel uiolentiam[f] aliquam cum eis patrie ingereret.[2] Erat namque [3] causa cur eam conduxisset quia existimabat [4] uortimerum [g] adhuc [5] uiuere. cui affectabat per eos [6 h] resistere.[f] si illum expugnare cepisset.[7 i] Cum [8 j] autem non hesitabat ipsum defunctum esse.[f] committebat sese & populum suum dispositioni uortegirni.[k] ut quod optaret ex tanto numero in regnum suum retinuisset.[f] &
f. 62 rec. quot [l] refutandos censeret conce- | debat [9 m] ut in germaniam sine dilatione [n] redirent.[10 o] & si id uortegirno [p] placuisset.[f] tunc petebat ipse ut diem & locum nominasset uortegirnus [q] quo pariter conuenirent.[f] & omnia ex uoluntate sua disposuisset. Talia itaque [11 r] ut regi nunciata sunt.[f 12 s] placuerunt ei [t] uehementer. quia inuitus sineret hengistum abire.

Bern [1] *indicauisset.* [2] *ingererent.* [3] *enim.* [4] *existimabant.* [5] *adhuc vortimerum.* [6] *per eos affectabat.* [7] *incepisset.* [8] *Quem.* [9] *condecebat.* [10] *rediissent.* [11] *nanque ut regi.* [12] *nuntiata fuerunt.*

Harlech [a] *littoribus.* [b] *machinacionibus.* [c] omit *regni.* [d] *igitur.* [e] *remanerent in regno.* [f] *uiolenciam.* [g] *Vortimerium.* [h] *per eos affectabat.* [i] *incepisset.* [j] *Quem.* [k] *dis-posicioni Vortegirni.* [l] *quod.* [m] *concedebant.* [n] *dilacione.* [o] *rediisent.* [p] *Vortegirno.* [q] *Vortegirnus.* [r] *ergo;* insert *ut.* [s] *nunciata fuerunt.* [t] omit *ei.*

multitude, they besought the king to drive them back. And when the ssermaniait knew this, they told the king and his princes that they had
f. 93 rec. come to the island with no hostility in the world against the bryttaniait, but "thinking that Gwerthevyr the Blessed was not dead, we brought the multitude with us lest he should molest us. Since he is dead, our petition is that the king set a time, that in an appointed place we may learn his pleasure as to the number of us that shall remain here, and those who do not, shall go back again to our country." And that time was appointed for May-day,* on the great plain in [ngh]kymry. It was forbidden also that any one should bring weapons to the conference, lest strife between the parties should arise. And then Hainssiest conceived his accustomed treachery,

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Postremo iussit & ciues & saxones kalendis mai [a] que iam instare incipiebant [b] in pago çambrii [1] [c] conuenire.[f] ut ibidem predicta statuerentur. Quod cum in utraque parte concessum [d] esset. hengistus noua prodicione [2] usus. precepit commilitonibus suis út unusquisque longum cultrum infra caligas [e] absconditum haberet.[3] Et cum colloquium securius tractarent britones. ipse daret eis hoc signum.[f] nimet eoure saxes.[f 4 g] unusquisque [h] paratus astantem britonem [i] audaciter [5] occuparet. atque [j] abstractis cultris ocius ipsum iugularet.[k] Nec mora statuta die instante.[f] conuenerunt omnes infra prouinciam [l] nominatam.[m] & de pace habenda colloquium inceperunt. Ut igitur horam prodicioni sue [6 n] idoneam [o] inspexisset [p] hengistus.[f] uociferatus est Nimet oure saxes.[7 g] Et ilico uortegirnum [q] accepit.[f] & per pallium detinuit. Audito uero [r] signo.[f] ocius [8 s] abstraxerunt saxones cultros suos. & astantes principes inuaserunt. ipsosque [t] nichil tale premeditan[tos]tes.[u] iugulauerunt circiter quadringentos [9] sexaginta.[v] inter barones & consules. quorum [w] corpora beatus eldadus post modum sepeliuit.[10] atque christiano more humauit. | haut longe a caercaradduc.[11] que nunc *f. 62 vo.* salesberia dicitur.[f] in cimiterio quod iuxta est [12] cenobium ambrii abbatis qui olim fundator ipsius extiterat.[w] Omnes enim sine

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[1] *ambrii.* [2] *arte.* [3] omit *infra . . . haberet;* insert *ad latus more suorum habens uoci sue obediret.* [4] *Nemet oure saxas.* [5] *audacter.* [6] *proposito suo.* [7] *Nime oure saxas.* [8] *olius signo.* [9] *quatringentos.* [10] *sepiliuit.* [11] *Kaercaraduc.* [12] omit *est.* *Bern*

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[a] *Maii.* [b] *ceperant.* [c] *iuxta cenobium ambrii.* [d] *statutum.* [e] insert *suas.* [f] *hoc signum eis.* [g] *Nimed oure sexes.* [h] *Unde quisque.* [i] *Britonem iugularet.* [j] &. [k] *interficeret.* [l] omit *prouinciam.* [m] *nomiatam;* insert *urbem.* [n] *sue prodicionis.* [o] omit *idoneam.* [p] *inspexit.* [q] *Vortegirnum.* [r] omit *uero.* [s] *mortis signo.* [t] *ipsos.* [u] *premeditatos.* [v] *cccc. lxxx.* [w] omit *quorum corpora . . . extiterat.* *Harlech*

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and ordered each of his men to go to the appointed parley carrying a long knife in his hose, and that when he should order, "*draw owd Iwr Sax,* — draw out your knives, — and kill the bryttaniaid before they realize it." And when the day came, the king and his princes came to the appointment and the Saxoniait on the other side. And as the princes were standing in a crowd in discussion, Hainssiestr cried out: "*draw owt ywr ssaxs.*" And then the ssaesson drew out their knives and killed four hundred and sixty of the Bryttaniaid, counting Earls, Barons, and chieftains. The king him-

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armis aduenerant nec aliud nisi de pace tractanda [a] existimabant. Vnde ceteri qui propter prodicionem [1] accesserant leuius [2] ipsos inermes interficere potuerunt. Non inpune [b] tamen hoc egerunt pagani. quia multi eorum perempti fuerunt. dum neci eorum [3] [c] immineren t. Eripiebant enim britones [d] ex tellure lapides & fustes. atque sese defendere uolentes proditores illidebant.
VI. xvi Aderat ibi consul claudiocestrie uocabulo eldol, [e] qui uisa prodicione [f] sustulit palum quem forte inuenerat. & defensioni uacauit. Quemcunque attingebat cum [g] illo confringens ei [g] membrum quod percuciebat. dirigebat confestim ad tartara. Alii caput. [h] alii brachia. alii scapulas. compluribus etiam crura elidens. terrorem non minimum inferebat. nec prius ex illo loco [i] abscessit. [j] donec [4] septuaginta [k] uiros consumpto palo interfecit. Nam cum [l] tante multitudini [m] resistere nequiuisset. diuertit sese [n] ab illis. atque ciuitatem suam petiuit. Multi hinc & inde ceciderunt. set tamen [5] [o] uictoriam habuerunt saxones. Britones namque nichil tale premeditati inermes aduenerant. unde minime resistere potuerunt. [p] Vt igitur [q] nefandum inceptum [6] peregerunt saxones. uoluerunt interficere uortegirnum. [r] set mortem cominantes. [7] [s] ligauerunt eum. pecieruntque [8] [t] ciuitates suas
f. 63 rec. atque munitiones | pro uita. Quibus ilico quicquid affectauerant concessit. ut uiuus abscedere sineretur. Cumque id iureiurando confirmatum fuisset. soluerunt eum a uinculis. atque urbem lundonie [9] primitus adeuntes ceperunt. Ceperunt deinde eboracum. [u] & lindocolinum. [v] necnon [10] & wintoniam. [11] [w] quasque

Bern [1] *propter eorum patriam.* [2] *liuius.* [3] *ceterorum.* [4] *done.* [5] omit *tamen.* [6] *inceptum nefandum.* [7] *comminantes.* [8] *petieruntque.* [9] *londonie.* [10] *necnum.* [11] *guintoniam.*

Harlech [a] *tractandum.* [b] *impune.* [c] *ceterorum neci.* [d] *Britones.* [e] *eldos.* [f] *prodicione uisa.* [g] omit *g* to *g*; insert *constrigebat.* [h] *Illi capud.* [i] *loco illo.* [j] *discessit.* [k] *lxx.* [l] omit *cum.* [m] insert *cum.* [n] *se.* [o] omit *tamen.* [p] *poterant.* [q] *ergo.* [r] *Vortegirnum.* [s] *comminantes.* [t] *petiueruntque.* [u] *deinde oboracum ceperunt.* [v] *lindoquolinum.* [w] *Wintoniam.*

self was seized by Hainssissester; and of all the princes of ynys Brydain
f. 93 vo. none escaped but Eidiol, Earl of ka*er* loyw, who escaped by the might of a club which he found under foot; with that club he killed seventy men, and so he escaped unhurt and came to his own realm. And then there was taken

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prouincias deuastantes. Inuadebant undique ciues quemadmodum lupi oues.ᶠ quas pastores deseruerunt. Cum ᵃ ergo tantam cladem inspexisset uortegirnus,ᶠ ᵇ secessit in partibus kambrie. inscius quid contra nefandam gentem ageret. Vocatis ᶜ *vi. xvii* denique magis suis consuluit illos.ᶠ ᵈ iussitque edicere [1] ᵉ quid faceret. Qui omnes ei consilium dederunt [2] ᶠ ut edificaret sibi turrim fortissimam que sibi tutamen foret cum ceteras munitiones amisisset. Peragratis ergo quibusdam locis.ᵍ ut eam in congruo loco statueret. uenit tandem ad montem erith.ᶠ [3] ʰ ubi coadunatis ex diuersis patriis ⁱ cementariis ʲ iussit turrim construere. Conuenientes itaque lapidarii.ᶠ ceperunt eam fundare.ᵏ Set quicquid ˡ una die operabantur ᵐ absorbebat tellus [4] ⁿ in altera. ita ut nescirent quorsum ᵒ opus suum euanesceret. Cumque [5] id uortegirno nuntiatum ᵖ fuisset.ᶠ consuluit iterum magos suos ut causam rei indicarent. Qui dixerunt ut iuuenem sine patre quereret.

[1] *dicere.* [2] omit *omnes . . . dederunt;* insert *dixerunt.* [3] *erir.* [4] insert *illud.* [5] *Cunque.* *Bern*

ᵃ *Cumque.* ᵇ *Vortegirnus.* ᶜ *Convocatis.* ᵈ *eos.* ᵉ *dicere.* ᶠ omit *omnes . . . dederunt;* insert *dixerunt.* ᵍ omit *quibusdam locis.* ʰ *erir.* ⁱ *illa patria.* ʲ *commentariis.* ᵏ *fundere;* insert *turrim construere.* ˡ insert *in.* ᵐ *operabatur.* ⁿ insert *illud.* ᵒ *quo.* ᵖ *Vortegirno nunciatum.* *Harlech*

away from the king Kaer Lyndain, and Kaer Efroc, and Kaer Lincol. And then the king was let go, and he was banned from the whole extent of lloegr, and he fled to ᵉkymry. And after he had for some time been in this case, he planned to build a castle lest he should be beaten by the alien nation as they had done before; and having searched the whole of the land of kymry, he found a spot suited for a castle in the place called at this hour dinas Emrys, in the Yrri [Snowdon]. And when he had brought there many stone workers he began the making of the walls. Then as much as was built by day fell down by night. And after it had been thus for a long time without advancing the work, Gwrthayrn was amazed, and asked the twelve chief bards what he must do that the work might stand. And they held council as to what answer they should give him. Then one of them said, "the thing that never can be, and let us bid seek for that which never can be found, so shall we be without reproach." They therefore told the king that if the blood of a son who had no father could be had and mixed with the mortar, the work would stand. And when the king was told this, he sent throughout the kingdom to find a son who had no father. And when *f. 94 rec.*

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quesitumque interficeret.[f] ut cementum[a] sanguine ipsius[b] & lapides aspergerentur. Id enim prodesse asserebant.[f] ut fundamentum constaret. Nec mora mittuntur legati per uniuersas
f. 63 vo. prouincias ut talem hominem inuenirent. At[1] cum in urbem | que postea[1] kaermerdin[c] uocata fuit uenissent. conspexerunt iuuenes ante portam ludentes. & ad ludum accesserunt Fatigati autem itinere sederunt in[d] circo.[f] exploraturi quod querebant. Denique cum multum diei preterisset subita lis orta est[e] inter duos iuuenes quorum erant nomina merlinus.[2][f] atque dinabutius.[g] Certantibus uero ipsis.[f] dixit dinabucius[3] ad merlinum.[4] Quid mecum contendis fatue? Nunquid nobis eadem erit nobilitas? Ego enim ex origine regum editus sum. ex utraque parte generationis mee. De te autem nescitur quis sis.[f] cum patrem non habeas. Ad uerbum istud erexerunt legati uultus suos. atque intuentes in merlinum.[f][h] interrogauerunt circumstantes[5][i] quis esset.[f] Quibus illi dixerunt.[f] quia nesciebatur quis eum pater[6][i] genuerat.[7] mater uero filia fuerat[k] regis demetie que in[l] ecclesia sancti petri in eadem urbe inter monachas degebat.
VI. xviii Festinantes[m] itaque nuncii uenenerunt[8] ad prefectum urbis. preceperuntque ei ex parte regis ut merlinus[2][f] cum matre sua ad regem mitteretur. Prefectus ilico cum causam legationis[n] eorum cognouisset.[f] misit merlinum[4][h] & matrem suam ad uortegirnum.[o] ut de eis libitum suum perficeret. Et cum in presentiam[p] ipsius[9]

Bern [1] insert *postea*, omit later. [2] *Merlinus.* [3] *dinabutius.* [4] *Merlinum.* [5] *circonstantes.* [6] *pater eum.* [7] *progenuerat.* [8] *nuntii uenerunt.* [9] *illius.*

Harlech [a] omit *cementum.* [b] insert *cementum.* [c] *Kaelmerdin.* [d] *id.* [e] insert *discordia.* [f] *Merlinus.* [g] *dinabucius.* [h] *Merlinum.* [i] omit *circumstantes.* [k] *pater eum.* [l] *fuerat filia.* [m] *quem;* omit *in.* [n] insert *autem.* [o] *legacionis.* [p] *Vortegirnum.* [q] *presencia.*

they had gone everywhere, the searchers came to kaer Vyrddin, so called because it had been founded by ten thousand [myrdd] men. And there they saw boys playing ball and two of them began to wrangle; "Be silent," said one to the other, "and do not compare yourself to me; for I am noble by my father and mother both, — and as for you, you have no father." And when the messengers heard this, they laid hold on the boy, brought him to the mayor, and ordered him, on the king's authority, to send the boy and his mother before the king. And that he did. And then the king

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adducti fuissent.[f] [a] excepit rex diligenter matrem. quia sciebat eam [1] nobilibus natalibus [2] ortam.[b] Deinde inquirere cepit ab illa ex quo uiro iuuenem [c] conceperat. Cui illa dixit. Uiuit anima mea [d] & uiuit anima tua [e] domine mi rex. quia neminem agnoui qui illum in me generauerit.[3] [f] Vnum autem scio. quod cum essem inter consocias meas in thalamis nostris.[f] [g] | apparebat *f. 64 rec.*
mihi [h] quidam in specie pulcherrimi [4] iuuenis. & sepissime amplectens me strictis [i] brachiis.[f] [i] deosculabatur. Et cum aliquantulum mecum moram fecisset.[f] subito euanescebat. ita ut nichil ex eo uiderem. Multociens quoque me [5] [k] alloquebatur dum secreto sederem.[f] nec usquam comparebat. Cumque [6] me [l] in hunc modum frequentasset.[f] coiuit mecum in specie hominis sepius.[7] atque grauidam in aluo deseruit. Sciat itaque [8] [m] prudencia tua domine mi quod aliter uirum non agnoui.[f] [n] qui iuuenem istum genuerit. Admirans [9] itaque rex.[f] iussit maugantium [o] ad se uocari. ut sibi manifestaret si id quod dixerat mulier.[f] fieri potuisset Adductus autem maugantius.[10] [p] auditis omnibus ex ordine.[f] dixit ad uortegirnum. [q] In libris philosophorum nostrorum. & in plurimis [11] [r] hystoriis [12] reperi [13] multos homines huiusmodi procreationem habuisse. Nam ut apulegius de deo socratis perhibet. inter lunam & terram habitant spiritus. quos incubos demones appellamus.

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[1] *eam sciebat.* [2] omit *natalibus.* [3] *generauit.* [4] *pulcerrimi.* [5] omit *me.* [6] *Cunque.* *Bern*
[7] *ipsius.* [8] omit *itaque.* [9] *Ammirans.* [10] *Maugantius.* [11] *pluribus.* [12] *historiis.*
[13] *repperi.*

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[a] *essent.* [b] *ortam natalibus.* [c] omit *iuuenem.* [d] *tua.* [e] *mea.* [f] *genuerit.* [g] omit *Harlech*
nostris. [h] omit *mihi.* [i] omit *strictis.* [j] insert *suis.* [k] omit *me.* [l] insert *diu.* [m] omit
itaque. [n] *cognoui.* [o] *maugancium.* [p] *maugancius.* [q] *Vortegirnum.* [r] *pluribus.*

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asked the woman who was father of the boy. "On my faith," said she, "I know not. Only daughter was I to the king of dyfed. And when still Young, I was made a nun at kaer Vyrddin. And as I slept among my sisters, in my sleep I saw a Young man who embraced me; but when I awoke, there was no one but my sisters and myself. After this I conceived and this boy was born to me. And on my faith in god, more than this there never was between a man and myself." And then the king asked of Bishop [s]maygan, "Could this be true?" "It could," said he. "For when Lyssyffer and the evil angels who sinned with him, fell, in the places and in the forms *f. 94 vo.*

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Hii partim habent naturam hominum.[a] partim uero[b] angelorum. & cum uolunt asumunt[1 c] sibi humanas figuras. & cum mulieribus coeunt. Forsitan unus ex eis huic mulieri apparuit.ſ & iuuenem
VI. xix istum ex[2 d] ipsa generauit. Cumque[3 e] omnia auscultasset merlinus.ſ[4] accessit ad regem & ait.[5 e] Vt quid ego & mater mea in presencia tua adducti sumus? Cui uortegirnus. Magi mei dederunt mihi consilium ut hominem sine patre perquirerem. ut opus meum sanguine ipsius irroraretur.ſ[f] & staret. Tunc ait merlinus.[6 g]
f. 64 vo. Iube magos tuos | uenire coram me. & conuincam illos mendatium adinuenisse. Admirans[7] continuo rex super uerbis illius.ſ iussit uenire magos. & coram merlino[8 h] sedere. Quibus ait merlinus.[6 g] Nescientes quid fundamentum incepte turris impediat. laudauistis ut sanguis meus effunderetur[9 i] in cementum. & quasi ilico opus constaret. Set dicite mihi. quid sub fundamento latet? Nam aliquid[10] sub illo est.ſ quod ipsum stare non permittit. Expauescentes autem magi.ſ conticuerunt. Tunc ait merlinus,[6 g] qui & ambrosius[i] dicebatur. Domine mi rex uoca operarios tuos & iube fodere terram. & inuenies stagnum sub ea.ſ quod turrim stare non permittit. Quod cum factum fuisset.ſ repertum. est stagnum sub terra. quod eam instabilem fecerat. Accessit

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Bern [1] *assumunt.* [2] *in.* [3] *Cunque.* [4] *abscultasset Merlinus.* [5] *dixit.* [6] *Merlinus.* [7] *Ammirans.* [8] *Merlino.* [9] *diffunderetur.* [10] *aliquod.*

Harlech [a] *hominis.* [b] omit *uero.* [c] *assumunt.* [d] *in.* [e] insert *Cum ad montem erir in presencia Vortegirni regis Britonum adductus esset Merlinus ut ibi iuxta magorum suorum consilium ad edificacionem turris sanguis eius effunderetur.ſ accessit ipse Merlinus ad regem et ait;* omit from *Cumque* through *& ait.* [f] *irrigaretur.* [g] *Merlinus.* [h] *Merlino.* [i] *diffunderetur.* [j] *Ambrosius.*

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under which they were when God bade them cease, in those places they are to this day, and some of them are able to assume the forms of women, some of men; and thus perhaps was this boy begotten." And then the king told the lad that he must have his blood to mix with the mortar to make the work stand. "Why," asked the boy, "what makes my blood of use more than other blood?" "Because of the saying of my twelve chief bards," said the king. "Call hither the twelve chief bards," said the boy. And when they were come, the boy asked them, "Why* have you told the king that my blood will make the work stand? What," said the boy, "is beneath yonder spot of rushes?" "On our faith, we know not," said they. And then the

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iterum ambrosius[a] merlinus[1][b] ad magos.[f] & ait. Dicite mihi mendaces adulatores quid sub stagno est. Itaque illi[2][c] nec unum uerbum respondentes.[f] obmutuerunt. Tunc[d] merlinus ad regem.[3][d] Precipe ait[4][e] stagnum hauriri[f] per riuulos.[f] & uidebis in fundo duos concauos lapides. & in illis duos dracones dormientes. Credidit rex uerbis eius qui uerum dixerat de stagno.[f] & iussit illud[5] hauriri. & merlinum[6][g] super omnia admirabatur.[7] Admirabantur[8] etiam cunti[9][h] qui astabant tantam[i] in eo sapienciam. existimantes numen esse in illo.

Von dum[10][i] autem ad hunc locum historie peruenieram. *VII. i*
cum de merlino[11] diuulgato rumore compellebant. undique me[12][k] contemporanei mei prophetias[l] ipsius edere.
Maxime autem.[f] | alexander lincolniensis episcopus.[13] uir summe *f. 65 rec.*
religionis & prudentie. Non erat in clero siue in populo cui tot nobiles famularentur. quos mansueta[14] pietas ipsius. & benigna largitas in obsequium suum alliciebat. Cui cum satisfacere preelegissem.[f] prophetias[l] transtuli. & eidem cum huiusmodi litteris direxi.

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[1] *Merlinus.* [2] omit *Itaque illi.* [3] omit *Tunc merlinus ad regem.* [4] omit *ait.* *Bern*
[5] *illum.* [6] *Merlinum.* [7] *ammirabatur.* [8] *Ammirabantur.* [9] *cuncti.* [10] *Nondum.*
[11] *Merlino.* [12] omit *me.* [13] *linconiensis.* [14] *mansuata.*

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[a] omit *ambrosius.* [b] *Merlinus.* [c] omit *Itaque illi.* [d] omit *Tunc Merlinus ad regem.* *Harlech*
[e] omit *ait.* [f] *hauriri stagnum.* [g] *Merlinum.* [h] *eciam cuncti.* [i] omit *tantam.* [j] *Nondum.* [k] *me undique.* [l] *prophecias.*

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boy gave orders to dig under the rushes, and there was found a large pool of water. "What now is in that pool?" said the boy. "We know not," said the bards. "Draw off the pond, and you will find in it a stone chest, and in that chest there are two dragons sleeping, and when they awake, they fight, and that struggle makes the work to fall." And when they could not drain the pool, Merddin with his arts drew it off by five running streams. *f. 95 rec.*
Annvab y llaiann [the nun's son] he was called before this, but [V]myrddin after this, because he was found in kaer Vyrddin.* And after [W]Gwrtheyrn knew that the lad had great knowledge, he asked him, "What is to happen to me?" "To be killed and burned," said merddin. "For today the sons of [G]Kystennin are setting sail upon the sea and tomorrow they will come to the port of Totnais on the shore of Lloegr. Wherever you go, beware of

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VII. ii Cogit[1] me alexander[a] lincolniensis episcopus[2 b] nobilitatis tue dilectio prophetias merlini[3 c] de britannico[d] in latinum transferre antequam historiam perarassem.[4 e] quam de gestis regum britannorum[5 f] inceperam. Proposueram enim illam[6] prius[g] perficere. istudque opus subsequenter explicare. nedum[h] uterque labor incumberet.[f i] sensus meus ad singula minor[j] fieret. At tamen quoniam securus eram uenie quam discretio[k] subtilis ingenii tui[l] donaret.[f] agrestum[m] calamum meum labiis[n] apposui. & plebeia modulatione ignotum tibi interpretatus sum sermonem. Admodum autem admiror[7] quia id pauperi stilo dignatus eras[o] comittere.[8 p] cum tot doctiores. tot diciores. uirga potestatis tue coerceat.[q] qui sullimioris[r] carminis delectamento aures minerue tue mulcerent. Et ut omnes philosophos tocius[9] britannie[s] insule[t] preteream.[f] tu solus es quem[10 u] erubesco fateri. qui pre cunctis audaci lira caneres.[f] nisi te culmen honoris ad cetera negocia uocaret. Quoniam ergo placuit ut Gaufridus[11 v] monemutensis fistulam suam in hoc uaticinio sonaret.[f w] modulationibus suis
f. 65 vo. fauere non diffugias & si quid inordinate | siue uiciose protulerit.[f x] ferula camenarum[y] tuarum in rectum auertas concentum.

VII. iii Sedente itaque uortegirno[z] rege britonum super[a'] ripam exhausti stagni. egressi sunt duo dracones. quorum unus erat albus. & alius rubeus. Cumque alter alteri appropinquasset.[f] commiserunt diram pugnam. & ignem anelitu[12 b'] procreabant.[13] Preualebat autem albus draco. rubeumque usque ad

Bern [1] *Coegit.* [2] *lincolinensis presul.* [3] *Merlini.* [4] *parassem.* [5] *britannicorum.* [6] omit *illam.* [7] *ammiror.* [8] *committere.* [9] *tolius.* [10] insert *non.* [11] *gaufridus.* [12] *ankelitu.* [13] *procræabant.*

Harlech [a] *Coegit me Alexander.* [b] *presul.* [c] *Merlini.* [d] *Brittannico.* [e] *parassem.* [f] omit *regum; britonum.* [g] omit *prius.* [h] *Nec dum.* [i] *incumbente.* [j] *minus.* [k] *discrecio.* [l] omit *tui.* [m] *agrestem.* [n] *labellis.* [o] *est.* [p] *committere.* [q] *coherceat.* [r] *sublimioris.* [s] *Brittannie.* [t] omit *insule.* [u] *quod;* insert *non.* [v] *Galfer.* [w] *sociaret.* [x] *pertulerit.* [y] *cathenarum.* [z] *Vortegirno.* [a'] *iuxta.* [b'] *hanelitu.*

the two sons of [G]Kyst*enn*in." And then Gwrtheyrn ordered the stone chest to be opened, and out of it arose the two dragons, one white and one red, and they began to fight fiercely. At once the white one drove the red dragon to the middle of the pool, and then the red one, wounded, drove the

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extremitatem lacus fugabat. At ille cum se expulsum doluisset.[f] impetum fecit in album. ipsumque retro ire coegit. Ipsis ergo in hunc modum pugnantibus. precepit rex ambrosio merlino[1] dicere[a] quid prelium draconum portendebat.[b] Mox ille in fletum erumpens. spiritum hausit prophetie & ait. Ue rubeo draconi.[f] nam exterminatio eius festinat. Cauernas ipsius occupabit albus draco. qui saxones quos inuitasti significat. Rubeus uero gentem designat[2] britannie.[c] que ab albo opprimetur. Montes itaque ut eius[3] [d] ualles equabuntur. & flumina uallium sanguine manabunt. Cultus religionis delebitur. & ruina ecclesiarum patebit.[4] Preualebit tandem oppressa. & seuicie[5] exterorum resistet. Aper etenim cornubie succursum prestabit. & colla eorum sub pedibus suis[6] conculcabit. Insule occeani potestati ipsius subdentur. & gallicanos saltus possidebit. Tremebit romulea domus seuiciam[7] ipsius. & exitus eius dubius erit. In ore populorum celebrabitur. & actus eius.[f] cibus erit narrantibus. Set[8] & [e] posteri eius sequentur sceptrum. & [9] [f] post ipsos exurget germanicus uermis. Sub | limabit[10] illum equoreus lupus. quem[11] affricana nemora *f. 66 rec.* comitabuntur.[g] Delebitur iterum religio. & transmutatio primarum[h] sedium fiet. Dignitas lundonie[12] adornabit doroberniam & pastor eboracensis septimus in armorico regno frequentabitur. Meneuia pallio urbis legionum induetur. & predicator hybernie[13] propter infantem in utero crescentem obmutescet. Pluet sanguineus ymber & dira fames mortales afficiet. His[i] superuenientibus.[f] dolebit rubeus. set emenso labore uigebit. Tunc

[1] *Merlino.* [2] *disignat.* [3] insert *ut.* [4] *patebitur.* [5] *seuitie.* [6] omit *suis.* [7] *seuitiam.* *Bern*
[8] *Sex;* omit &. [9] *set;* omit &. [10] *Sullimabit.* [11] *quam.* [12] *londonie.* [13] *hibernie.*

[a] *Merlino;* omit *dicere.* [b] *pretendebat.* [c] *Brittannie.* [d] insert *ut.* [e] omit &. *Harlech*
[f] *set.* [g] *commitabuntur.* [h] *transmutacio primarium.* [i] *Hiis.*

white one back to the middle of the pool. Then Gwrtheyrn asked [V]Myrddin what that should signify, and he said, "Woe to the red dragon, for her calamity hasteneth and the white dragon shall seize her caves. The white dragon signifieth the ssaesson, and the red dragon, which shall be conquered by the white one, signifieth the Bryttaniait. For this shall the mountains be leveled like the valleys, and in the valleys the rivers shall flow with blood."

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infortunium albi festinabit. & edificia ortulorum eius diruentur. Septem sceptrigeri perimentur. & unus eorum sanctificabitur. Ventres matrum secabuntur. & infantes abortiui erunt. Erit ingens supplicium hominum. ut indigene restituantur. Qui faciet hec[f] eneum uirum induet. & per multa tempora super eneum equum portas lundonie[1] seruabit. Exinde[2] in proprios mores reuertetur rubeus draco. & in seipsum seuire[a] laborabit. Superueniet itaque ultio[b] tonantis. quia omnis ager colonos decipiet. Arripiet mortalitas populum. cunctasque nationes[c] euacuabit. Residui natale solum deserent. & exteras culturas seminabunt. Rex benedictus parabit nauigium. & in aula duodecimi[d] inter beatos annumerabitur. Erit miseranda regni desolatio.[e] & aree messium in fructuosos saltus redibunt. Exurget iterum albus draco. & filiam germanie inuitabit. Replebuntur[f] ortuli nostri
f. 66 vo. iterum[3 g] alieno semine.[3] & in extremitate stagni | languebit rubeus. Exinde[2] coronabitur germanicus uermis. & eneus princeps[h] humabitur.[i] Terminus illi positus est quem transuolare nequibit. Centum namque[4] quinquaginta annis in inquietudine & subiectione manebit. trescentum[5 j] uero[f] insidebit. Tunc exurget in illum aquilo. & flores quos zephirus procreauit[f] eripiet. Erit deauratio in templis. nec acumen gladiorum cessabit. Vix obtinebit[k] cauernas suas germanicus draco. quia ultio[b] proditionis[l] eius superueniet. Uigebit tandem paulisper. set decimatio[m] neustrie nocebit. Populus namque in ligno & tunicis ferreis[6 n] superueniet. qui uindictam de nequicia[7] ipsius sumet. Restaura-

Bern [1] *londonie.* [2] *Exin.* [3] omit *iterum*, insert later. [4] *nanque.* [5] *trecentum.* [6] *ferreis tunicis.* [7] *nequilia.*

Harlech [a] *seruire.* [b] *ulcio.* [c] *naciones.* [d] *duodecim.* [e] *desolacio.* [f] insert *iterum.* [g] omit *iterum.* [h] *princeps eneus.* [i] *humiliabitur.* [j] *trecentum.* [k] *optinebit.* [l] *prodicionis.* [m] *decimacio.* [n] *ferreis tunicis.*

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bit pristinis incolis mansiones. & ruina alienigenarum[1] patebit. Germen albi draconis ex ortulis nostris[a] abradetur. & reliquie generationis eius decimabuntur. Iugum perpetue seruitutis ferent. matremque suam ligonibus & aratris uulnerabunt. Succedent duo dracones. quorum alter inuidie spiculo suffocabitur. alter uero sub umbra nominis redibit. Succedet leo iusticie. ad cuius rugitum gallicane turres & insulani dracones tremebunt. In diebus eius aurum ex lilio & urtica extorquebitur. & argentum ex ungulis mugientium manabit.[b] Calamistrati uaria uellera uestibunt. & exterior habitus interiora signabit.[c] Pedes latrantium[2][d] truncabuntur. pacem habebunt fere. humanitas supplicium docebit.[3][e] Findetur forma commercii. dimidium rotundum erit. Peribit miluorum rapacitas. & dentes luporum | hebetabuntur. *f. 67 rec.* Catuli leonis in equoreos pisces[f] transformabuntur.[g] & aquila eius super montem arauium nidificabit. Venedocia rubebit materno sanguine. & domus corinei[4][f] sex fratres interficiet. Nocturnis lacrimis madebit insula. unde omnes ad omnia prouocabuntur.[h] Nitentur posteri transuolare superna. set fauor nouorum sullimabitur.[i] Nocebit[5] possidenti ex impiis pietas. donec sese genitore induerit. Apri igitur dentibus accinctus. cacumina moncium.[6] & umbram galeati transcendet. Indignabitur albania. & conuocatis collateralibus[7][f] sanguinem effundere uacabit. Dabitur maxillis eius frenum. quod in armorico sinu fabricabitur. Deaurabit[8] illud aquila rupti federis. & tercia nidificatione gaudebit. Euigilabunt[j] rugientes catuli. & postpositis nemoribus

[1] *alienigænarum.* [2] *latrantum.* [3] *dolebit.* [4] *corrinei.* [5] *Noscebit.* [6] *montium.* *Bern*
[7] *colleteralibus.* [8] *Deaurabitur.*

[a] omit *ex ortulis nostris.* [b] *mugiencium emanabit.* [c] *significabit.* [d] *latriancium.* *Harlech*
[e] *dolebit.* [f] *pisses.* [g] *transformababuntur.* [h] Insert *Ue tibi neustria quoniam in te cerebrum leonis effundetur & dissipatis membris a natiuo solo eliminabitur.* [i] *sublimabitur.*
[j] *Euigilant.*

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infra menia ciuitatum uenabuntur. Stragem non minimam ex obstantibus facient. & linguas taurorum abscident. Colla rugientium[a] onerabunt catenis.[b] & auita[1] tempora renouabunt. Exin[c] de primo in quartum. de quarto in tercium.[2] de tercio in secundum.[d] rotabitur pollex in oleo. Sextus hybernie[3] menia subuertet. & nemora in planiciem[4] mutabit. Diuersas portiones in unum reducet. & capite leonis coronabitur. Principium eius uago affectui succumbet. set finis ipsius[d] ad superos conuolabit.[e] Renouabit namque beatorum sedes per patrias. & pastores
f. 67 vo. in congruis locis locabit. Duas urbes duobus palliis | induet. & uirginea[5] munera uirginibus donabit. Promerebitur inde fauorem tonantis. & inter beatos collocabitur. Egredietur ex eo linx[6] penetrans omnia que ruine[f] proprie gentis imminebit.[g] Per illam enim utramque insulam amittet neustria. & pristina dignitate spoliabitur. Deinde reuertentur ciues in insulam. nam discidium alienigenarum orietur. Niueus quoque senex in niueo equo fluuium peironis diuertet. & cum candida uirga molendinum super ipsum metabitur. Cadualadrus[h] uocabit conanum.[i] & albaniam in societatem accipiet. Tunc erit strages[i] alienigenarum. tunc flumina sanguine manabunt. Tunc erumpent armorici[k] montes. & diademate bruti[l] coronabitur.[m] Replebitur kambria leticia. & robora cornubie uirescent. Nomine bruti[l] uocabitur insula. & nuncupatio extraneorum peribit. Ex conano procedet aper bellicosus qui infra gallica[n] nemora acumen dentium[o] suorum exercebit. Truncabit namque[7] queque[p] maiora robora. minoribus

Bern [1] *a uita.* [2] *tertium.* [3] *hibernie.* [4] *planitiem.* [5] *uirgenea.* [6] *lux.* [7] *nanque.*

Harlech [a] *rugiencium.* [b] *cathenis.* [c] *Exinde.* [d] *eius;* insert *conuolabit.* [e] omit *conuolabit.* [f] *ruina.* [g] *iminebit.* [h] *CadaWaladrus.* [i] *conanum uocabit.* [i] *strages erit;* insert &. [k] *armonici.* [l] *Bruti.* [m] *coronabuntur.* [n] *gallicana.* [o] *accumen dencium.* [p] omit *queque.*

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uero[f] tutelam prestabit. Tremebunt illum arabes. & affricani.[a] nam impetum[b] cursus sui in ulteriorem hyspaniam[1] protendet. Succedet hyrcus[2][c] uenerii castri aurea habens cornua. & argenteam barbam. qui ex naribus suis tantam eflabit[3][d] nebulam. quanta superficies tota[4][e] insule obumbrabitur. Pax erit in tempore suo. & ubertate glebe multiplicabuntur segetes. Mulieres[f] incessu[5] serpentes fient. & omnis gressus | earum superbia *f. 68 rec.* replebitur. Renouabuntur castra ueneris. nec[g] cessabunt sagitte cupidinis uulnerare. Fons amne[h] uertetur in sanguinem. & duo reges duellum propter leenam de uado baculi committent. Omnis humus luxuriabit. & [i] humanitas fornicari[i] non desinet. Omnia hec[f] tria secula uidebunt. donec sepulti reges in urbe lundoniarum[6] propalabuntur. Redibit iterum fames.[7] redibit mortalitas. & desolationem urbium dolebunt ciues. Superueniet aper comercii.[8][k] qui dispersos greges ad amissam pascuam[l] reuocabit. Pectus eius cibus erit egentibus. & lingua eius sedabit sicientes.[9][m] Ex ore ipsius procedent flumina. que arentes hominum fauces rigabunt. Exin[10][n] super[11] turrim lundoniarum[6] procreabitur arbor. que tribus solummodo ramis contenta. superficiem totius[o] insule latitudine foliorum obumbrabit. Huic aduersarius boreas superueniet. atque iniquo flatu suo tercium illi ramum[p] eripiet. Duo uero residui locum exstirpati[12][q] occupabunt. donec alter alterum foliorum multitudine adnichilabit.[13] Deinde uero locum duorum obtinebit[r] ipse. & uolucres exterarum regionum sustentabit. Patris[14][s] uolatilibus[t] nociuus habebitur. nam timore

[1] *hispaniam.* [2] *hircus.* [3] *efflabit.* [4] *tota superficies.* [5] *in cessu.* [6] *londoniarum.* *Bern*
[7] *famæs.* [8] *commertii.* [9] *silientes.* [10] *Et.* [11] *insuper.* [12] *extirpati.* [13] *ad nichilabit.*
[14] *Patriis.*

[a] *affricam.* [b] *impetu.* [c] *hircus.* [d] *efflabit.* [e] *tota superficies.* [f] insert *in.* *Harlech*
[g] omit *nec.* [h] *aque.* [i] omit &c. [i] *fornicari humanitas.* [k] *commercii.* [l] *amissa paschua.* [m] *scicientes.* [n] *Exinde.* [o] *tocius.* [p] *ramum illi.* [q] *extirpati.* [r] *optinebit.* [s] *Patriis.* [t] *uolatibus.*

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umbre eius liberos uolatus amittent. Succedet asinus nequicie[1] in fabricatores auri uelox. set in luporum rapacitatem[a] piger. In
f. 68 vo. diebus illis ardebunt quercus per nemora. & in ramis | tiliarum nascentur glandes. Sabrinum mare per .vii.[b] hostia discurret. & fluuius osce.[c] per .vii.[b] menses feruebit. Pisces illius calore morientur. & ex eis procreabuntur serpentes. Frigebunt badonis balnea. & salubres aque eorum mortem generabunt. Lundonia[2] necem .xx.[c] milium[d] lugebit. & tamensis[e] in sanguinem[3] mutabitur. Cucullati[f] ad nuptias prouocabuntur. & clamor eorum in montibus alpium[g] audietur.

VII. iv Tres fontes in urbe guintonia[h] erumpent. quorum riuuli insulam in tres portiones[i] secabunt. Qui bibet de uno. diuturniori uita fruetur. nec superuenienti languore grauabitur. Qui bibet de altero.[c] indeficienti fame peribit. & in facie ipsius pallor & horror sedebit. Qui bibet de tercio.[c] subita morte periclitabitur. nec corpus ipsius subire poterit[j] sepulcrum. Tantam ingluuiem uitare uolentes diuersis tegumentis eam occultare nitentur. Quecunque[k] ergo moles superposita fuerit. formam alterius corporis recipiet.[4] Terra namque[5] in lapides. lapides in limpham. lignum in cineres. cinis in aquam. si superiecta fuerint uertentur. Ad hec ex urbe canuti nemoris eliminabitur puella. ut[l] medele curam adhibeat. Que ut omnes sortes[6] inierit.[l] solo anelitu[7][m] suo fontes nociuos siccabit. Exin[n] ut sese salubri liquore refecerit. gestabit in dextera sua nemus

Bern [1] *nequitie.* [2] *Londonia .xx. necem .xx. milium,* etc. [3] *sanguine.* [4] *accipiet.* [5] *nanque.* [6] *artes.* [7] *anhelitu.*

Harlech [a] *rapacitate.* [b] *septem.* [c] *uiginti.* [d] *miliorum.* [e] *thamensis.* [f] *Cucullati.* [g] omit *alpium.* [h] *Wintonia.* [i] *porciones.* [j] *poterit subire.* [k] *Queque.* [l] from *ut* . . . *inierit* omitted. [m] *auditu.* [n] *Exinde.*

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colidonis. in sinistra uero.ᶠ | murorum lundonie[1] propugnacula. *f. 69 rec.*
Quacumque incedet passus sulphureos faciet. qui dupplici flamma
fumabunt. Fumus ille excitabit rutenos.[2] & cibum[3] sub marinis
conficiet. Lacrimis miserandis manabit[a] ipsa. & clamore horrido
replebit insulam. Interficiet eam ceruus .x.[b] ramorum. quorum
or
.iiij.[c] aurea diademata gestabunt. Sex uero residui in cornua
bubalorum uertentur. que nefando sonitu tres insulas britannie
commouebunt. Excitabitur daneum[d] nemus. & in[e] humanam
uocem erumpens clamabit. Accede kambria. & iunge lateri tuo
cornubiam. & dic guintonie[4 f] absorbebit te tellus. Transfer
sedem pastoris ubi naues applicant.[5] & cetera membra capud[6 g]
sequantur. Festinat namque dies qua ciues ob scelera periurii
peribunt. Candor lanarum[g] nocuit. atque tincture ipsarum di-
uersitas. Ue genti periure.[7 h] quia urbs inclita propter eam ruet.
Gaudebunt naues augmentatione[8] tanta. & unum ex duobus fiet.
Reedificauit eam hericius oneratus pomis. ad quorum odorem
diuersorum nemorum conuolabunt[i] uolucres;[i] Adiciet[k] pala-
tium ingens. & sexcentis turribus uallabit illud.[k] Inuidebit ergo
lundonia.[9] & muros suos trippliciter[10 l] augebit. Circuibit eam
undique tamensis[m] fluuius. & rumor operis transcendet alpes.
Occultabit[11] infra eam[12 n] hericius poma sua & subterraneas uias
machinabitur. In tempore illo loquentur lapides. & mare quod[13]
ad galliam nauigatur. infra | breue spacium[14] contrahetur. In *f. 69 vo.*
utraque ripa audietur homo ab homine. & solidum insule dila-

[1] *londonie.* [2] *rutenos excitabit.* [3] *cybum.* [4] *Wintonie.* [5] *aplicant.* [6] *caput.* [7] *Ve periure genti.* [8] *augmentacione.* [9] *londonia.* [10] *tripliciter.* [11] *Olcultabit.* [12] *illam.* [13] *quo.* [14] *spatium.* *Bern*

[a] *madebit.* [b] *decem.* [c] *quatuor.* [d] *daneium.* [e] omit *in.* [f] *wintonie.* [g] *caput;* from *sequantur . . . lanarum* omitted. [h] *Ve periure genti.* [i] *uallabit.* [j] omit *uolucres.* [k] omit *Adiciet . . . illud;* insert *In unamquamque decurio statuet qui leges subditis dabit.* [l] *tripliciter.* [m] *thamensis.* [n] *illam.* *Harlech*

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tabitur. Reuelabuntur occulta submarinorum. & gallia pre timore tremebit. Post hec ex calaterio nemore procedet ardea. que insulam per biennium [a] circumuolabit. Nocturno clamore conuocabit uolatilia. & omne genus uolucrum associabit sibi. In culturas [b] mortalium irruent. & omnia genera [c] messium deuorabunt. Sequetur fames populum. atque dira mortalitas famem. At cum tanta calamitas [d] cessauerit. adhibebit [1] [e] detestabilis ales uallem galabes. atque eam in excelsum montem leuabit. In cacumine quoque ipsius plantabit quercum. atque infra ramos nidificabit. Tria oua procreabuntur in nido. ex quibus uulpes.[2] & lupus.[f] & ursus. egredientur. Deuorabit uulpes [2] matrem. & asininum [g] capud [3] [h] gestabit. Monstro igitur assumpto. terrebit fratres suos. ipsosque in neustriam fugabit. At ipsi excitabunt aprium dentosum in illa. & nauigio reuecti cum uulpe [4] congredientur. Que cum certamen inierit. finget se defunctam. & aprium in pietatem [5] mouebit. Mox adibit [6] [i] in oculos eius & faciem. At ipsa non oblita preteriti doli. mordebit sinistrum pedem ipsius. totumque ex corpore euellet. Saltu quoque facto.[i] eripiet ei dextram [k] aurem. & caudam. & infra cauernas montium delitebit. Aper ergo illusus requiret lupum & ursum. ut ei amissa membra [7] [l] restituant. Qui ut causam inierint. promittent ei
f. 70 rec. duos pedes. & aures. | & caudam. & ex eis porcina membra [7] component. Adquiescet ipse. promissamque restaurationem [m] expectabit. Interim descendet uulpes [8] de montibus. & sese in

Bern [1] *adibit.* [2] *Wlpes.* [3] *caput.* [4] *Wlpe.* [5] *impietatem.* [6] insert *ipse cadauer. & dum super stabit anhelabit in oculos*, etc. [7] *menbra.* [8] *uulpis.*

Harlech [a] *Biennium.* [b] *curas.* [c] *grana.* [d] *calamitas tanta.* [e] *adibit.* [f] *lupes.* [g] *asinium.* [h] *caput.* [i] insert *ipse cadauer. & dum super stabit anhelabit.* [i] *facta.* [k] *dexterram.* [l] *menbra.* [m] *restauracionem.*

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lupum mutabit. Et quasi colloquium abitura [1 a] cum apro adibit illum callide. & ipsum [b] totum deuorabit. Exin [c] transuertet sese in aprum. & quasi sine membris [2 d] expectabit germanos. Set & ipsos postquam aduenerint subito dente interficiet. atque capite leonis coronabitur. In diebus eius [e] nascetur [f] serpens. qui [g] neci mortalium iminebit. [3] Longitudine sua circuibit lundoniam.[4] & quosque pretereuntes deuorabit. Bos montanus capud [5 h] lupi assumet dentesque suos in fabrica [i] sabrine dealbabit.[j] Associabit sibi greges albanorum.[k] & kambrie. que [l] tamensem [m] potando [6] siccabit.[n] Uocabit asinus hỳrcum.[o] prolixe barbe. & formam ipsius mutabit. Indignabitur igitur montanus. uocatoque lupo cornu taurus in ipsos figet. Vt autem seuicie indulserit. deuorabit carnes [p] eorum & ossa. set in cacumine uriani [q] cremabitur. Fauille rogi mutabuntur in cignos.[r] qui in sicco quasi in flumine natabunt. Deuorabunt pisces. in piscibus. & homines in hominibus deglutient. Superueniente uero senectute. efficientur submarini luces.[7] atque submarinas insidias machinabuntur. Submergent [8] naualia. & argentum non minimum congregabunt. Fluctuabit iterum tamensis.[s] conuocatisque fluminibus | ultra metas aluei procedet. Urbes uicinas *f. 70 vo.* occultabit.[9] oppositos [10 t] montes subuertet. Adibebit [11 u] sibi fontes [12 v] galahes.[w] dolo & nequitia [x] repleti.[13] Orientur ex eo seditiones.[14 y] prouocantes uenedotos ad prelia. Conuenient nemorum robora. & cum saxis gewisseorum [z] congredientur. Aduolabit

[1] *habitura.* [2] *menbris.* [3] *imminebit.* [4] *londoniam.* [5] *caput.* [6] omit *potando.* *Bern*
[7] *duces.* [8] *Summergent.* [9] *occupabit.* [10] *oppositosque.* [11] *Adhibebit.* [12] *fortes.* [13] *repletos.* [14] *sediciones.*

[a] *habitura.* [b] *& callide ipsum.* [c] *Exinde.* [d] *menbris.* [e] *illis.* [f] *nascitur.* *Harlech*
[g] *que.* [h] *caput.* [i] *facrica.* [j] *deaurabit.* [k] *albanie.* [l] *qui.* [m] *thamens.* [n] *siccabunt.* [o] *hircum.* [p] *car.* [q] *utiani.* [r] *cingnos.* [s] *thamensis.* [t] *oppositosque.*
[u] *Adhibebit.* [v] *fontem.* [w] *galaes.* [x] *nequicia.* [y] *sediciones.* [z] *ge Wisseorum.*

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coruus [a] cum miluis. & corpora peremptorum deuorabit. Super muros claudiocestrie nidificabit bubo. & in nido suo procreabitur asinus. Educabit [1] illum serpens maluernie. & in plures dolos commouebit. Sumpto diademate transcendet excelsa. & horrido rachanacu [2 b] populum [3 c] terrebit. In diebus eius titubabunt montes pacaii. & prouincie [4] nemoribus suis spoliabuntur. Superueniet namque uermis [d] ignei anelitus. [5 e] qui emisso uapore comburet arbores. Egredientur ex eo .vii. [f] leones. capitibus hỳrcorum [g] turpati. Fetore narium mulieres [6] corrumpent. & proprias communes facient. Nesciet pater filium proprium. quia more [h] pecudum lasciuient. Superueniet uero gigas [i] nequicie.[7] qui oculorum acumine [j] terrebit uniuersos. Exurget in illum draco wigornie. [k] & eum exterminare conabitur. Facto autem congressu [l] superabitur draco. & nequitia [l] uictoris opprimetur. Ascendet namque draconem. & exuta [m] ueste [l] insidebit nudus. Feret illum ad sublimia [n] draco. erectaque cauda. uerberabit nudatum. Resumpto iterum [o] uigore gigas [i] fauces illius
f. 71 rec. cum gladio confringet. Implicabitur tandem sub cauda | sua draco. & uenenatus interibit. Succedet post illum totonesius aper. [p] & dira tỳrannide [8] opprimet populum. Eliminabit claudiocestria leonem. qui diuersis preliis inquietabit seuientem. Conculcabit eum sub pedibus suis. apertisque faucibus [q] terrebit. Cum regno tandem litigabit leo. & terga nobilium transcendet. Superueniet taurus litigio. [r] & leonem dextro pede percutiet. Expellet illum per regni diuersatoria. set cornua sua in muros exonie confringet.

Bern [1] *Edificabit.* [2] *rechanatu.* [3] insert *patrie.* [4] *prouintie.* [5] *anhelitus.* [6] *murieres.* [7] *nequitiæ.* [8] *tỳrannida.*

Harlech [a] *coruis.* [b] *recanatu.* [c] insert *patrie.* [d] omit *uermis.* [e] *anhelitus.* [f] *septem.* [g] *Hircorum capitibus.* [h] *qui amore.* [i] *gỳgas.* [j] *acumine occulorum.* [k] *Wigornie.* [l] *nequicia.* [m] *exusta.* [n] *sublima.* [o] *igitur.* [p] *aper totonensius.* [q] insert *suis.* [r] *litigiosus.*

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Uindicabit leonem uulpes[1] caerdubali.[a] & totum suis dentibus[2] consumet. Circumcinget eam lindocolinus coluber. presentiamque[b] suam draconibus multis horribili sibilo testabitur. Congredientur deinde dracones.[3] & alter alterum dilaniabit. Opprimet alatus carentem alis. & ungues in genas uenenatas configet. Ad certamen conuenient alii. &[4][c] alium interficiet. Succedet quintus interfectis. &[5] residuos diuersis machinationibus confringet. Transcendet dorsum unius cum gladio. & caput. a corpore separabit. Exuta ueste ascendet alium. & dexteram caude leuamque iniciet. Superabit eum nudus. cum nichil indutus proficiet.[d] Ceteros tormentabit a dorso. & in rotunditatem regni compellet. Superueniet leo rugiens. inmani[6][e] feritate timendus. Ter quinque portiones[f] in ịn unum reducet. & solus possidebit populum. Splendebit gigas[g] colore niueo.[h] ad candidum populum germinabit. Delicie[7] principes eneruabunt. & subditi | & ṣụḅḍịṭị in beluas *f. 71 vo.* mutabuntur. Orietur in illis leo. humano cruore turgidus. Subponetur[8][i] ei in segete falcifer. qui dum laborabit mente.[f] opprimetur ab illo. Sedabit illos eboracensis auriga. expulsoque domino.[f] in currum quem ducit[9] ascendet. Abstracto gladio minabitur orienti. & rotarum suarum uestigia replebit sanguine. Fiet deinde piscis[j] in equore. qui sibilo serpentis revocatus.[f] coibit cum illo. Nascentur inde tres tauri fulgurantes. qui consumptis pascuis[10][k] conuertentur in arbores. Gestabit primus flagellum uipereum. &[l] post genito dorsum suum diuertet. Nitetur ipse flagellum ei eripere. set ab ultimo corripietur. Auertent

[1] *Wlpes.* [2] *dentibus suis.* [3] *drachones.* [4] insert *alius.* [5] omit &. [6] *immani.* *Bern*
[7] *Deliciæ.* [8] *Supponetur.* [9] *ducet.* [10] *paschuis.*

[a] *kaeir dubali.* [b] *presenciamque.* [c] insert *alius.* [d] *proficeret.* [e] *in manu.* [f] *por-* *Harlech*
ciones. [g] *gygas.* [h] insert &. [i] *Supponetur.* [j] *pissis.* [k] *paschuis.* [l] insert *a.*

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mutuo a sese facies. donec uenenatum ciphum [1 a] proiecerint. Succedet eis colonus albanie. cui a dorso imminebit serpens. Uacabit ipse tellurem subuertere. ut patrie segetes [2 b] candeant. Laborabit serpens uenenum diffundere. ne herbe [c] in messes proueniant. Letali clade deficiet populus. & menia urbium desolabuntur. Dabitur in remedium urbs claudii. que alumpnam flagellantis interponet. Stateram [d] namque medicine gestabit. & in breui [e] renouabitur insula. Deinde duo subsequentur sceptrum. quibus cornutus draco ministrabit. Aduenict alter in [3] ferro. & uolantem equitabit serpentem. Nudato corpore insidebit dorso. & dexteram caude [f] iniciet. Clamore ipsius excitabuntur maria.
f. 72 rec. & timorem secundo initiet.[4 g] | Secundus itaque sociabitur leoni. set [5] exorta lite [f] congressum facient. Mutuis cladibus succumbent mutuo. set feritas belue [f] preualebit. Superueniet quidam in tympano. & cithara.[6 h] & demulcebit leonis seuiciam.[7] Pacificabuntur ergo nationes regni. & leonem & stateram [i] prouocabunt. Locata sede [f] ad pensas studebit. set palmas in albaniam extendet. Tristabuntur ergo aquilonares prouincie. & hostia [8] templorum reserabunt. Signifer lupus conducet turmas. & cornubiam cauda sua circumcinget. Resistet ei miles in curru. [i] qui populum illum in aprum mutabit. Uastabit [k] igitur aper prouincias. set in profundo sabrine occultabit caput. Amplexabitur homo leonem in uino. & fulgur [9] auri oculos intuentium [l] excecabit. Candebit argentum in circuitu. & diuersa torcularia

Bern [1] *cỳphum.* [2] *segetibus.* [3] omit *in.* [4] *incutient.* [5] *sed.* [6] *tymphano et cỳthara.* [7] *seuitiam.* [8] *prouintie & ostia.* [9] *fulguror.*

Harlech [a] *cibum.* [b] *segetibus.* [c] *habere.* [d] *Statere.* [e] *Breui.* [f] omit *caude.* [g] *iniciet.* [h] *cỳthara.* [i] *ad stateram.* [j] *currum.* [k] *Wastabit.* [l] *intuencium.*

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euexabit.[1] [a] Imposito uino inebriabuntur mortales. postpositoque celo.[2] in terram respicient. Ab eis uultus auertent sidera.[b] & solitum cursum confundent. Arebunt segetes. his [c] indignantibus. & humor conuexi[d] negabitur. Radices & rami uices mutabunt. nouitasque rei erit in miraculum. Splendor solis electro mercurii languebit. & erit horror inspicientibus. Mutabit clipeum [d] stilbon. archadie. uocabit uenerem galea martis. Galea martis umbram conficiet. transibit[3] terminos furor mercurii. Nudabit ensem orion ferreus. Uexabit nubes phebus [4] [e] equoreus. Exibit | iupiter licitas semitas. & uenus deseret statutas lineas. [f] *f. 72 vo.* Saturni sideris [5] [g] liuido corruet. & falce recurua mortales perimet. Bis senus numerus domorum siderum [6] deflebit [h] hospites ita transcurrere. Omittent [i] gemini [j] complexus solitos. & urnam in fontes prouocabunt. Pensa libre oblique pendebunt. donec aries recurua cornua sua subponat.[7] [k] Cauda scorpionis procreabit fulgura. & cancer cum sole litigabit. Ascendet uirgo dorsum sagittarii. & flores uirgineos obfuscabit. Currus lune turbabit zodiacum. & in fletum prorumpent pliades. Officio iam nulla redibunt set clausa ianua in crepidinibus adrianne[l] delitebit.[m] In ictu radii exurgent equora. & puluis uentu[8] [n] renouabitur. Confligent uenti diro sufflamine. & sonitum inter sidera [9] [o] conficient.

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[1] *uexabit.* [2] *cælo.* [3] *transsibit.* [4] omit *phebus.* [5] *syderis.* [6] *syderum.* [7] *supponat.* [8] *ueterum.* [9] *sydera.* *Bern*

---

[a] *uexabit.* [b] *sydera.* [c] *hiis.* [d] *clypeum.* [e] *phebes.* [f] *statuas linitas.* [g] *syderis.* [h] *dolebit.* [i] *Obmittent.* [j] *ge* with a blank space. [k] *supponat.* [l] *adriane.* [m] *delitebunt.* [n] *ueterum.* *Harlech*

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VIII. i Cum [c] igitur hec & alia prophetasset merlinus.[1] ambiguitate uerborum suorum astantes in admirationem [b] commouit. Vortegirnus uero pre ceteris admirans. & sensum iuuenis & uaticinia collaudat.[c] Neminem enim presens etas produxerat qui ora [d] sua in hunc modum coram ipso soluisset. Scire igitur uolens exitum uite sue. rogauit iuuenem sibi indicare quod sciebat. Ad hec merlinus. Ignem filiorum constantini diffuge. si diffugere ualueris. Iam naues parant. iam armoricum[2] [e] litus deserunt. iam uela per equora pandunt. Petent britannicam [f] insulam. inuadent saxonicam gentem. subiugabunt nefandum populum.
f. 73 rec. set prius | te infra turrim inclusum comburent.[3] Malo tuo patrem eorum prodidisti. [g] & saxones infra insulam inuitasti. Inuitasti eos [4] [h] tibi in presidium. set superuenerunt in tuum supplicium.[5] Imminent [i] tibi duo funera. nec est promptum [6] quod prius uitabis. Hinc enim regnum tuum deuastant saxones. [j] & leto tuo incumbent. [7] [k] Hinc autem applicant duo fratres. aurelius. [l] & uther [m] qui mortem patris sui in te uindicare nitentur. Quere tibi diffugium si poteris. cras totonensium litus tenebunt. Rubebunt sanguine saxonum facies. & interfecto hengisto aurelius [l] ambrosius coronabitur. Pacificabit nationes. [n]

Bern [1] *Merlinus.* [2] *armonicum.* [3] *conburent.* [4] *ipsos.* [5] *supplitium.* [6] *promtum.* [7] *incumbunt.*

Harlech [c] *Cumque.* [b] *in in admiracionem.* [c] *collaudabat.* [d] *hora.* [e] *armoricanum.* [f] *Brittannicam.* [g] omit *prodidisti.* [h] *ipsos.* [i] *Iminent.* [j] *deuastant saxones regnum tuum.* [k] *incumbunt.* [l] *Aurelius.* [m] *Vter.* [n] *naciones.*

And then Gwrtheyrn asked [V]M*yrdd*in what sort of death would take him off. And he said, "Beware the two* sons of [G]Kystennin, because they
f. 95 vo. are now spreading their sails on the shore of the sea of llydaw to go to ynys Brydain to wrest their country from the ssaxssoniait, and first they will burn thee up in a tower of stone, since by thy treachery and destruction thou didst betray their father and their brother, and didst invite the ssaesson into this island for the sake of getting power from them. And that is powerlessness for thee this day, because two deaths pursue thee. One is the ssaesson who overcome thee. And tomorrow Emrys and Ythr, the sons of [G]Kystennin, shall come with twelve thousand armed horsemen, and shall redden the faces of the ssaesson with their own blood, and after Hainssiestr is killed, Emrys shall be crowned, and shall govern the realm; and shall

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restaurabit ecclesias. set ueneno deficiet. Succedet ei germanus suus utherpendragon.[a] cuius dies[1] anticipabuntur[2] ueneno. Aderunt tante perditioni[b] posteri tui. quos aper cornubie deuorabit. Nec mora cum crastina dies illuxit applicuit aurelius ambrosius.[c]

Rumore itaque aduentus ipsius diuulgato[d] conuenerunt[e] *VIII. ii*
undique britones.[f] qui in[g] tanta clade dispersi fuerant. & societate conciuium suorum roborati. hylariores solito efficiuntur. Conuocato autem clero inunxerunt aurelium[h] in regem. & sese ei[3][i] more suo submiserunt. Cumque impetum in saxones fieri cohortarentur. dissuasit rex. nam prius uortegirnum[j] persequi affectauerat. Adeo enim propter proditionem[k] patri illatam doluerat. ut nichil[4] sibi[5][l] agere uideretur. nisi prius ipsum uindicaret. Affectum itaque suum exequi desiderans. conuertit | exercitum suum in kambriam. opidumque[6][m] *f. 73 vo.*
genoreu petiuit. Diffugerat enim eo uortegirnus.[n] ut tutum refugium haberet. Erat autem opidum[7][o] illud natione[8][p] herging.[9][q] super fluuium guaie. in monte[r] qui cloartius[s] nuncupa-

[1] omit *dies.* [2] *anticipabitur.* [3] *sibi.* [4] *quod nil.* [5] omit *sibi.* [6] *oppidumque.* *Bern*
[7] *oppidum.* [8] *in nationem.* [9] *hergign.*

[a] *Vterpendragon.* [b] *prodicionis.* [c] *Aurelius Ambrosius;* insert *cum germano suo decem milibus militum comitatus.* *Harlech*
[d] *diuulgato ipsius aduentus.* [e] *conueniunt.* [f] *Britones.*
[g] omit *in.* [h] *Aurelium.* [i] *sibi.* [j] *Vortegirnum.* [k] *prodicionem.* [l] omit *ut . . . sibi;* insert *quod nil.* [m] *oppidumque.* [n] *Vortegirnus.* [o] *oppidum.* [p] *in nacione.* [q] *hergigii.*
[r] *montem.* [s] *coarcius.*

rebuild the Churches, but in the end with poison shall he be killed. And after him shall Ythyr his brother be crowned and with poison shall he also be killed through the perfidy of the *ssa*esson; and the boar of kerniw shall avenge all that." And no later than the next day, the sons of [G]Kystennin landed in lloegr; and when their landing was known all the [Y]bryttaniait came together and came to do homage to Emrys, and he put on the crown and was consecrated king. And then Emryd and his men took counsel whether first to attack Gwrtheyrn or the ssaesson. In the council he was advised to come to [G]Kymry and attack the Castle of Gronwyr,* for thither *f. 96 rec.*
[W]Gwrtheyrn had fled. It was in Erging, on the shore of the Gwy. And there Emrys arrived with a great host, and bringing to mind the wrongs

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tur. Ut igitur [a] ad illud peruenit ambrosius. proditionis [b] patri ac fratri illate reminiscens. eldol [c] ducem claudiocestrie [1] affatur. Respice dux nobilis huius loci urbes & menia. utrum [d] poterint uortegirnum protegere. [d] quin gladii mei ipse mucronem [e] infra ipsius uiscera [2 f] recondam. Promeruit enim necem. Nec [g] tibi ignotum esse existimo ipsum eam promeruisse. O hominem omnium sceleratissimum. o ineffabilibus tormentis perdendum. Primo prodidit patrem meum constantium. [3 h] qui ipsum & patriam a pictorum irruptione [i] liberauerat. deinde constantem fratrem meum. quem ut proderet in regem promouit. Denique cum ipsemet uersucia [4] sua insignitus fuisset. [j] intromisit cum conciuibus paganos. ut ipsos qui fidelitati mee adherebant exterminaret. Set permittente deo. in laqueum quem fidelibus suis parauerat [f] incautus cecidit. Nam ut nequitiam [k] ipsius [5] saxones compererunt. [f 6 l] eiecerunt illum ex regno. quod neminem pigere debebat. Illud uero dolendum censeo quod [7 m] nefandus ille per paganos quos inuitauit. [7 m] nobiles ciues exterminauit. fertilem patriam deuastauit. sacras ecclesias destruxit. & christianitatem fere a mari usque ad mare deleuit. Nunc igitur ciues uiriliter
f. 74 rec. agite. & uindicate uos | in istum [n] prius. [f] per quem hec omnia accesserunt. Deinde uertamus arma in hostes imminentes. & patriam ab eorum ingluuie liberemus. Nec mora diuersis machi-

Bern [1] *claudiocestriæ.* [2] *uiscera ipsius.* [3] *constantinum.* [4] *uersulia.* [5] *eius.* [6] *compererunt saxones.* [7] *quod nefandus populus quem nefandus ille inuitauit.*

Harlech [a] *ergo.* [b] *prodicionis.* [c] *eldon.* [d] *utrum Vortegirnum protegere poterunt.* [e] *mucrone ipse.* [f] *uiscera ipsius.* [g] insert *enim.* [h] *constantinum.* [i] *irreptione.* [j] *esset.* [k] *nequiciim.* [l] *comperierunt saxones.* [m] *quod nefandus populus quem nefandus ille inuitauit.* [n] *ipsum.*

done by [W]Gwrtheyrn, he said to his nobles, "Ha, nobles, this man caused my father and my brother to be killed, and brought the treacherous pagan ssaesson into this island, therefore let us manfully attack that Castle there." And without delay they set fires around it, and burned up whatever of men and goods were in the Castle and Gwrtheyrn with them. And then Hainssiestr feared, for he heard that no one in ffraink could oppose Emrys and live, although he was wise, liberal, and merciful. The ssasson therefore retreated to the other side of the hymyr, and there fortified themselves that they might live there. And when Emrys heard it, he went after them with an

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nationibus incumbunt. menia diruere nituntur. Postremo cum cetera defecissent.[f] ignem adhibuerunt. Quod[a] cum alimentum reperisset.[f] non adquieuit adiunctus. donec turrim & uortegirnum[b] exarsit.

Quod cum hengisto saxonibusque[c] suis relatum esset inuasit eum timor. quia probitatem aurelii timebat. Tanta namque uirtus & audatia uiro inerat. quod[d] dum galliarum partes frequentaret. non erat alter qui cum[1] illo[e] congredi auderet. Nam[f] si congressum fecisset.[f] uel hostem ab equo prosterneret.[f] uel hastam in frusta[2][g] confringeret. Preterea largus erat[3] in dandis. sedulus in diuinis obsequiis. modestus in cunctis. & semper[4][h] mendacium[5] uitans. Fortis pede. forcior[6] equo. & ad regendum[i] exercitum doctus. Tales probitates[j] ipsius dum adhuc in armorica[7] britannia[k] moraretur. fama assiduis uolatibus in insulam detulerat. Timuerunt igitur eum saxones. & sese trans humbrum[8] receperunt. In partibus igitur[9][l] illis munierunt ciuitates & opida.[10][m] nam patria illa semper refugio eis patuerat.[n] Vicinitas etenim scotie adhibebat tutelam. que in omne damnum[11][o] ciuium imminere consueuerat. Natio namque[p] ad inhabitandum[12] horribilis. euacuata ciuibus tutum receptaculum alienigenis prestauerat.[q] Siquidem pictis.[r] scotis.[s] | dacis. norguengensibus.[13][t] ceterisque qui ad uastandam insulam applicuerant.[f] situ locorum annitente[u] patuerat. Securi igitur *VIII. iii* *f. 74 vo.*

[1] *con.* [2] *frustra.* [3] omit *erat.* [4] *super;* insert *omnia.* [5] *mendatium.* [6] *fortior.* [7] *armonica.* [8] *hunbrum.* [9] omit *igitur.* [10] *oppida.* [11] *dampnum.* [12] *ad habitandum.* [13] *norguegensibus.* *Bern*

[a] *Qui.* [b] *Vortegirnum.* [c] *& saxonibus.* [d] *&.* [e] *eo.* [f] *Nam congressus fuisset.* [g] *frustra.* [h] *super;* insert *omnia.* [i] insert *populum &.* [j] *prohibitates.* [k] *Brittannia.* [l] omit *igitur.* [m] *oppida.* [n] *paruerat.* [o] *dampnum.* [p] *Nacio enim.* [q] *preparauerat.* [r] insert *&.* [s] *scottis.* [t] *norWegensibus.* [u] *ad imitente.* *Harlech*

army; and much grieved was he to see the Churches destroyed by the ssaesson, and he vowed that if he came back alive, he would have them rebuilt as they had been, at their best. And when Hainssiestr heard that Emrys was seeking him, he exhorted his men to fight manfully, and told them that Emrys had but small force of horsemen from llydaw, and also that they themselves were not afraid of the Bryttania*il* since they were*

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affinitatis patrie. uersus illam diffugerant ut si opus fuisset.[1] [e] audatior [b] effectus spem uictorie reciperet.[2] [c] Ocius [3] ergo conuocatis ciuibus exercitum suum augmentauit. atque uersus aquilonares partes iter arripuit. Et cum nationes [d] preteriret. inspiciens eas [e] desolatas condolebat. maxime autem propter ecclesias. usque ad solum destructas. quibus restaurationem promittebat.[f] si triumpho potiretur.

VIII. iv At hengistus cum aduentum ipsius comperisset reuocata audatia [f] commilitones suos elegit. atque unumquemque inanimans.[4] hortabatur eos uiriliter resistere nec congressum aurelii abhorrere. Dicebat autem ipsum paucos ex armoricanis [g] britonibus [h] habere. cum numerus eorum ultra .x. milia non procederet. Insulanos uero britones [i] pro nichilo reputabat.[j] cum tociens eos in preliis [k] deuicisset.[l] Proinde promittebat suis uictoriam. & ob ampliorem numerum securitatem. Aderant enim circiter ducenta [m] milia armatorum. Et cum omnes hoc modo inanimasset.[f] [n] iuit obuiam aurelio. in campo qui dicebatur [o] maisbeli.[5] [p] quo ipse aurelius transiturus [q] erat. Affectabat namque [r] & subitum & furtiuum impetum facere. britonesque [s] non premeditatos occupare. Quod tamen non latuit aurelium. nec iccirco [t] distulit campum adire. set festinantius [u] ingressus
f. 75 rec. est. | Vt igitur hostes prospexit.[f] disposuit turmas suas. Tria milia ex armoricanis [v] iussit [w] equis [6] adesse. ceteros cum insulanis

Bern [1] *esset.* The following was omitted by the scribe of the Cambridge MS.: *sese infra eam quasi in propria castra recepissent. Cumque id aurelio indicatum fuisset. audatior,* etc. [2] *recepit.* [3] *Otius.* [4] *animans.* [5] *maubeli.* [6] *equitibus iussit.*

Harlech [a] insert *sese infra eam quasi in propria castra recepissent. Cumque id aurelio indicatum fuissel.* [b] *audacior.* [c] *recepil.* [d] *naciones.* [e] omit *eas.* [f] *audacia.* [g] *armoricos.* [h] omit *britonibus.* [i] *Brittones.* [j] *reputabant.* [k] *bello.* [l] *deuicissent.* [m] *.cc.* [n] *animasset.* [o] *dicitur.* [p] *Maisbeli.* [q] *transsiturus.* [r] *enim.* [s] *Britonesque.* [t] *idcirco.* [u] *festinacius.* [v] *amoricanis.* [w] omit *iussit.*

f. 96 vo. forty thousand armed men. And then they went to a place called maes Beli, thinking to make a sudden treacherous attack on Emrys and his army. But Emrys foresaw that, and marshalled his army, and intermixed his own men and those of Llydaw. And he posted the men of Dyfed on the high hills on their flank, and the men of gwynedd in a wood nearby, so that

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mixtim [a] in acies [b] constituit. Demetas in collibus. uenedotos in prope positis [1 c] nemoribus locauit. Erat autem causa ut si saxones ad ea diffugerent.ſ adessent qui obuiarent.

Interea accessit eldol [d] dux claudiocestrie ad regem.ſ & ait. *VIII. v°* Sola dies pro omnibus diebus uite mee mihi sufficeret.ſ si [e] congredi cum hengisto deus concederet. Nempe succumberet alter nostrum dum gladiis insisteremus. Reminiscor namque diei qua conuenimus.ſ quasi pacem habituri. Cumque de concordia ageretur.ſ perdidit [f] omnes qui aderant. & cum cultris interfecit. preter me solum. qui reperto palo euasi. Succubuerunt eadem die .cccc. lxxx.[g] barones. ac [h] consules. qui omnes inermes aduenerant. In tanto periculo subuectauit [i] mihi deus [j] palum. quo defensus.ſ euasi. Talia referebat eldol. Set aurelius socios [k] hortatur [2 l] totam spem suam [m] in filium dei ponere. hostes deinde suos [n] audacter inuadere. pro patria unanimiter pugnare.

At hengistus econtra turmas suas componebat. componendo preliari docebat. docendo singulas perambulabat. ut omnibus unam audatiam [o] pungnandi [3 p] ingereret. Dispositis tandem [q] in utraque parte cuneis. congrediuntur acies. mutuos ictus ingeminant. cruorem non minimum diffundunt. Hinc britones.[r] hinc saxones uulnerati moriuntur. Hortatur [s] aurelius christianos. | monet hengistus paganos. [s] Et dum talem decerta- *f. 75 v°.* tionem [4] facerent.ſ nitebatur semper eldol habere aditum congrediendi. cum hengisto. set non habuit. Nam hengistus ut uidit suos succumbere. britones [r] nutu dei preualere.ſ confestim diffugit.

[1] *sitis.* [2] *hortatur socios.* [3] *pugnandi.* [4] *decertacionem.* *Bern*

[a] *mixtum.* [b] *aciem.* [c] *sitis.* [d] *eldos.* [e] *set.* [f] *prodidit.* [g] *ccc. lxxx.* [h] *atque.* *Harlech*
[i] *subuenit.* [j] insert *per.* [k] insert *suos.* [l] *hortabatur.* [m] *suam spem.* [n] omit *suos.*
[o] *unam audaciam omnibus.* [p] *pugnandi.* [q] *namque.* [r] *Britones.* [s] *Hortatur hengistus paganos. Aurelius hortatur christianos.*

they could receive the ssaesson whichever way they came. And on the other side, Hainssiestr exhorted and instructed his men. When many on both sides had been killed, Hainssiestr and his army fled to a place called kaer [G]Kynan, and Emrys and his army pursued and killed them, as has been

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petiuitque opidum [1 a] kaerconan.[b] quod nunc cunungeburg [2 c] appellabatur.[3 d] Insequitur eum aurelius. & quoscumque in itinere reperiebat.[4 e] uel in interitum. uel in seruitutem compellebat. Cum ergo uidisset hengistus quia [f] insequeretur eum aurelius. noluit introire opidum.[1 a] set conuocato in turmas populo.[g] iterum preliari disposuit.[h] Quippe sciebat quod opidum [1] nequaquam aurelio resisteret. & quod omne tutamen suum in gladio & hasta consisteret. Denique cum superuenisset aurelius composuit & ipse socios suos [i] in turmas. & acerrimam pugnam ingessit. Porro saxones unanimiter resistunt.[j] & inuicem letaliter uulnerantur. Diffunditur sanguis utrobique clamor morientium [k] uiuos in iram ducebat. Postremo preualuissent saxones nisi equestris turma amoricanorum [5 l] britonum [m] superuenisset. Constituerat namque eam aurelius [n] sicut in primo prelio fecerat. Superueniente ergo illa. cesserunt ei [o] saxones. & aliquantulum dilapsi [f] uix iterum sese consociauerunt. Acriores deinde incumbunt britones.[p] & hostes unanimiter infestant. Non cessabat aurelius socios monere. obuiantes uulnerare. fugientes insequi. atque suos [q] hoc modo consolari. Similiter eldol nunc hac nunc
f. 76 rec. illac discurrens [f] infestis | uulneribus aduersarios suos afficiebat. Quicquid autem ageret [f] [r] estuabat semper habere copiam congrediendi cum hengisto.

Bern [1] *oppidum.* [2] *cununoeburg.* [3] *appelatur.* [4] *repperiebat.* [5] *armoricanorum.*

Harlech [a] *oppidum.* [b] *karconan.* [c] *cunbeburch.* [d] *appellatur.* [e] *reperiebat in itinere.* [f] *quod.* [g] *populo in turmas.* [h] *disposuit preliari.* [i] *suos socios.* [j] *insistunt.* [k] *morientium.* [l] *armoricanorum.* [m] *Britonum.* [n] *aurelius eam.* [o] omit *ei.* [p] *Britones.* [q] *socios.* [r] *agerent.*

told.* And a large part of them escaped to a nearby castle, where they formed the second time from every direction and fought fiercely. But in the end the armies of *E*mrys broke through the armies of the ssaesson and scattered them, by the warcraft of the chiefs. And then did Eidol, Earl of Kaer loyw, make search for Hainssiest, and at last found him. And they fought furiously until one saw the fire from their swords like the lightning before the thunder. And whilst they were still doing so, behold, *G*wrlais,
f. 97 rec. the Earl, came up with his army, and thereupon scattered the ssaesson. And then, moved by fierce confidence, Eidiol seized Hainsiestr by the beard

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Dum itaque [a] diuersas irruptiones diuerse turme facerent.[f] conuenerunt forte pariter. & mutuos ictus ingeminare ceperunt. O uiros [b] pre ceteris pugnaces. Qui dum mutuos enses alter in alterum inmitterent.[f 1 c] prosiliebant ex ictibus ignes. ac si tonitrua coruscationes [d] procrearet.[f 2 e] Diu dubium fuit cui prestantior [f] uigor inerat. Quandoque [g] enim preualebat eldol & cedebat hengistus. cedebat [h] eldol.[f] & preualebat hengistus. Dum in hunc modum decertarent. superuenit gorlois [i] dux cornubie cum phalange cui preerat. turmas diuersorum infestans. Quem cum aspexisset eldol securior effectus.[f] cepit hengistum per nasale cassidis. atque totis uiribus utens. ipsum [j] infra conciues extraxit.[j] Maximo igitur [k] gaudio fluctuans. excelsa uoce dicebat. Desiderium meum impleuit deus. Prosternite uiri obstantes. ambrones prosternite. Vobis [l] est in manu uictoria. Uicistis [l] enim. deuicto hengisto. Inter hec [m] britones [n] non cessant paganos expugnare. sepius ac sepius inuadere. & cum retro cedebant. iterum reuocata audacia [o] resistere.[o] Nec in hunc modum quieuerunt.[f] donec potiti sunt uictoria. Diffugierunt [p] itaque pagani.[f 5 q] quo impetus quemque ducebat. Alii urbes. alii montana nemorosa. alii naues petebant. At octa filius hengisti cum maiori multitudine | eboracum adiuit. *f. 76 vo.* Eosa uero cognatus suus urbem innumeris armatis muniuiuit.[6]

VIII. vi

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[1] *immitterent.* [2] *procrearent.* [3] *ergo.* [4] *audatia.* [5] *saxones.* [6] *munierunt.* *Bern*

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[a] omit *Dum itaque;* insert *Cumque.* [b] *uiri.* [c] *inmitteret.* [d] *choruscharent.* [e] omit *procrearet.* [f] *praestancior.* [g] *Cumque.* [h] insert *enim.* [i] *Gorlois.* [j] *inter conciues ipsum extraxit.* [k] *Wobis.* [l] *Wicistis.* [m] omit *hec.* [n] *Britones.* [o] *resistebant.* [p] *Diffugerunt.* [q] *saxones.* *Harlech*

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and helmet, and dragged him into the midst of his own army, crying, with all his might, "Now wipe out the ssaesson, for they are beaten. Here is Hainssiestr now." And from then on fled the ssaesson, and fled Octaf, the son of Hainssiest, with the greater part of his army, to kaer Efroc. And Ossaf, his uncle, with the rest of his army, fled to kaer Alklyd. And after getting this victory, Emrys went to kaer [G]Kynan, mentioned above, and took the fortress, and there he stayed three days to direct the burial of the bodies of those slain,* to heal the wounded, and to cast off their fatigue. And

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VIII. vii Ut ergo [1] [a] ita triumphauit aurelius.[f] [b] cepit urbem conani quam supra memoraueram. & ibidem tribus diebus moratus est. Interea iussit peremptos sepeliri. uulneratos curari. fatigatos requiescere. & eosdem [c] diuersis leuaminibus [d] reficere.[e] Post hec conuocatis ducibus decernere precepit [f] quid de hengisto ageretur. Aderat eldadus [2] [g] claudiocestrie [3] [h] episcopus frater eldol. uir summe prudencie [4] & religionis. Hic cum hengistum coram rege stantem [i] aspexit. iussit ceteros tacere. & in hunc modum locutus est. Et si omnes istum liberare niterentur. ego eum in frusta [5] [j] conscinderem.[k] Insequerer namque prophetam samuelem.[l] Qui cum agag regem [6] amalech [7] in potestatem tenuisset conscidit illum in frusta [5] [j] dicens. Sicut fecisti matres sine liberis. sic faciam hodie matrem tuam sine liberis. inter mulieres. Sic igitur facite de isto. qui alter agag consistit.[8] [m] Accepit itaque eldol gladium. & duxit eum extra ciuitatem. & amputato capite ad tartara direxit. At aurelius ut erat in cunctis rebus modestus. iussit sepeliri eum. & cumulum terre super corpus pagano more apponi.

VIII. viii Deinde duxit aurelius exercitum suum ad eboracum. ut octam [n] filium hengisti expugnaret. Cumque ciuitatem obsideret [9] dubitauit occa resistere. & [o] urbem contra tantam multitudinem defendere. Communicato itaque cum
f. 77 rec. suis [10] [p] | consilio. egressus est cum nobilioribus qui secum ade-

Bern [1] omit *ergo.* [2] *eldalus.* [3] *claudiocestris.* [4] *prudentie.* [5] *frustra.* [6] omit *regem.* [7] *amalechum.* [8] *existit.* [9] *possideret.* [10] omit *cum suis.*

Harlech [a] omit *ergo.* [b] *Aurelius.* [c] *eos de.* [d] *iuuaminibus.* [e] *resistere.* [f] *cepit.* [g] *eldoldus.* [h] *claudiocestris.* [i] *astantem.* [j] *frustra.* [k] *inciderem.* [l] *samuelem prophetam.* [m] *extitit.* [n] *hoctam.* [o] insert *in.* [p] omit *cum suis.*

Emrys then took counsel as to Hainssiestr. In the council were the Bishop of Kaer-loyw and Eidiol the Earl, his brother. And when the Bishop saw Hainssiestr standing before him, he cried, "Ha, nobles, should ye all desire to set Hainssiestr free, I myself would slay him, as did the prophet Samwel, when he saw Agaf, king of Amlech, in prison, and he caused him to be hewed
f. 97 vo. in small pieces, and said to him, 'As thou didst make mothers without sons, so will I make thy mother sonless.'" And then Eidiol and Hainssiestr came

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rant gestans catenam [1 a] in manu. & sablonem [b] in capite. & sese regi presentauit [c] in hec uerba. [c] Uicti sunt dii mei. [d] deumque [e] tuum regnare non hesito. qui tot nobiles ad te uenire hoc modo compellit. [f] Accipe ergo nos & catenam [1 a] istam. & nisi misericordiam adhibueris [c] habe nos ligatos. & ad quodlibet supplicium uoluntarie paratos. Motus igitur aurelius [g] pietate. iussit adiudicari quid in eos agendum foret. Cum autem diuersi diuersa proferrent [c] surrexit eldadus [h] episcopus. & sententiam [2 i] hoc sermone disseruit. [j] Gabaonite uoluntarie uenerunt ad filios [k] israel petentes misericordiam. & impetrauerunt. Erimus ergo christiani peiores iudeis. abnegantes misericordiam? Misericordiam petunt [c] misericordiam [l] habeant. Ampla est insula britannie. [m] & in pluribus locis deserta. [3 n] inhabitent igitur [c] & nobis in sempiternum seruiant. Adquieuit itaque rex. eldadi [o] sententie. [4 p] & misericordiam de eis habuit. [q] Exemplo etiam octe [r] uenit eosa. ceterique qui diffugerant. & misericordiam impetrauerunt. Dedit ergo eis nationem [s] iuxta scotiam. & fedus cum eis confirmauit. [t]

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[1] *cathenam.* [2] *sentenciam.* [3] The following is omitted by the Cambridge scribe: *Federatos itaque illos sinamus saltem deserta inhabitare;* omit *inhabitent igitur.* [4] *sentencie.* *Bern*

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[a] *cathenam.* [b] *soblonem.* [c] *in hec uerba presentauit.* [d] *Victi mei dii sunt.* [e] *deum.* [f] *compelleret.* [g] *Aurelius.* [h] *eldoldus.* [i] *sententiam.* [j] *deternitur.* [k] omit *ad filios.* [l] insert &. [m] *Britannie.* [n] insert *Federatos autem illos sinamus saltem deserta habitare;* omit *inhabitent igitur.* [o] *eldoldi.* [p] *sentencie.* [q] *adhibuit.* [r] *hocte.* [s] *nacionem.* [t] *firmauit.* *Harlech*

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to the top of a high hill near the castle, and he cut off his head; and he raised a great cry* over his head, as was the custom in burying a ssawden [warrior].* And from thence Emrys went to kaer Efroc, to seek Octaf. But in council Octaf was advised with all his people to go each with chains in their hands, and a bit of earth on the head of each one, and so to yield themselves to the will of Emrys, saying to him, "O Lord king, our gods are overthrown, and we do not doubt that thy god reigneth, who committeth to thy will in this plight so many noblemen as these. Lord, here we are, submissive, each of us with a chain in his hand; — if thou wishest it, order us to be put to death." And then Emrys held council, and there the Bishop and Eidiol said, "Ye evil men have come of your own will to beg mercy, even as people

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VIII. ix Triumphatis itaque hostibus conuocauit consules ac principes regni infra eboracum. precepitque [1] eis restaurare ecclesias. quas gens saxonum destruxerat. Ipse uero metropolitanam sedem illius urbis. atque ceteros episcopatus prouincie [2] reedificare incepit. Emensis deinde .xv. [a] diebus cum
f. 77 vo. operarios diuersos in diuersis locis | statuisset. adiuit urbem lundonie. [3] cui hostilis irruptio [b] non pepercerat. Condolens igitur ipsius excidium. reuocat undique ciues residuos. & eam restituere aggreditur. Ibidem disponit regno suo. [4 c] legesque sopitas renouat. amissas auorum possessiones nepotibus distribuit. Quas [5] autem [d] in tanta calamitate heredes [e] amiserant. [f] largite sunt commilitonibus suis. Tota intentio [g] ipsius uersabatur circa regni restitucionem. & [6 h] ecclesiarum reformationem. [h] pacis ac legis renouationem. [i] iusticie compositionem. [j] Exinde petiuit guintoniam. [k] ut eam sicut ceteras restitueret. Cumque in [l] restauratione [m] eius que ponenda erant [n] posuisset. monitu [o] eldadi [p] episcopi iuit ad monasterium prope [q] kaerradoc. [r] quod nunc salesburia [7 s] dicitur. ubi consules ac [t] principes [8] iacebant

Bern [1] *precepit.* [2] *prouintie.* [3] *londonie.* [4] *regnum suum.* [5] *Que.* [6] omit *&.* [7] *salesberia.* [8] *principes ac consules.*

Harlech [a] *quindecim.* [b] *irrupcio.* [c] *regnum suum.* [d] *Que dum.* [e] omit *heredes.* [f] *amiserat.* [g] *Tanta intencio.* [h] omit *& . . . reformationem.* [i] *renouacionem.* [j] *composciionem.* [k] *Wintoniam.* [l] omit *in.* [m] *instauracionem.* [n] *erat.* [o] *moniti.* [p] *eldoldi.* [q] omit *prope.* [r] *kaerstrados.* [s] *salesberia.* [t] *&.*

came to Issrael, and received it; and our mercy will not be less than that of the iddewon" [Jews]. And thus Ossaf and his followers came into the mercy of Emrys, and they took land from Emrys in perpetual serfdom; and that
f. 98 rec. land was Yssgotlont. And thus peace was made between them. And then Emrys went to kaer Efroc and called to him all his Earls, and his barons, and his Arch-bishops. And first of all it was decreed in Council to rebuild at Emrys's cost the Churches which the ssaesson had destroyed everywhere throughout the kingdom. And the fifteenth day after this he reached Illyndain. And there also he ordered that the Churches be repaired, bad laws amended, lands which had been wrongly taken away given back to each one, and justice meted out to all who claimed it. And from thence he went to kaer wynt to do in like manner. And when he had pacified every place, he went to ssalstbri to behold the graves of those whom Hainssiestr

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quos nefandus [1] hengistus prodiderat.[2] Erat ibi cenobium .ccc.[torum] [3 e] fratrum in monte [a] ambrii. qui ut ferunt [4 b] fundator eiusdem olim extiterat. Vt igitur locum quo defuncti iacebant circumspexit.[f] motus pietate in lacrimas solutus est. Postremo in diuersas meditationes [5 c] inductus. deliberauit aput [6] se qualiter locum faceret memorabilem. Dignam namque memoria censebat cespitem. que tot nobiles pro [d] patria [e] defunctos protegebat.

Conuocatis itaque [f] undique artificibus lignorum & lapidum precepit ingeniis uti. nouamque structuram adinuenire. que in memoriam [g] tantorum uirorum in euum constaret. Cumque omnes ingenia [h] sua [7 i] diffundentes [j] repulsam | pertulissent.[f 8 k] accessit tremorinus urbis legionum archiepiscopus [l] ad regem. & ait. Si uspiam est qui preceptum [m] aggredi ualuerit.[f n] merlinus [9 e] uates uortegirni aggredietur. Quippe non estimo alterum [p] esse in regno tuo cui sit clarius ingenium. siue in futuris dicendis. siue in operationibus machinandis.[q] Iube eum uenire atque ingenio suo [r] uti. ut opus quod affectas constet. Cum itaque [10] de eo multa interrogasset aurelius.[e] misit diuersos nuntios [t] per diuersas nationes [u] patrie. ut inuentum illum adducerent. *VIII. x* *f. 78 rec.*

[1] *bellator.* [2] *occiderat.* [3] *.ccc.* [4] *fertur.* [5] *meditaciones.* [6] *apud.* [7] *ingeniis suis.* [8] *intulissent.* [9] *Merlinus.* [10] *Cumque ita.* *Bern*

[e] omit .ccc.[torum] *fratrum in monte.* [b] *fertur.* [c] *meditaciones.* [d] omit *pro.* [e] *patrie.* [f] insert *uniuersis.* [g] *memoria.* [h] *ingeniis.* [i] omit *sua.* [j] *diffidentes.* [k] *intulissent.* [l] *episcopus.* [m] insert *tuum.* [n] *ualuit.* [e] *Merlinus.* [p] *alium.* [q] *machinandis operacionibus.* [r] omit *suo.* [t] *Aurelius.* [t] *nuncios.* [u] *naciones.* *Harlech*

had caused to be killed, — Earls, barons, and men of gentle blood. And three hundred monks were together in the monastery of mount Ambri, for so it was called because it had been founded by a man named Ambri. And Emrys was sad to see that place so unadorned, and he sent for all the stone masons and some of the carpenters of ynys Brydain to make a lasting adornment, touched with artistry, about that place of graves. But when the company had come together and their artistry failed them, Tramor, Arch-bishop of kaer-lleon, drew near and said to Emrys, "Lord," said he, "summon to you [V]Myrddin the bard of Gwrthheyrn, for he knows how to conceive strange things by his unfailing immortal artistry." So Merddin was brought to Emrys and joyful over him was the king. But, when *f. 98 vo.*

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Qui peragratis prouinciis.[1] in [a] natione gewisseorum eum inuenerunt [a] ad fontes[2] galabes [b] quos[3] [c] fuerat solitus frequentare. Indicato autem quid uellent. duxerunt illum ad regem. Excepit [d] ergo[4] [e] illum [f] rex cum gaudio. iussitque futura dicere. cupiens miranda audire. Cui merlinus.[5] Non sunt reuelanda huiusmodi misteria.[6] nisi cum summa necessitas incubuerit. Nam si ea in derisionem [g] siue [h] uanitatem proferrem.[f] taceret spiritus qui me docet. & cum opus [i] superueniret.[f] recederet.[7] Denique cum omnibus repulsam intulisset.[f] noluit eum [i] rex infestare[8] [i] de futuris. set de operatione [k] premeditata allocutus est. Cui merlinus.[l] Si perpetuo opere sepulturam uirorum decorare uolueris. mitte pro chorea gigantum [m] que est in killarao [n] monte hybernie. Est etenim ibi structura lapidum. quam nemo huius etatis construeret. nisi ingenium arte [o] subnecteret.[9] Grandes sunt lapides. nec est aliquis cuius uirtuti cedant. Qui si eo modo
f. 78 vo. quo ibidem | positi sunt. circa plateam locabuntur.[f] stabunt in eternum.

Bern [1] *prouintiis.* [2] *fontem.* [3] *quem.* [4] omit *ergo.* [5] *Merlinus.* [6] *mysteria.* [7] *taceret.* [8] *noluit infestare eum de futuris.* [9] *subuectaret.*

Harlech [a] *inuenerunt eum in nacionem GeWisseorum.* [b] *fontem galaes.* [c] *quem.* [d] *Excepitque.* [e] omit *ergo.* [f] *eum.* [g] *deusionem.* [h] insert *in.* [i] omit *opus.* [j] *infestare eum;* omit *rex.* [k] *operacione.* [l] *Merlinus.* [m] *gygantum.* [n] *karlaro.* [o] *arti.*

Emrys asked him to make prophecies as to what was about to happen to this island, Merddin answered him, "It would not be right to speak of such things except upon necessity. And were I to speak of them without necessity, the Spirit which teaches me would go from me when I have need of him." And then the king was unwilling to press him further, but asked him how he would plan a work beautiful and permanent for that place. And Merddin counseled him to go to iwerddon, to the place where there is a circle of the Giants on Mount-Kilara, "for there there are stones marvellous in nature, concerning which no one knows anything. And not by strength or force, Lord, shall they be had, but by knowledge [i.e., mystic lore]. Were they once here, as they are there, they would stand eternally." And then Emrys said with laughter, "In what way could they be brought from there?" And Myrddin said, "Lord, stir not thyself to laughter, for I speak
f. 99 rec. but soberness and truth. For stones of mystic power are they with many

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Ad hec merlini[a] uerba.[1][b] solutus est aurelius[c] in risum dicens. Qualiter id fieri posset ut tanti lapides ex tam longinquo regno adueherentur. ac si[d] britannia[e] lapidibus careret. qui[f] ad operationem sufficerent.[g] Ad hec merlinus.[h] Ne moueas rex uanum risum. quia hec absque uanitate profero. Mistici sunt lapides. & ad[i] diuersa[j] medicamenta salubres. Gigantes[k] olim asportauerunt eos ex ultimis finibus affrice. & posuerunt in hybernia[2] dum eam inhabitarent. Erat autem causa ut balnea infra ipsos conficerent. cum infirmitate grauarentur. Lauabant namque lapides. & infra balnea diffundebant.[l] unde egroti curabantur. Miscebant etiam[m] cum herbarum confectionibus. unde uulnerati sanabantur.[n] Non est ibi lapis qui medicamento careat. Cumque[o] hec audissent britones.[p] censuerunt pro lapidibus mittere. populumque hybernie[3][q] prelio infestare. si ipsos detinere niterentur. Postremo eligitur[r] uther-pendragon[s] frater regis. & .xv.[t] milia armatorum. ut huic[u] negocio[4] pareant. Eligitur & ipse merlinus.[h] ut ipsius ingenio &[v] consilio agenda tractentur.[w] Paratis deinde nauibus mare ingrediuntur. prosperis uentis hyberniam[5] adeunt. VIII. xi

[1] *Ad uerba ipsius.* [2] *hibernia.* [3] *hibernie.* [4] *negotio.* [5] *hiberniam.* — *Bern*

[a] omit *hec merlini.* [b] insert *ipsius.* [c] *Aurelius.* [d] omit *si.* [e] *Brittannia.* [f] *quid.* [g] *sufficeret.* [h] *Merlinus.* [i] omit *ad.* [j] *aduersa.* [k] *Gygantes.* [l] *infundebant.* [m] *enim.* [n] *curabantur.* [o] *Cum.* [p] *Britones.* [q] *hybernie.* [r] *iligitur.* [s] *Uterpendragon.* [t] *quindecim.* [u] *hinc.* [v] omit *ingenio &.* [w] *tractarentur.* — *Harleck*

healing virtues in them, and giants long ago brought them from the farthest part of Yssbaen and placed them as they are. They brought them for this reason. When sickness came upon one of them, they made an ointment in the middle of the stones, then washed the stones with water, and that water they put into the ointment, and thus got complete health from the wounds they had, because they put herbs in the ointment, and these cure the wounds." And when the king learned the virtues of the stones at once he set out to get them, and sent Ythyr-benn-dragwnn as chief of fifteen thousand armed men, and with him merddin also, because he was the greatest genius of his contemporaries. Gilamwri was then King of Iwerddon; and when he heard of this, he came with a great host against them, and asked the purpose of their errand. And when the king learned the purpose

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VIII. xii

Ea tempeastate regnabat in hybernia Gillomanius iuuenis mire probitatis. Hic cum audisset quia in hybernia [1] applicuissent britones.[a] collegit exercitum grandem. &
f. 79 rec. eis obuiam perrexit. Cumque didicisset causam | aduentus eorum astantibus irrisit. & ait. Non miror si ignaua[b] gens insulam britonum[c] deuastare potuit. cum britones[a] bruti[d] sint[e] & stulti. Quis etenim huiusmodi stulticiam audiuit? Numquid[f] meliora sunt saxa hybernie [2] quam britannie.[g] ut regnum nostrum pro ipsis[h] prouocetur? Armate uos o[i] uiri. & defendite patriam uestram. quia dum mihi uita inerit.[j] non auferent[j] nobis etiam [3 k] minimum lapillum[l] coree.[4 m] Uther[n] igitur ut uidit ipsos ad preliandum paratos. festinato agmine in eos irruit. Nec mora preualuerunt britones.[a] hyberniensibusque[o] laceratis ac interfectis.[j] Gillomannium [5 p] in fugam propulerunt. Potiti autem uictoria adierunt[q] kyllaraum [6 r] montem. lapidumque[s] structuram adepti. gauisi sunt & admirati.[t] Circumstantibus [7] itaque cunctis. accessit merlinus[u] & ait. Vtimini uiribus uestris iuuenes. ut in deponendo lapides istos sciatis utrum ingenium uirtuti an uirtus ingenio cedat. Ad imperium igitur eius indulserunt unanimiter. & [8 v] multimodis[w] machinationibus [9 x] aggressi [10] sunt choream deponere. Alii funes alii restes. alii scalas. parauerunt. ut quod affectabant perficerent. nec ullatenus perficere ualuerunt. Deficientibus itaque cunctis.

Bern [1] *hibernia.* [2] *hibernie.* [3] *etiam nobis.* [4] *choree.* [5] *Gillomanium.* [6] *exegerunt killaraum.* [7] *Circumstantibus.* [8] omit &. [9] insert &. [10] *agressi.*

Harlech [a] *Britones.* [b] *ignauia.* [c] *Britonum.* [d] *Bruti.* [e] *sunt.* [f] *Nunquid.* [g] *Brittannie.* [h] insert *ad preliandum.* [i] omit *o.* [j] insert *a.* [k] omit *etiam.* [l] *lapidem.* [m] *choree.* [n] *Uter.* [o] *hyberniensibus.* [p] *Gillomanium.* [q] *exigunt.* [r] *karlaraum.* [s] *lapidemque.* [t] insert *sunt.* [u] *Merlinus.* [v] omit &. [w] *multis.* [x] insert &.

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of the errand he laughed and said, "It is not strange to me that any feeble people are able to ravage ynys brydain, since they are so foolish as to make the people of Iwerddon fight them for the sake of stones." Then they joined battle and fought furiously and killed many on both sides, until Gilamwri
f. 99 vo. fled, abandoning his men. And then said Merddin, "Use the best device you know to carry away the stones," but they did not succeed. Then Merddyin laughed and without any labour except by art easily carried the

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solutus est merlinus in risum. suasque machinationes [1 a] confecit. Denique cum queque necessaria apposuisset[f] leuius quam credi potest lapides deposuit. Depositos autem fecit deferri ad naues & introponi. & sic cum gaudio in britanniam [b] reuerti ceperunt. & prosperantibus uentis applicant. sepulturasque | uirorum cum *f. 79 vo.* lapidibus adeunt. Quod cum indicatum fuisset aurelio[f] [c] diuersos nuntios [d] per diuersas partes britannie [e] direxit. iussitque clerum ac populum sumonere. [2 f] sumonitos [3 g] uero in monte [4 h] ambrii conuenire. ut cum gaudio & honore predictam sepulturam reparrarent. Ad edictum ergo illius uenerunt pontifices & abbates. & [i] ex unoquoque [j] ordine qui ei subditi fuerant. Et cum omnes conuenissent. instante die que predestinata fuerat. imposuit aurelius diadema capiti suo. festumque pentecostes [5] regaliter celebrauit. tribusque [k] sequentibus diebus continue celebrationi [l] uacauit. Interea [m] honores qui [6] possessionibus [7 m] carebant domesticis suis largitur. [n] ut eis [o] obsequii sui laborem remuneraret. [p] Euacuate erant [q] due [r] metropolitane [s] sedes. eboraci uidelicet atque urbis legionum a pastoribus suis. quibus communi populorum consilio consulere uolens. concessit [8] eboracum samsoni [9 t] illustri uiro. summaque religione famoso. Urbem uero legionis.[10 u] dubricio.[11] quem [v] diuina [w] prouidentia [x] in eodem loco profuturum elegerat. Cumque hec [y] & cetera in [z] regno [a'] suo statuisset precepit merlino [b'] lapides circa sepulturas erigere quos

[1] *machinaciones.* [2] *summoneri.* [3] *summonitos.* [4] *in montem.* [5] *penthecostes.* *Bern*
[6] *que.* [7] *possessoribus.* [8] *concessi.* [9] *sansoni.* [10] *legionum.* [11] *dubritio.*

[a] *machinaciones.* [b] *Brittanniam.* [c] *Aurelio.* [d] *nuncios.* [e] *Brittannie.* [f] *summonere.* *Harlech*
[g] *sancti monitos.* [h] *montem.* [i] omit &. [j] *ex imo quoque.* [k] *tribus.* [l] *celebracione.*
[m] *Interea possessiones que possessoribus.* [n] *largitus.* [o] omit *ut eis.* [p] *remunerabat.*
[q] *Euacuata erat.* [r] *die.* [s] *metropolitana.* [t] *sampsoni.* [u] *legionum.* [v] *quam.*
[w] *diuino.* [x] *prouidencia.* [y] insert *esse.* [z] omit *in.* [a'] *ingenio.* [b'] *Merlino.*

stones to the ships. And thus they brought them to the mountain of Ambri. And then Emrys called to him there all the Earls and barons, and the ordained scholars of the kingdom, under their advice to glorify that place with splendid adornment. And then Emrys wore the kingdom's crown upon his head and reverently kept the feast of Whitsuntide three days. And he gave to all of the people of the island their full rights, and satisfied all his

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ex hybernia asportauerat. At ille preceptis eius [a] obediens. eodem modo quo in kyllarao [1 b] monte hybernie positi fuerant erexit illos circa sepulturam.[2 c] ingeniumque uirtuti preualere comprobauit.

VIII. xiii *f. 80 rec.* Eodem tempore pacentius [d] filius uortegirni [e] qui in | germaniam diffugerat. commouebat [3] omnem armatum militem illius regni in aurelium ambrosium. patremque suum uindicare uolebat.[f] Promittebat autem [4] infinitam pecuniam [5 g] auri & argenti. si auxilio eorum sibi britanniam [h] subdidisset.[i] Denique cum promissis suis [j] uniuersam iuuentutem corrupisset.[f] parauit maximum nauigium. applicuitque in aquilonaribus insule partibus.[6 k] ac eas uastare cepit.[7 l] Cumque [8] id regi [m] nuntiatum [n] fuisset. collegit exercitum suum obuiamque perrexit. hostes atque seuientes [9 o] ad prelium prouocauit. Qui ultro ad prelium uenientes. commiserunt pugnam cum ciuibus. set uolente deo de [p] uictoria frustrati [10] in fugam compulsi sunt.[11 p]

VIII. xiv Pacencius [12 q] ergo in fugam propulsus. non ausus est redire in germaniam. set retorsis [13 r] uelis adiuit gillomanium [s] in hyberniam. & ab illo receptus est. Et cum infortunium suum notificasset miseratus gillomannius. [14 t] pactus est ei auxilium.[f] conquerens [u] de iniuria quam uther [v]

Bern [1] *killarao.* [2] *sepulturas.* [3] *commonebat.* [4] *enim.* [5] *copiam.* [6] *partibus insule.* [7] *incepit.* [8] *Cum.* [9] *atque seuientes hostes.* [10] *deuicti fuerunt. & in fugam.* [11] omit *sunt.* [12] *Pacentius.* [13] *retrorsis.* [14] *gillomanius.*

Harlech [a] omit *eius.* [b] *karlarao.* [c] *sepulturas.* [d] *pascentius.* [e] *Vortegirni.* [f] *uolens.* [g] *copiam.* [h] *Brittanniam sibi.* [i] *subiugasset.* [j] omit *suis.* [k] *partibus insule.* [l] *incepit.* [m] *aurelio.* [n] *nunciatum.* [o] *atque seuientes hostes.* [p] *deuicti fuerunt & in fugam compulsi;* omit *sunt.* [q] *Pascencius.* [r] *retrorsis.* [s] *Gillomanium.* [t] *Gillomanius.* [u] *& querens.* [v] *Vter.*

men as to gold and silver and horses and arms as became each one. And when he had arranged all things, Emrys ordered [V]Merddin to set up the stones as they had been at [ngh]kilara, and so he did. And thus every one knew that cunning is better than strength. At this time Passgen, the son of Gwrthayrn, had fled to ssermania, and there gathered an army, the largest he could get, by promising to them all sorts of reward for coming with him, to win back ynys brydain from Emrys, the son of Kystennin.
f. 100 rec. And they trusted [B]Passgen and came with him, with a multitude of armed

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frater aurelii[a] sibi intulerat. dum choream gigantum[b] perquireret. Confirmato tandem inter ipsos federe[c] parauerunt sibi naues. & ingressi[c] in eas.[1 d] in meneuiam urbem applicuerunt. Quo diuulgato utherpendragon[e] excita armatorum[2 f] copia iuit in kambriam. ut cum eis pugnaret. Frater etenim suus aurelius[g] in guintonia[h] urbe morbo grauatus iacebat. nec poterat ipse adire. Cumque id pascentio,[3 i] & gillomannio[4 j] saxonibusque[5] qui aderant. compertum fuisset.[k] gauisi sunt ualde. quia estimabant propter | infirmitatem eius regnum leuiter subdendum. Et dum *f. 80 vo.* murmuratio inde per populos fieret. accessit unus ex saxonibus[6] uocabulo eopa ad pascentium.[7 l] & ait. Quibus donariis[m] ditabis[8] hominem qui aurelium[n] ambrosium[o] tibi interficiet? Cui pacentius.[p] O si quempiam reperirem[9 q] cui hoc in animo staret. darem ei mille libras argenti. familiaritatemque[10] meam dum uiuerem.[r] Et si fortuna permiserit ut diademate regni potiar. faciam illum centurionem. atque iuramento confirmabo.[s] Ad hec eopa.[t] Didici linguam britannicam.[u] moresque hominum scio. in medicina arte peritus. Si ergo ea[v] que promittis. mihi[w] fueris executus.[11 x] fingam me christianum. & britannum.[x] &

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[1] *ingressi sunt eas.* [2] *armorum.* [3] *Cumque pacentio.* [4] *gillomanis.* [5] *saxonibus.* *Bern*
[6] omit *ex saxonibus.* [7] *pacentium.* [8] *donabis.* [9] *repperirem.* [10] *familiaritatem.*
[11] *executus fueris mihi.*

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[a] *Aurelii.* [b] *gygantum.* [c] insert *sunt.* [d] insert *&.* [e] *Vter.* [f] *armorum.* *Harlech*
[g] *Aurelius.* [h] *Guintonia.* [i] *pascencio nunciatum fuisset.* [j] *Gillomanio.* [k] omit *compertum fuisset.* [l] *pascencium.* [m] *donis.* [n] *Aurelium.* [o] omit *ambrosium.* [p] *pascencius.*
[q] omit *reperirem.* [r] *uiueret.* [s] *confirmaba.* [t] *eopia.* [u] *Brittannicam.* [v] omit *ea.*
[w] *executus mihi fueris.* [x] *Brittannium.*

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men. And when the fleet reached this island, they began to ravage the country. And when Emrys heard this, he went out against them with a great host, and drove them in shameful flight to Iwerddon, where Gilamwri was King. And cordial was he to [B]Passgen. And each complained to the other of the sons of [G]Kystennin. Then upon agreement the two went with a fleet to the land of Myniw. And when* Ythyr heard this, he had great anxiety because Emrys was ill at kaer Wynt, and he himself had not strength enough to give open battle to [B]Passgen and [ch]Gilamwri. And when the two men heard this, they were glad that Emrys was ill, judging that Ythr could not by himself face them both. And then one of the ssaesson named

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quasi medicus presentiam regis nactus ei potionem qua[a] obibit conficiam. Et ut citius[1 b] aditum reperiam.[2] faciam me monachum religiosissimum. & omni dogmate eruditum. Cumque[c] hoc promisisset. pepigit pascentius[d] fedus cum illo. & ea que spoponderat. iuramento confirmauit. Rasit igitur[3 e] eopa barbam suam capiteque tonso[f] monachalem cepit[f] habitum. & uasis medicamentorum suorum oneratus. iter uersus guintoniam[4 g] arripuit Vrbem postremo ingressus. obtulit obsequium suum clientibus[h] regis. & gratiam in oculis eorum inuenit. Nichil enim desiderabilius expectabant[i] quam medicum. Exceptus itaque & in presentia[j] regis ductus. promisit se redditurum[k] ei sanitatem.[k] si potionibus[l] suis frueretur. Nec mora potionem[m] conficere iussus. submiscuit uenenum. | & ei[5 n] porrexit. Quod cum cepisset[o] aurelius[p] & hausisset.[q] iussus est confestim a nefando ambrone sub coopertorio[r] suo delitere.[6] atque obdormire.[s] ut magis potio detestanda proficeret.[t] Paruit ilico rex monitis[s] proditoris[u] illius. & quasi sanitatem recepturus.[s] obdormiuit. Nec mora illabente ueneno per poros corporis[v] & uenas.[s v] consecuta est mors soporem.[w] que[x] nemini parcere consueuit.[7] Interea nefandus proditor ille[y] inter unum & alium elapsus. in curia nus-

f. 81 rec.

Bern [1] *cicius.* [2] *reppiam.* [3] *ergo.* [4] *hintoniam.* [5] *regi.* [6] *dilitere.* [7] *sueuit.*

Harlech [a] *quam.* [b] *cicius.* [c] *Cum.* [d] *pascencius.* [e] *ergo.* [f] *recepit.* [g] *Wintoniam.* [h] *clicentibus.* [i] *expectabat desiderabilius.* [j] *presenciam.* [k] *sanitatem redditurum ei.* [l] *pocionibus.* [m] *pocionem.* [n] *regi.* [o] *hausisset.* [p] *Aurelius.* [q] omit & *hausisset.* [r] *cooperatorio.* [s] *profecisset.* [t] *montis.* [u] *prodicionis.* [v] & *uenas corporis.* [w] omit *soporem.* [x] *qui.* [y] *ille proditor.*

Eppa came to [B]Passgen, and asked him what reward he would give to him who should kill Emrys. "I will give him," said [b]passgen, "a thousand pounds, and my friendship for life, and should I become king, I will reward him with land and earth and treasure to his content." And then said Eppa, "I know a medicine against Emrys, and the customs* of the Bryttaniait. Give me confirmation of what thou hast promised me, and I will cause the death of Emrys." And then they confirmed it. And then Eppa had his head and his beard shaved, like a Monk, took leech tools with him, and went to Emrys's court, — had himself announced to some from the palace and said that he was a skilled Physician. And they could find no better thing than

f. 100 vo.

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quam comparuit. Hec dum guintonie[a] agerentur. apparuit stella mire magnitudinis & claritatis.[1 b] uno radio contenta.[c] Ad radium uero erat globus igneus. in similitudinem draconis extensus.[d] & ex ore eus procedebant[e] duo[f] radii. quorum unus[2 g] longitudinem suam ultra gallicana climata uidebatur extendere.[h] alter uero uersus hybernicum[i] mare uergens. in septem[3] minores radios.[k]

Ter[l] itaque apparente[4 k] prefato sidere.[h 5] perculsi[6 l] sunt omnes metu & admiratione.[m] qui istud inspiciebant; Uther[n] etiam[o] frater regis hostilem exercitum in[p] kambria petens.[p] non minimo timore[q] perculsus.[7 r] quosque sapientes adhibat.[8 s] ut quod[9 t] portenderet stella notificarent.[u] Inter ceteros iussit uocari[v] merlinum.[w] nam & ipse in exercitu uenerat. ut consilio ipsius res preliorum tractarentur.[10 x] Qui ut in presentia[y] ducis astitit.[11 z] iussus est significationem sideris[12] enucleare. Mox ille in fletum erumpens. reuocato spiritu exclamauit | & ait. O dampnum irrecuperabile. o orbatum populum britannie.[a'] o nobilissimi regis migrationem. Defunctus est inclitus rex *VIII. xv* *f. 81 vo.*

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[1] *claritudinis.* [2] *.I.* [3] *.vii.* [4] insert *itaque.* [5] *sydere.* [6] *percussi.* [7] *percussus.* [8] *adibat.* [9] *quid.* [10] *tractarent.* [11] *astitisset.* [12] *syderis.* *Bern*

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[a] *Wintonie.* [b] *clarius.* [c] *contento.* [d] *extentus.* [e] *procedunt.* [f] omit *duo.* [g] insert *in.* [h] *hybernie.* [i] insert *terminabatur.* [k] omit *Ter.* [l] *apparente itaque.* [m] *percussi.* [n] *admiracione.* [o] *Uter.* [p] *eciam.* [q] *petens in kambria.* [r] *terrore.* [s] *percussus.* [t] *adibat.* [u] *quid.* [v] *indicarent.* [w] *uocare.* [x] *Merlinum.* [y] *tractarent.* [z] *presencia.* [a'] *astitisset.* *Brittannie.* *Harlech*

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that, and they told it to Emrys. And thereupon he mixed a draught of poison for the king, and he drank it, and the deceiver counseled him to rest secluded after the draught that the poison might more quickly affect him. And then Eppa vanished from the court. And then a Star of enormous size appeared to Ythyr, having a single shaft, and at the head of the shaft a ball of fire in shape of a dragon, and from the dragon's jaws, two beams went upward, the one beam reaching towards the farthest parts of ffraink and the other beam towards Iwerddon, which split into seven smaller beams. And Ythr and all who saw this spectacle feared, and they asked the wise men what it might mean. And then Merddin wept and said, "O nation of the Bryttaniait! now are ye bereft of Emrys Wledic, a loss that cannot be

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britonum[a] aurelius[b] ambrosius. cuius obitu obibimus[c] omnes. nisi deus auxilium subuectet. Festina ergo dux nobilissime. uther[d] festina. & conflictum cum hostibus ne differas. Victoria tibi in manu erit. & rex eris tocius britannie.[e] Te etenim sidus[1] istud significat. & igneus draco sub sidere.[2] Radius autem qui uersus gallicanam plagam porrigitur. portendit[f] tibi filium futurum.[3] &[g] potentissimum. cuius potestas omnia regna que proteget habebit. Alter uero radius significat filiam. cuius filii & nepotes regnum britannie[e] succedenter habebunt.

VIII. xvi At[h] uther[d] in dubio tamen extans[i] an uerum protulisset merlinus.[j] in hostes ut ceperat progreditur. Aduenerat namque prope meneuiam. ita ut iter medietatis diei restaret. Cumque aduentus eius gillomanio.[k] pascentio.[l] saxonibusque qui aderant relatus fuisset.[f] egressi sunt ei obuiam. ut cum ipso congrederentur. Porro ut sese adinuicem conspexerunt.[f] statuerunt. agmina sua ex[4][m] utraque parte. cominusque[5] accedentes.[f] pugnauerunt. Pugnantibus[6][n] illis.[f][7][o] interficiuntur hinc & inde milites. ut in tali euentu fieri solet. Denique cum multum diei preterisset.[f] preualuit uther[d] &[p] interfectis[8][q] gillomanio[k] & pascentio.[f][l][r] triumpho potitus est. Fugientes itaque barbari.

Bern [1] *sydus.* [2] *sydere.* [3] *futurum filium.* [4] *in.* [5] *comminusque.* [6] *Pugnantes.* [7] *autem;* omit *illis.* [8] *interfectisque.*

Harlech [a] *Britonum.* [b] *Aurelius.* [c] omit *obibimus.* [d] *Vter.* [e] *Brittannie.* [f] *pretendit.* [g] omit &. [h] *Et.* [i] *existens.* [j] *Merlinus.* [k] *Gillomanio.* [l] *pascencio.* [m] *in.* [n] *Pugnantes.* [o] *autem;* omit *illis.* [p] omit &. [q] *interfectisque.* [r] insert &.

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f. 101 rec. replaced. But in spite of this ye are not lacking another king, because thou, Ythr, shalt be king. Haste to fight thy enemies, for thou shalt possess this whole island. For it is thou that art signified by the star thou sawest with the fiery dragon. And the beam pointing over ffraink signifies a son of thine, who shall be prosperous and shall possess much of the earth; the other beam signifies a daughter of thine, whose sons and descendants shall inherit one after another." Then Ythr, though doubting what [V]Myrddin said, attacked his enemies and fought with them, and many on both sides were killed. And at length Ythyr won, driving [B]Passgen and [Ch]Kilamwri to their ships and killing, as had been told before. And after the victory,

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festinauerunt ad naues suas. set in fugiendo a persequentibus ciuibus trucidabantur. Cessit prorsus uictoria duci.ᶠ fauente | christo. qui post tantum laborem quam cicius[1] potuit progressus *f. 82 rec.* est guintoniam.[2ᵃ] Preuenerant namque nuntii qui casum regis indicauerant. ipsumque iam ab episcopis patrie sepultum fore prope cenobium ambrii infra choream gigantum[ᵇ] quam uiuens fieri preceperat. Audito etenim[ᶜ] ipsius[ᵈ] obitu conuenerant in urbe guintonie[ᵉ] pontifices & abbates.ᶠ atque totus clerus eiusdem prouintie.ᶠ & ut tantum regem decuit.ᶠ[3ᵉ] funus ipsius procurauerunt. Et quia uiuens adhuc preceperat ut in cimiterio[4] quod ipse parauerat sepeliretur.ᶠ tulerunt eum ibidem. atque cum regiis obsequiis[5ᵏ] humauerunt.

At uther[ⁱ] frater eius conuocato regni[ʲ] clero & populo *VIII. xvii* cepit diadema insule. annitentibusque[ᵏ] cunctis.ᶠ sublimatus est in regem. Reminiscens autem expositionis quam merlinus[ˡ] de supra dicto sidere[6] fecerat.[ᵐ] iussit fabricari duos dracones[7] ex auro ad similitudinem draconis[8] quem ad[ⁿ] radium stelle inspexerat. Qui ut mira arte fabricati fuerunt. optulit unum in ecclesia[ᵒ] prime sedis ecclesie guintonie.[9ᵉ]

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[1] *citius.* [2] *Guintoniam.* [3] *decebat.* [4] *cymiterio.* [5] *exquiis.* [6] *sydere.* *Bern*
[7] *drachones.* [8] *drachonis.* [9] *Wintonie.*

[ᵃ] omit *guintoniam.* [ᵇ] *gygantum.* [ᶜ] omit *etenim.* [ᵈ] *ilius.* [ᵉ] *Wintonie.* [ᶠ] *pro-* *Harlech*
uincie. [ᵉ] *decebat.* [ᵏ] *exequiis.* [ⁱ] *Et uter.* [ʲ] *regno.* [ᵏ] *annuentibusque.* [ˡ] *Merlinus.*
[ᵐ] *fecerat sydere.* [ⁿ] omit *ad.* [ᵒ] *ecclesiam.*

Ythyr returned to kaer-Wynt to bury Emrys, his brother. And thither came all the Archbishops and Bishops and Abbots of the island, and Emrys was buried near the Monastery of Ambri, within the Circle of the Giants. And then Ythr convened all that multitude, and by consent of all, Ythr was consecrated king.

And the crown of the kingdom was put upon his head. And then came back to Ythr memory of what [V]Merddin had said to him, and Ythr com- *f. 101 vo.* manded to be made two dragons of gold, of marvellous craftwork, in likeness of that he had seen heading the shaft of light. And one of these images Ythr gave to the chief Church at kaer Wynt; the other he had carried before him when he went to battle. And from that time on he was called

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alterum uero sibi [a] ad deferendum [1] in prelia retinuit. Ab illo itaque tempore uocatus fuit utherpendragon. [b] quod britannica [c] lingua caput [2 d] draconis [3] sonamus. Iccirco hanc appellationem [e] receperat. [f] quia merlinus [g] eum per draconem [4] in regem prophetauerat.

VIII. xviii Interea octa [h] filius hengisti atque eosa cognatus suus cum soluti essent a federe quod aurelio ambrosio [i] pepigerant.
f. 82 vo. moliti sunt inferre [j] inquietudinem regi. | atque nationes suas dilatare. Associabant [k] namque sibi [5] saxones quos pascentius [l] conduxerat. nuntiosque [m] suos propter ceteros alios [6 n] in germaniam dirigebant. Maxima itaque multitudine stipatus. octa [7 o] aquilonares prouincias [8 p] inuasit. nec seuicie [9] indulgere quieuit. donec urbes & promontoria ab albania usque [q] eboracum destruxit [r] Postremo cum urbem obsidere incepisset [10] superuenit utherpendragon [s] cum tota fortitudine [t] regni. & cum illo preliatus est. Restiterunt uiriliter [11] saxones. & irruptiones britonum [u] tolerantes. ipsos in fugam propulerunt. Victoria autem potiti. [12] insecuti sunt eos cedentes usque ad montem damen. dum sol diem stare permittebat. Erat autem mons ille [w] arduus in cacumine coriletum habens. in medio uero saxa prerupta ad [13 x] latebras [14] ferarum habilia. Occupauerunt eum britones. [y] totaque

Bern [1] *ferendum.* [2] *capud.* [3] *drachonis.* [4] *drachonem.* [5] omit *sibi.* [6] omit *alios.* [7] omit *octa.* [8] *prouintias.* [9] *seuitie.* [10] *cepisset.* [11] *fortiter.* [12] omit *potiti.* [13] omit *ad.* [14] *latebris.*

Harlech [a] *Sibi.* [b] *Vterpendragon.* [c] *Brittannica.* [d] *capud.* [e] *appellacionem hanc.* [f] *acceperat.* [g] *Merlinus.* [h] *hocta.* [i] *Aurelio Ambrosio.* [j] *sufferre.* [k] *Associabat.* [l] *pascencius;* insert *sibi.* [m] *nunciosque.* [n] omit *alios.* [o] omit *octa.* [p] *partes.* [q] insert *ad.* [r] *deduxit.* [s] insert *sua.* [t] *irrupciones Britonum.* [u] omit *ille.* [w] omit *ad.* [y] *Britones.*

Ythr ben dragwn. Then Octaf, the son of Hainssiestr, and Assaf, called the ssaesson to them, and when Emrys was dead, said that they were free of their oath they had given him. And they sent to ssermania to ask for aid, and also to [B]Passgen. Having collected a multitude of people they conquered all [L]Lloegr, as far as kaer Efrawc. And when they were beginning to besiege the town, Ythr came with his army, and there was fierce fighting, and in the end the ssaesson were put to flight and chased to the place called mynydd danned [the toothed mountain], for that was a strong

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nocte infra saxa & corileta commanserunt. At uero[1 a] arctos[b] temonem[c] uertere cepit. precepitque[2 d] uther[e] consules suos atque principes ad se uocari. ut consilio eorum tractaret qualiter in hostes irruptionem facerent.[f] Conuenerunt[3] cuncti in presentia[g] regis.[h] quos[4] iussit[5] rex[6] dicere quid consiliarentur.[h] gorlloique[7 i] duci cornubie prius sententiam[i] suam proferre precepit.[8 k] Erat enim consilii magni.[l] atque etatis mature. Non est opus inquit[m] ambagibus uanis aut sermonibus. Dum adhuc noctem restare conspicimus.[f] utendum est nobis[9] audatia.[n] & fortitudine. | si uita & libertate frui diutius[o] uoluerimus.[10] Magna est pagan- *f. 83 rec.*
norum multitudo & pugnandi auida.[n] nos uero rariores existimus. Si autem diem superuenire expectauerimus.[f] non censeo nobis utile ut cum eis congrediamur. Eia ergo dum tenebre durant densatis turmis descendamus. ipsosque infra castra sua subito impetu inuadamus. Nam dum nichil tale[11 p] hesitauerint.[12] nec nos hoc modo[q] uenturos[r] existimauerint.[s] si unanimiter irruentes usi fuerimus audatia.[f n] triumpho sine dubio potiemur.[t] Placuit regi omnibusque sententia[13] illius.[u] monitisque suis paruerunt. Statuti namque per turmas & armati castra hostium petunt. & unanimi affectu in ipsos irruere aggrediuntur.[14 v] At dum prope incederent. compererunt[w] uigiles aduentum eorum. qui[15 x] socios sopore[y] depressos[z] sonitu liciorum[a'] excitauerunt.[15 b'] Turbati itaque hostes & stupefacti. partim[c'] sese armare[16] festinant. partim[c'] formidine preoccupati quo impetus ducebat discurrebant.

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[1] *ubi.* [2] *precepit.* [3] insert *citius.* [4] omit *quos.* [5] *iussitque.* [6] omit *rex.* [7] *Gorloi.* *Bern*
[8] *preceperunt.* [9] *nobis est.* [10] *uolueris.* [11] omit *tale.* [12] *hæsitauerint.* [13] *sententia.*
[14] *proponunt.* [15] *qui soporatos socios sonitu lituorum euigilauerunt.* [16] *armare sese.*

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[a] *ubi.* [b] *archos.* [c] *themonem.* [d] *precepit.* [e] *uter.* [f] *irrupcionem faceret.* [g] *presencia.* *Harleck*
[h] *regis iussi que sunt dicere consilia.* [i] *Gorloi.* [j] *sentenciam.* [k] *preceperunt.* [l] *magni consilii.* [m] *inquid.* [n] *audacia.* [o] *diucius.* [p] omit *tale.* [q] omit *modo.* [r] *mouenturos.* [s] *estimauerint.* [t] *pociemur.* [u] *illius sentencia.* [v] *proponunt.* [w] *comperierunt.* [x] *quo.* [y] *soporatos socios.* [z] omit *depressos.* [a'] *lituorum.* [b'] *euigilauerunt.* [c'] omit *partim . . . partim.*

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and high place, with crags and stones. There they spent that night. And Ythr called his council to him. Then arose Gwrlais, Earl of Kerniw, and said, "Much fewer are we than they. When the night is dark, Lord, let us go at them, and we shall get them cheaply." This they did, and stormed the

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At britones [a] densatis incedentes turmis [b] ocius [1] adeunt castra. & inuadunt. repertoque aditu nudatis ensibus in hostes concurrunt. Qui ita ex inprouiso [2] occupati. non utiliter reddiderunt prelium.[c] cum ceteri audatiam cum premeditatione [3 d] recepissent.[e] Porro britones [a] acriter irruere intendunt. trucidare conantur. & paganos ad milia interficiunt. Denique capti sunt octa & eosa. & saxones penitus dissipati. |

VIII. xix f. 83 vo. Post illam uero uictoriam petiuit urbem [f] alclud. prouincieque [4] illi disposuit. pacemque [g] ubique renouauit. Circuiuit etiam omnes [h] scotorum nationes.[i] rebellemque populum a feritate sua disposuit.[5 j] Tantam namque iusticiam exercebat per patrias quantam alter antecessorum suorum non fecerat. Tremebant ergo in diebus eius [k] quicumque peruerse agebant. cum sine misericordia plecterentur. Denique pacificatis aquilonaribus prouintiis [l] iuit lundoniam.[6] iussitque ibidem octam atque [7 m] eosam in carcere seruari. Festo [n] etiam paschali superueniente. precepit [o] proceribus regni in eadem urbe [p] conuenire.[q] ut sumpto diademate. tantum diem cum honore celebraret.[8] Parąuerunt ergo cuncti & diuersi ex diuersis ciuitatibus uenientes. & [9 r] instante festiuitate conuenerunt.[s] Celebrauit itaque festiuitatem [10 t] rex ut proposuerat. & gaudio cum proceribus suis indulsit. Leticiam agebant cuncti. quia ipsos leto

Bern [1] *otius.* [2] *improuiso.* [3] *premeditacione.* [4] *prouintieque.* [5] *deposuit.* [6] *londoniam.* [7] *&.* [8] *cælebraret.* [9] omit *&.* [10] *sollempnitatem.*

Harlech [a] *Britones.* [b] *turmis incedentes.* [c] omit *prelium.* [d] *premeditacione.* [e] *sumpsissent.* [f] omit *urbem.* [g] *pacem.* [h] omit *omnes.* [i] *scottorum prouincias.* [j] *deposuit.* [k] *suis.* [l] *prouinciis.* [m] *&.* [n] *Facto.* [o] omit *precepit.* [p] omit *urbe.* [q] insert *iussit.* [r] omit *&.* [s] *conueniunt.* [t] *sollempnitatem.*

f. 102 rec. mountain, killed many, and captured Octaf and Assaf, and scattered all the rest. And after this victory Ythr went to kaer Alklyd; and he made a circuit of the whole country, and strengthened law so that none dared to wrong another. And after he had settled everything, the king went to [L]Llvndain, and there he put Octaf and Assaf in prison. And he kept the feast of easter, and bade thereto the Earls and barons and their wives with them from the whole of ynys Brydain, and gracious was Ythr to them all. And they passed

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animo receperat. Aduenerant namque tot nobiles cum coniugibus [c] & filiabus suis leto conuiuio digni. Aderat inter ceteros gorlois [b] dux cornubie cum ygerna [1 c] coniuge sua. cuius pulcritudo [2] omnes [d] mulieres britannie [e] superabat. Cumque inter alias eam [f] rex inspexisset. [3 f] subito incaluit amore illius. ita ut postpositis ceteris. totam [g] intentionem [4 h] suam circa eam uerteret. Hec sola erat cui fercula incessanter [i] dirigebat. cui aurea pocula familiaribus internuntiis [j] mittebat.[k] Arridebat ei multociens. & [5 l] | iocosa [m] uerba interserebat. Quod cum comperisset *f. 84 rec.*
maritus.[f] confestim iratus. ex curia sine licentia [6 n] recessit. Non affuit [o] qui eum reuocare quiuisset. cum id solum amittere timeret.[f] quod super omnia diligebat. Iratus itaque uther [p] precepit ei redire in curiam suam. ut de illata iniuria rectitudinem ab eo sumeret. Cui cum parere refugisset [7] gorlois.[f b] admodum [q] indignatus est rex.[8 r] iurauitque [s] iureiurando se uastaturum nationem ipsius.[9 t] nisi ad satisfactionem festinasset.[u] Nec mora predicta ira inter eos manente collegit rex [8 r] exercitum magnum.[v] petiuitque prouincias [10] cornubie. atque ignem in urbes & opida [11 w] acumulauit.[12 x] At gorlois [b] non ausus est congredi cum eo. quia eius minor erat armatorum copia. unde preelegit munire

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[1] *ingerna.* [2] *pulchritudo.* [3] *inspexisset eam rex.* [4] *intencionem.* [5] omit &. *Bern*
[6] *licencia.* [7] *diffugisset.* [8] omit *rex.* [9] *illius.* [10] *prouintias.* [11] *oppida.* [12] *accumulauit.*

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[c] insert *suis.* [b] *Gorlois.* [c] *ingenua.* [d] omit *omnes.* [e] *Brittannie.* [f] *con- Harlech*
spexisset eandem rex. [g] *omnibus.* [h] *intencionem.* [i] *incensanter.* [j] *internunciis.*
[k] *imittebat.* [l] omit &. [m] *ioculosa.* [n] *licencia.* [o] *fuit.* [p] *Vter.* [q] *ultra modum.*
[r] omit *rex.* [s] insert *iure.* [t] *nacionem;* omit *ipsius.* [u] *uenisset.* [v] omit *magnum.*
[w] *oppida.* [x] *accumulauit.*

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the feast-time in luxury and cheerfulness. And thereto came Gwrlais, Earl of Kerniw, and his wife was Eigr, daughter of Amlawdd wledic, and there was in ynys Brydain neither matron nor maid as fair as she. And when Ythr looked upon her, he loved her greatly, so that he could not hide it, nor could he be without her. He sent her many gifts and liquors in cups of gold, as well as silly messages, until [W]Gwrlais the Earl learned this. And then he became enraged, and left the court without permission of the king. And when Ythr learned this, he was angered, and sent messengers after [W]Gwrlais ordering him to return, because it was great insult to quit the court of the king without permission. And he sent a second messenger, *f. 102 vo.*

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opida [1 a] sua. donec auxilium ab ẏbernia [2 b] impetrasset. Et cum magis pro uxore sua [c] quam pro semetipso anxiaretur.[f] posuit eam in oppido [d] tintagol in litore [3 e] maris. quod pro tutioriọ [4 f] refugio habebat. Ipse uero in [5 g] castellum dimilioc [5] se recepit. [6 h] ne si [i] infortunium superuenisset.[f] ambo insimul periclitarentur. Cumque id regi nuntiatum [j] fuisset.[f] iuit ad oppidum quo [k] inerat [7] gorlois.[l] & obsedit illud. omnemque aditum ipsius [8 m] preclusit. Emensa tandem ebdomada reminiscens rex [9 n] amoris ẏgerne.[10 o] uocauit ulfinridcaradoch [11 p] familiarem sibi commilitonem.[q] indicauitque [r] ei [12 s] in hec uerba quod affectauerat. |
f. 84 vo. Vror inquid [13 t] amore ẏgerne.[10 o] nec periculum corporis mei euadere existimo.[f] nisi ea potitus fuero. Tu igitur adhibe consilium quo uoluntatem meam [u] expleam. aut aliter internis [v] anxietatibus interibo. Ad hec ulfin.[w] Et quis tibi consiliari ualuerit cum nulla uis accedere queat qua eam infra oppidum tintagol adeamus? Etenim situm est in mari. & undique circumclausum ab ipso. nec est alter introitus. nisi quem angusta

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Bern [1] *oppida.* [2] *hybernia.* [3] *littore.* [4] *tuciore.* [5] *ingressus est catellum.* [6] omit *se recepit.* [7] *in quo erat.* [8] *illius.* [9] omit *rex.* [10] *ingerne.* [11] *ulfin ridcaradoch.* [12] omit *ei.* [13] omit *inquid.*

Harlech [a] *oppida.* [b] *hybernia.* [c] omit *sua.* [d] *opido.* [e] *littore.* [f] *tuciori.* [g] *ingressus.* [h] omit *se recepit.* [i] insert *forte.* [j] *nunciatum.* [k] *que.* [l] *Gorlois.* [m] *illius.* [n] omit *rex.* [o] *ingerne.* [p] *Vlfincaradoc.* [q] insert *&.* [r] *indicauit.* [s] omit *ei.* [t] omit *inquid.* [u] omit *meam.* [v] *interius.* [w] *Vlfin.*

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and a third, and he came not at all. Then the king said he would beggar him by fire and sword unless he should return. But return Gwrlais did not, in spite of threats. And so the king quickly gathered an army and killed and burned throughout the lordship of Gwrlais. Then Gwrlais, since he had not strength enough to face the king in open field, fortified two castles which he had, and in the strongest castle he put his wife; the castle was named [D]Tindagol, and it was on the seashore. And he went himself to the other castle called [D]*T*inblot, lest they should both be taken. Then *Y*thr and his army attacked the castle where [W]Gwrlais was, scattered his men, and all but killed him,* and quickly came a messenger to tell Eigr this. And then Ythr called to him Wlffin, of kaer *G*radawc, for a knight of his was he, and told him all his mind, and his love for Eigr, and asked his counsel. And Wlffin said, "Lord King, it profits not to try by force to get the castle in

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prebeat rupes.[a] Ipsum tres armati milites prohibere queunt. licet ei[1 b] cum toto etiam[2 c] regno britannie[d] assistas.[3 e] At tamen si merlinus[f] uates operam insisteret dare.[f] arbitror te posse consilio ipsius[g] tuo desiderio[4 h] potiri. Credulus itaque rex.[f] iussit uocari merlinum.[i] nam & ipse[j] ad[5] obsidionem uenerat. Uocatus confestim merlinus.[f] cum in presentia[k] regis astitisset. iussus est consilium dare quo rex desiderium suum in ẏgerna[6 l] expleret. Qui comperta anxietate quam rex patiebatur[m] pro ea. admiratus[7 n] est super tanto amore ipsius. & ait. Ut uoto tuo potiaris. utendum est tibi[o] nouis artibus. & tempore tuo inauditis. Scio inquit[8 p] medicaminibus meis dare[q] figuram gorlois.[r] ita ut per omnia ipse uidearis. Si itaque[s] parueris. faciam te prorsus similare[t] eum. Vlfin uero.[f] iordanum de tintagol familiarem suum. Alia autem specie sumpta adero tercius. poterisque tuto adire opidum[9 u] ad ẏgernam.[10 v] atque aditum habere. Paruit itaque rex.[w] diligentemque[x] animum adhibuit. Postremo | commissa[11] familiaribus suis obsidione.[f] commisit se *f. 85 rec.*
medicaminibus merlini.[y] & in speciem gorlois[r] transmutatus est. Mutatus est[z] etiam ulfin[a'] in iordanum.[b'] merlinus[f]

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[1] omit *ei.* [2] omit *etiam.* [3] *astitisses.* [4] *desiderio tuo.* [5] *in.* [6] *ingerna.* [7] *commotus.* [8] omit *inquit.* [9] *oppidum.* [10] *ingernam.* [11] *commissis.* *Bern*

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[a] *rupes prebeat.* [b] omit *ei.* [c] omit *etiam.* [d] *Brittannie.* [e] *astitisses.* [f] *Merlinus.* [g] *illius.* [h] *desiderio tuo.* [i] *Merlinum.* [j] omit *ipse.* [k] *presencia.* [l] *ingerna.* [m] *paciebatur.* [n] *commotus.* [o] omit *tibi.* [p] omit *inquit.* [q] insert *tibi.* [r] *Gorlois.* [s] *utique.* [t] *simularare.* [u] *oppidum.* [v] *ingernam.* [w] omit *rex.* [x] *exigentemque.* [y] *Merlini.* [z] omit *est.* [a'] *Vlfin.* [b'] *iordanem.* *Harleck*

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which Eigr is, for it stands on a sea crag, and there is but a single causeway leading to it, and that path three knights can hold against the whole world. This is my counsel, that you call to you Myrddin, tell him your secret, and *f. 103 rec.*
if any one can help you, that man will." And the king did this. Then Merddin said, "If you desire this, the form of Gwrlais must be put upon you, and I myself will go in the likeness of Brithael, the favorite squire of [W]Gwrlais, and I will give Wlffin the form of Medaf of [D]Tindagol, favorite squire to [W]Gwrlais. And then no one will know that we are not Gwrlais and his two servants." And when they had been transformed in this way, they set out and towards evening reached the gate of [D]Tindagol castle, and told the porter that Gwrlais was there. And the porter opened, and they

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in britaelem.[1 a] ita ut nemini quod fuerant aparerent.[2 b] Deinde aggressi sunt uiam uersus tintagol. & in[3 c] crepusculo ad oppidum uenerunt. Indicato ocius[4 d] ianitori quod consul aduenisset.[f 5 e] aperte sunt ianue. & intromissi sunt uiri. Quis[6 f] enim aliud[g] suspicaretur.[7] cum prorsus ipse gorlois reputaretur adesse?[g] Commansit itaque rex ea nocte cum ẏgerna.[8 h] & sese desiderata uenere refecit. Deceperat namque illam.[9] falsa specie quam assumpserat. Deceperat etiam ficticiis[i] sermonibus[j] quos[k] ornate componebat. Dicebat enim se egressum esse furtim[l] ab obsesso opido.[10 m] ut sibi tam dilecte rei. atque oppido[n] suo disponeret. Unde ipsa credula nichil quod poscebatur[o] abnegauit. Concepit quoque eadem nocte[p] celebeṙrimum uirum[q] illum arturum.[11] qui postmodum ut celebris foret[r] mira probitate promeruit.

VIII. xx Interea cum compertum esset per obsidionem regem non adesse.[f] exercitus inconsulte agens muros diruere conatur. & obsessum comitem ad prelium prouocare.[s] Qui etiam[t] inconsulte faciens egressus est cum commilitonibus[u] suis. arbitrans parua manu tot amatis se[v] posse resistere. Pugnantibus[12 w] ergo[x] illis[13 y] hinc & inde.[f z] inter primos peremptus[a'] est gorlois.[b'] & socii sui dissipati. Captum quoque[14 z] est oppidum[c'] quod
f. 85 vo. obsederant. & opes[d'] introposite[e'] non equa | sorte diuise. Nam ut

Bern [1] *britahelem.* [2] *comparerent.* [3] *cum.* [4] *otius.* [5] *aduenıret.* [6] *Quid.* [7] *accessisset.* [8] *ingerna.* [9] *eam.* [10] *oppido.* [11] *acturum.* [12] *Pugnantes.* [13] omit *illis.* [14] omit *quoque.*

Harlech [a] *brithaelem.* [b] *comperuerunt.* [c] *cum.* [d] *otius.* [e] *aduenıret.* [f] *Quid.* [g] *accessisset cum ipse Gorlois putaretur adesse.* [h] *ingerna.* [i] *eciam fictiuis.* [j] *uerbis.* [k] *que.* [l] *furtim esse.* [m] *oppido.* [n] *opido.* [o] *poscebat.* [p] *noctem.* [q] omit *uirum.* [r] *esset.* [s] *conuocare.* [t] *eciam.* [u] *comilibus.* [v] omit *se.* [w] *Pugnatores.* [x] *uero.* [y] omit *illis.* [z] insert *Britones.* [a'] *interfectus.* [b'] omit *gorlois.* [c'] *opidum.* [d'] *opus.* [e'] *intus posite.*

went in, and Ythr went to sleep with Eigr, and began in loving, lying, converse to tell her that he had come away by stealth from the other castle to see her; and he could not on any account refrain from coming. And she believed it. And that night was conceived Arthyr, son of Ythr. And so when Ythr's army learned that he was not with them, they attacked the castle bravely, so that [W]Gwrlais had to come out and give them battle;

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cuique administrabat[a] fortuna & fortitudo.[f] capaci ungue quisque[b] rapiebat. Peracta tandem huius[c] ausi seuitia.[1][d] uenerunt nuntii[2][e] ad ygernam.[3][f] qui & necem ducis. & obsidionis euentum indicarent. Set cum regem in specie consulis iuxta eam residere inspexissent.[f][g] erubescentes admirabantur ipsum quem in obsidione interfectum deseruerant ita incolumem preuenisse eos.[4][h] Nesciebant enim que medicamenta merlinus[5][i] confecerat. Ad tales ergo rumores arridebat rex atque cum his[j] uerbis comitissam[6] amplexabatur. Non ego quidem[7][k] interfectus sum.[f] set ut ipsa[l] uides uiuo. Doleo tamen opidi[8] mei destructionem. sociorumque meorum cedem.[m] Unde nobis timendum est ne superueniat rex.[f] & nos in opido[9] isto intercipiat. Ibo igitur[n] prius in obuiam & me pacificabo cum ipso. ne nobis deterius contingat. Egressus itaque petiuit exercitum suum. & exuta specie gorlois.[f][10][o] in utherpendragon[11][p] rediuit. Cumque omnem euentum didicisset. ob necem[12] gorlois[10][o] doluit.[f] set ob ygernam[3][q] a maritali copula[13] solutam gauisus est.[r] Reuersus est[14][r] itaque ad oppidum[s] tintagol.[15][t] cepit illud. cepitque ygernam.[3][q] & uoto suo potitus est. Commanserunt pariter deinde[16][u] non[17] minimo amore ligati. progenueruntque filium & filiam. Fuit autem nomen filii arturus.[v] filie uero.[f] anna.[w] Cumque dies & *VIII. xxi*

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[1] *seuicia.* [2] *nuncii.* [3] *Igernam.* [4] omit *eos.* [5] *Mellinus.* [6] *cometissam.* [7] *Non equidem.* [8] *oppidi.* [9] *oppido.* [10] *Gorlois.* [11] *Utherpendagron.* [12] *cedem.* [13] *lege.* [14] omit *est.* [15] *Tintagol;* omit &. [16] *deinde pariter.* [17] *cum.* *Bern*

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[a] *ministrabat.* [b] omit *quisque.* [c] *hec.* [d] *audacia.* [e] *nuncii.* [f] *ingernam.* [g] *conspexissent.* [h] omit *eos.* [i] *Merlinus.* [j] *hiis.* [k] *Non equidem.* [l] omit *ipsa.* [m] *cedero.* [n] omit *igitur.* [o] *Gorlois.* [p] *Uterpendragon.* [q] *ingernam.* [r] omit *est.* [s] *opidum.* [t] omit &. [u] *deinde pariter.* [v] *Arturus.* [w] *anne.* *Harlech*

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and then Gwrlais was killed and his men scattered. And quickly there came messengers to tell this to Eigr. And Ythr was with her in her bed, and in Gwrlais's semblance he said to her, laughing, "Lady I am not yet killed; I will go to see how many of my men I have lost." And then Ythr went to *f. 103 vo.* his army in his own form. But for one thing Ythr grieved, that Gwrlais was killed, but for the other he held it very good. And from that time Ythr took Eigr as a secret wife, and had by her a son and daughter namely Arthyr and Anna, his sister. And after that Ythr fell into sore* disease, and

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tempora preterissent.[f] occupauit infirmitas regem. eumque multis
f. 86 rec. diebus uexauit. Interim uero custodes carceris | qui in custodiendo [a] octa atque eosa quos supra memoraui tediosam uitam duxerant.[1] [b] diffugierunt [c] cum eis in germaniam.[2] terroremque [d] per regnum intulerant. Asserebant namque[3] rumor ipsos iam commouisse germaniam.[2] [d] classemque maximam parauisse. in exitium[4] [e] insule redituros.[5] [f] Quod & factum est. Redierunt etenim [g] cum maxima classe sociisque innumerabilibus. & partes albanie ingressi. ciuitates atque ciues igne [h] succendere[6] afficiunt.[i] Committitur itaque exercitus britannie [i] loth de lodonesia. ut hostes longius arceret. Erat autem consul ille[7] [k] miles[8] strenuissimus. sapiencia[9] & etate maturus; Probitate ergo ipsius [l] acclamante. dederat ei rex annam filiam suam. regnique sui [m] curam.[f] dum infirmitati subiaceret. Hic cum in hostes progressus esset.[f] multociens repulsus est ab eis. ita ut sese infra ciuitates reciperet. Sepius uero fugabat illos[10] atque dissipabat. & nunc ad nemora. nunc[11] ad naues diffugere cogebat. Fuit inter eos dubia preliorum decertacio.[12] ita ut nesciretur cui uictoria proueniret. Superbia enim ciuibus nocebat. quia dedignabantur [n] preceptis consulis obedire. Vnde debiliores existentes.[o] nequibant imminentes [p] hostes triumphare.

Bern [1] *quo Octa atque Eosa quos supra memoraui tediosam uitam ducebant.* [2] *Germaniam.* [3] *nanque.* [4] *exicium.* [5] *redituri.* [6] *accendere.* [7] *ille consul.* [8] *leis miles strenuissimus*, etc. [9] *sapientia.* [10] *eos.* [11] insert *uero.* [12] *decertatio.*

Harlech [a] omit *in custodiendo.* [b] *ducebant.* [c] *diffugiebant.* [d] omit *terroremque . . . germaniam.* [e] *exitum.* [f] *redituri;* insert *ipsos rumor asserebat.* [g] *enim.* [h] omit *igne.* [i] *accendere ceperunt.* [j] *Britannie.* [k] *ille consulens.* [l] *illius.* [m] omit *sui.* [n] *dedignabatur.* [o] *instantes.* [p] *iminentes.*

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was ailing for a long time, until he angered the keepers of Octaf and Assaf, and out of hatred to him they set those princes free of the country and went with them to ssermania. And when the Bryttaniait heard that the men of ssermania were on the way to attack the island, they were frightened. And it came true, for they came to Alban, and began to ravage the country and to burn it. LLlew, the son of Kynvarch, was prince over the hosts of the Bryttaniait, for he had married Anna, daughter of Ythr benn dragwnn. And a great man was he and generous, and he loved truth; and many battles did he fight with the Saesson, but oftentimes the ssaesson overcame him.

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Vastata itaque[a] fere[1] insula. cum id regi nuntiaretur.[2 b] *VIII. xxii* ultra quam infirmitas expetebat iratus est iussitque cunctos proceres conuenire. ut ipsos de superbia & debilitate[c] sua corriperet. Et cum omnes in presentia[d] sua inspexisset.[e] conuicia cum castigantibus uerbis | intulit. iurauitque *f. 86 vo.* quod ipsemet eos in hostes[f] conduceret. Precepit itaque fieri sibi[3] feretrum quo asportaretur. cum[g] gressum[h] alteriusmodi abnegaret[i] infirmitas. Precepit etiam[j] cunctos paratos esse. ut cum oportunitas accederet.[k] contra[4 k] inimicos progrederentur. Nec mora paratum est feretrum. parati sunt omnes. diesque oportunus instabat. Introposito itaque rege.[k] uerolamium[l] perrexerunt. *VIII. xxiii* ubi predicti saxones uniuersum populum affligebant. Cumque edocti essent[5] octa[6] & eosa[7] aduentum britonum.[m] regemque[n] feretro aduectum.[k] indignati[o] sunt cum eo preliari. quia in uehiculo aduenerat. Aiebant enim ipsum semimortuum esse. nec tantos uiros cum huiusmodi homine pugnare decere. Receperunt itaque sese infra urbem. & ualuas quasi nichil timerent deseruerunt apertas. At uther[p] cum id sibi relatum fuisset iussit ocius[8] obsidere ciuitatem. atque menia undique inuadere. Paruerunt ergo ciues. & urbem[q] obsederunt. & menia inuaserunt. Stragem autem saxonibus dantes[r] fere dirutis muris ingressi essent.[k 9] nisi saxones ad ultimum resistere incepissent. Preualentibus[10] namque eiuibus. piguit[t] eos incepte superbie. &[u] undique[v] se defendere institerunt.[10 w] Scandentes itaque muros omnimodis

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[1] *pene.* [2] *nunciaretur.* [3] *sibi fieri.* [4] *in.* [5] *Cumque nossent.* [6] *Octa.* [7] *Eosa.* *Bern*
[8] *otius.* [9] *sunt.* [10] omit *Preualentibus . . . instiluerunt.*

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[a] *namque.* [b] *nunciareter.* [c] omit *&* *debilitate.* [d] *presencia.* [e] *conspexisset.* *Harlech*
[f] omit *in hostes.* [g] omit *cum.* [h] *congressum.* [i] *abnegauit.* [j] *eciam.* [k] omit *contra.*
[l] *uerolanimum.* [m] *Britonum.* [n] insert *in.* [o] *dedignati.* [p] *Vter.* [q] *urbes.* [r] omit
dantes. [s] *intulissent.* [t] *piguerat.* [u] omit *&.* [v] *unde.* [w] *instituerunt.*

When it had been so for a long time until he had well-nigh lost the whole island, Ythr was told that the Earl could not subdue the ssaesson. And Ythr was greatly enraged, and called all the nobles of the island before him *f. 104 rec.* to upbraid them for their half-heartedness against the ssaesson. And in council Ythr was advised that he cause himself to be carried in a litter before his army to the town of Verolan, for there the pagan ssaesson were

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telis britones [a] repellebant. Denique cum utrimque [1] decertarent. superuenit nox. que singulos ab armis ad quietem inuitauit.
f. 87 rec. Quietem desiderabant multi. plures uero consilium.[f] quo | aduersarios suos perderent. At saxones cum inspexissent [b] superbiam suam sibi nocuisse. britones [a] autem [c] fere triumphasse.[f] proposuerunt cum diluculo egredi. & [d] inimicos [2] [e] suos ad campestre prelium [f] prouocare. Quod & [3] [d] factum est. Nam ut diem protulit titan egressi sunt dispositis turmis. [g] ut propositum suum exequerentur. Quod uidentes britones. [a] diuiserunt milites suos per turmas. atque in obuiam uenientes. prius inuadere ceperunt. Resistunt ilico saxones. inuadunt britones.[f] [a] & mutuam necem utrobique conficiunt. Postremo cum multum diei preterisset. cessit uictoria regi britonum. [h] interfectisque octa [4] & eosa. [5] terga dederunt [6] saxones. Cepit inde [i] tanta leticia regem. ita ut cum prius sine iuuamine alterius sese erigere nequiret.[f] leui conamine erectus resedit in feretro. ac si subitam [j] sanitatem recepisset. Solutus etiam in risum.[f] hilari uoce in hunc sermonem prorumpebat. Uocabant ambrones me [k] regem semimortuum. qui [7] [l] infirmitate grauatus. in feretro iacebam. Sic equidem eram. Malo

Bern [1] *utrinque.* [2] omit &; *inimicosque.* [3] omit &. [4] *Octa.* [5] *atque Eosa.* [6] *uerterunt.* [7] *quia.*

Harlech [a] *Britones.* [b] *inspicerent.* [c] omit *autem;* insert *uero & Vter.* [d] omit &. [e] *inimicosque.* [f] *bellum.* [g] *cateruis.* [h] *Britonum.* [i] *deinde.* [j] *dubiam.* [k] *me Ambrones.* [l] *quia.*

killing and burning. And when Octaf and Assaf heard that Ythr was ill and was being carried before his army towards that place in a litter, they were pleased, and they derided him contemptuously and called him the half-dead man. And the ssaesson went into the city and left the gates open in contempt of Ythr and his army. And when Ythr knew this, he surrounded the city, and many got inside and on both sides many were killed, until night. On the next morning the ssaesson came out of the town, and fought fiercely against the Bryttaniait, and there Octaf and Assaf were killed, and others of the princes of the ssaesson fled disgracefully. And then Ythr, in delight, sat up in his bed, though before he had been turned only by the strength of two strong men, and said, "The deceiving betrayers called me the half-dead man, but the half-dead man who conquers is better that the half-alive man who is conquered; and also better it is to die gloriously, than

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tamen semimortuus ipsos [a] superare.[f] quam sanus & incolumis superari. sequenti uita perfuncturus. Prestantius [b] enim [c] est mori cum honore.[f] quam cum pudore uiuere. Deuicti [1] autem ut dictum est [d] saxones. non iccirco a malicia sua destiterunt.[e] set [2] aquilonares prouincias ingressi populos incessanter [f] infestabant. Quos uther [g] rex ut proposuerat affectabat insequi. set [2] dissuaserunt [3] principes.[f] quia eum grauior infirmitas post uictoriam occupauerat.[h] Vnde audaciores insistentes hostes | omnibus modis regnum sibi [4] [i] subdere [j] nituntur Proditioni [5] etiam [k] solite indulgentes.[5] [l] machinantur qualiter regem dolo interficiant. Et cum alter aditus defecisset.[f] statuerunt illum ueneno perdere. Quod & [6] [m] factum est. Nam cum in urbe uerolamii iaceret. direxerunt in paupere cultu legatos. qui statum curie addiscerent.[n] Qui [o] cum totum esse [p] didicissent.[7] inter cetera compererunt [q] unum.[f] quod prodicioni [8] ipsius [r] preelegerunt. Erat namque [9] prope aulam fons nitidissime aque.[10] quam [s] solitus erat bibere.[f] [11] [s] cum ceteros liquores propter infirmitatem abhorreret. Fontem itaque [12] [t] aggressi [13] sunt nefandi proditores.[14] ipsumque undique affecerunt ueneno.[u] ita ut manans aqua tota [v] corrumperetur. Ut igitur potauit ex ea rex.[f] [15] festine morti succubuit. Succubuerunt etiam centeni [w] homines post illum.[f]

VIII. xxiv

f. 87 vo.

[1] *Defuncti.* [2] *sed.* [3] *dissuaderunt.* [4] omit *sibi.* [5] omit *Proditioni . . . indulgentes.* [6] omit &. [7] *didiciscent.* [8] *nequicie.* [9] *nanque.* [10] *nitidissimæ aquæ.* [11] *potare.* [12] *nanque.* [13] *agressi.* [14] *homines.* [15] *rex ex ea.* *Bern*

[a] omit *ipsos.* [b] *Prestancius.* [c] omit *enim.* [d] omit *ut dictum est.* [e] *destituerunt.* [f] *incensanter.* [g] *Vter.* [h] *occupauit.* [i] omit *sibi.* [j] *perdere.* [k] *Perdicioni enim.* [l] *insistentes.* [m] omit &. [n] *discerent.* [o] *quia.* [p] omit *esse.* [q] *comperierunt.* [r] *sue.* [s] omit *solitus . . . bibere;* insert *potare rex solitus fuerat.* [t] *namque.* [u] *ueneno affecerunt.* [v] omit *tota.* [w] *centum.* *Harlech*

to live shamefully." And after this victory, the remnants of the ssaesson who escaped came together in Alban to Fight as before. Ythr wanted to follow them, but the council would not let him, for he was too ill to be carried on a litter. On this account the ssaesson were more bold, and planned Ythr's death by treachery; and sent men in the guise of freed men* to talk with him. These men got word that Ythr drank only of the water of a well near Verolam. This and the nearby springs they poisoned; so that when Ythr drank the water, he died, — and as many as drank after

f. 104 vo.

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donec comperta fraude cumulum terre super apposuerunt. Cum autem obitus regis diuulgatus fuisset[f] aduenerunt pontifices cum clero regni. tuleruntque corpus eius[a] ad cenobium ambrii. & infra choream gigantum[1 b] iuxta aurelium ambrosium[c] regio more humauerunt.

IX. i Defuncto igitur utherpendragon[f 2 d] conuenerunt ex diuersis prouinciis proceres britonum[e] in ciuitatem[f] silcestrie[g] ad[3 h] dubricium[4 i] urbis legionum archiepiscopum.[5 j] suggerentes ut arturum[k] filium regis[6 l] in regem consecraret.[m] Arguebat enim eos necessitas. quia[n] audito predicti regis obitu saxones[7] f. 88 rec. conciues suos ex germania[8] inuitauerant. & duce | colgrino[9] ipsos exterminare nitebantur. iam[o] enim[10] subiugauerant[11 p] sibi totam partem[q] insule[12] que a flumine humbri usque ad catanensium[13 r] mare extenditur. Dubricius ergo calamitatem patrie dolens. associatis sibi episcopis. arturum[k] diademate regni insigniuit. Erat autem arturus[s] .xv.[t] annorum iuuenis inaudite uirtutis atque largitatis. in quo tantam gratiam innata bonitas prestiterat[f] ut a cunctis fere populis amaretur. Insignibus itaque[u] regiis iniciatus. solitum morem seruans. largitati indulsit. Confluebat ad eum tanta multitudo militum. ut ei quod dispensaret deficeret. Sic cui naturalis inest largicio[14] cum probitate. licet

Bern [1] *Gigantum.* [2] *Vtherpendragon.* [3] *silcestrie;* omit *ad.* [4] *dubricio.* [5] *archiepiscopo.* [6] *eius.* [7] *Saxones.* [8] *Germania.* [9] *Colgrino.* [10] omit *iam enim.* [11] insert *etiam.* [12] *insule partem.* [13] *Cathanensium.* [14] *largitio.*

Harlech [a] omit *eius.* [b] *gygantum.* [c] *Aurelium Ambrosium.* [d] *Vterpendragon.* [e] *Britonum.* [f] *ciuitate.* [g] *scilestrie.* [h] omit *ad.* [i] *dubricio.* [j] *archiepiscopo.* [k] *Arturum.* [l] *eius.* [m] *conscitaret.* [n] *&.* [o] omit *iam.* [p] *Subiugauerant enim.* [q] *prouinciam.* [r] *cathanesium.* [s] *Arturus.* [t] *quindecim.* [u] omit *itaque.*

him, until they found it out, and the Bryttaniait filled up the wells with earth. And then they buried Ythr in the circle of the Giants.* And then the saesson sent to ssermania to seek help to win ynys Brydain. And there was sent them a mighty Fleet with [Ch]Kolgrin as their prince; and they prevailed from hymyr to the cape of bladdon. And when the nobles of ynys Brydain learned this, because of the menace of the ssaesson they gathered together at kaer Vyddav as many clerks and laymen as there were in ynys Brydain. And in the council it was resolved to ordain Arthyr as king. And

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ad tempus indigeat nullatenus tamen continua paupertas [a] ei nocebit. Arturus ergo quia in illo probitas largitionem [b] comitabatur.[f] statuit saxones [1] inquietare. ut eorum opibus que [2] ei famulabatur [c] ditaret familiam.[d] Commonebat etiam id rectitudo. cum tocius [3] insule monarchiam [e] debuerat [f] hereditario iure obtinere.[g] Collecta deinde sibi [h] subdita iuuentute.[f] eboracum petiuit. Cumque id colgrino [4] [i] compertum esset.[f] collegit saxones. scotos.[j] & [k] pictos. uenitque [5] [l] obuius [m] cum multitudine maxima. iuxta flumen dulgas. [6] [n] ubi facto congressu. utrorumque exercitus in maiori parte periclitatus fuit.[o] Uictoria tamen potitus arturus.[f] [p] colgrinum [7] [q] fugientem insecutus est ingressumque infra eboracum obsedit. Audita itaque fratris sui fuga baldulfus.[f] [r] cum | sex [s] milibus uirorum obsidionem petiuit.[f] ut ipsum inclusum *f. 88 vo.* liberaret. Erat autem tunc ipse quando frater pugnauerat. expectans aduentum cheldrici [8] [t] ducis iuxta maritima. qui eis [u] ex germania [9] in auxilium uenturus erat. Cum itaque [10] esset spacio $\overset{cem}{x}$. [11] [v] miliariorum ab urbe.[f] statuit nocturnum iter

[1] *Saxones.* [2] *quæ.* [3] *totius.* [4] *Colgrino.* [5] insert *ei.* [6] *duglas.* [7] *Colgrinum.* *Bern*
[8] *Cheldrici.* [9] *Germania.* [10] *Cumque;* omit *itaque.* [11] *Spatio .x.*

[a] *paupertatis.* [b] *largicionem.* [c] omit *que ei famulabatur.* [d] *familiam ditaret.* *Harlech*
[e] *monarchiam insule.* [f] *debebat.* [g] *optinere.* [h] *sibi deinde.* [i] *colgrino id.* [j] *scottos.*
[k] omit *&.* [l] insert *ei.* [m] *obuiam.* [n] *duclas.* [o] *est.* [p] omit *arturus.* [q] *colgrim.*
[r] *Baldulfus.* [s] *.vi.* [t] *chedrici.* [u] *ei.* [v] *decem.*

he had not age enough to wear the crown, merely fifteen years. And there *f. 105 rec.* was no one, as far as heard of, with the same gifts as his. And Arthyr was not possessed of nearly as much wealth as he bestowed. Then the princes of the isle commanded [dd]dyfric, Arch Bishop of Kaer-llion, to consecrate Arthyr King, and put the crown upon his head, for fear of the pagan ssaesson.

And then without delay Arthyr gathered a mighty host and marched to kaer Efrawc. And when [G]Kolgrin heard this, he gathered a great army — of the ssaesson, and Yssgottiaid, and the ffichdiait — and gave Arthyr battle on the banks of the river Dylas, and fought nobly, and on both sides many were killed; but at last Arthyr got the victory, and put [G]Kolgrin to flight. And he escaped from his own army to kaer Efrawc; and there Arthyr surrounded them without food or drink. And when Baldwlff, [G]Kolgrin's brother, heard this, he came with six thousand armed men within ten miles of kaer Efroc. He had been waiting for Kledric a prince from

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arripere.[f] ut furtiuam irruptionem faceret. Quod edoctus arturus.[a] iussit[1 b] cadorem[2] ducem cornubie[3] cum sexcentis militibus. & tribus milibus peditum eadem nocte illi[c] obuiare. Qui uiam qua hostes preteribant nactus. inopinum impetum fecit. &[d] dilaceratis[4 e] ac interfectis saxonibus. ceteros[5 f] fugam facere coegit. Baldulfus[g] igitur[h] ultra modum anxius[6] quoniam fratri suo auxilium subuectare nequiret.[f] deliberauit aput[i] se qualiter colloquio ipsius[i] frueretur. Existimabat enim aditum salutis utrorumque consilio machinari posse. si illius presentiam[k] adire quiuisset Cum igitur alteriusmodi aditum non haberet. rasit capillos suos & barbam. cultumque ioculatoris cum cỳthara cepit. Deinde infra castra deambulans. modulis[l] quos in lira componebat. sese cỳtharistam[m] exibebat.[7] Cumque nulli suspectus esset.[f] accessit ad menia urbis. paulatim ceptam simultatem[n] faciens. Postremo cum ab[o] inclusis compertus esset.[f] tractus est funiculis infra muros. & ad fratrem deductus.[8 p] Ex tunc uiso germano osculis & amplexibus desideratis[9] sese refecit. ac[q] si ex morte resuscitatus esset.[q] Denique cum post
f. 89 rec. multimodas | deliberationes[r] in desperationem[s] egrediendi incidis-

Bern [1] *iusserat.* [2] *Cadorem.* [3] *Cornubie.* [4] omit *&; dilaceratisque.* [5] omit *ceteros.* [6] *Qui ultra modum anxius.* [7] *exhibebat.* [8] *conductus.* [9] omit *desideratis.*

Harlech [a] *Arturus.* [b] *iusserat.* [c] *ei.* [d] omit *&.* [e] *dilaceratisque.* [f] omit *ceteros.* [g] *Qui.* [h] omit *igitur.* [i] *apud.* [j] *eius colloquio.* [k] *presenciam.* [l] *modulos.* [m] *cỳtharistam.* [n] *simulacionem.* [o] omit *ab.* [p] *eductus;* insert *est.* [q] omit *ac . . . esset.* [r] *deliberaciones.* [s] *desperacionem.*

ssermania and his help for the ssaesson. And then they wished to make a night attack on Arthyr and his army. And when Arthyr knew this, he sent
f. 105 vo. [E]kattwr, Earl of Kerniw, with six hundred horsemen and three thousand footmen to trap him on the way. And when he met them, [G]Kattwr fought with rage and fierceness, and scattered them, killed a multitude, and put them to flight. And then Baldwlff, grieved because he could not free his brother, pondered as to what he should do. Then he had them poll his head, cut his hair and his beard, and in minstrel* guise with a harp in his hand, he passed through the camp of the bryttaniait until he came beneath the city wall. There he sang and shouted, until he was answered from the city, and was drawn in with ropes over the wall. And then he and his brother considered in what way they might get free from there. And while they were

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sent.ᶠ [a] remeabant iam [b] legati ex germania.[1] qui duce cheldrico [2] [c] sexcentas [d] naues [e] militia [3] [e] forti honeratas [4] [f] in albaniam conduxerant.[5] Quo audito dissuaserunt [6] consiliarii sui arturo [g] obsidionem [h] diucius [7] tenere. ne si tanta multitudo hostium superuenisset.ᶠ dubium certamen commisissent. Paruit igitur ar- *IX. ii*
turus [8] [i] domesticorum suorum consilio.[i] recepitque sese infra urbem lundoniarum.[9] Ibi conuocato clero &[k] primatibus[l] tocius [10] potestatis sue.ᶠ querit consilium quid optimum [11] quidue [m] saluberrimum contra paganorum irruptionem faceret. Communi tandem assensu [n] illato.ᶠ mittuntur armoricam nuntii [o] ad regem hoelum. qui ei calamitatem britannie [p] notificarent. Erat autem hoel [12] [q] filius sororis arturi.[r] ex boudocio [13] [s] rege armaricanorum [14] [t] britonum [u] generatus. Unde audita inquietatione que auunculo ingerebatur.ᶠ iussit nauigium suum parari. Collectisque xv.[v] milibus armatorum.ᶠ proximo uentorum flatu in portu hamonis applicuit. Excepit illum arturus [i] quo honore decebat. mutuos [w] amplexus [x] sepissime [y] innectens. Emensis postmodum *IX. iii*
paucis diebus.ᶠ urbem [z] kaerluideoit [a'] petunt. a paganis quos supra memoraui obsessam.[b'] Hec autem in lindiseiensi [c'] prouintia [15] [d'] inter duo flumina super montem locata.ᶠ alio nomine lindocolinum

[1] *Germania.* [2] *Cheldrico.* [3] *milite.* [4] *oneratas.* [5] *conduxerat.* [6] *dissuaderunt.* *Bern*
[7] *diutius.* [8] *Arturus.* [9] *Londoniarum.* [10] *totius.* [11] *obtimum.* [12] *hoelus.* [13] *budocio.*
[14] *armoricanorum.* [15] *prouincia.*

[a] *incidisset.* [b] insert *tunc.* [c] *chedrico.* [d] *d.c.tas* [e] omit *naues.* [f] *milite.* [g] *Arturo.* *Harlech*
[h] omit *obsidionem.* [i] *Arturus.* [j] insert *recepit.* [k] omit *&.* [l] *primatibusque.* [m] *quidne.*
[n] *sensu.* [o] *nuncii.* [p] *Brittannie.* [q] *hoelus.* [r] *Arturi.* [s] *budicio.* [t] *armoricanorum.* [u] *Britonum.* [v] *quindecim.* [w] *mutuis.* [x] *amplexibus.* [y] omit *sepissime.*
[z] omit *urbem.* [a'] *kaerluittoid.* [b'] *obscessos.* [c'] *diuisidiensi.* [d'] *prouincia.*

doing so, behold, the messengers returned from ssermania with six hundred ships full of armed men, with ᶜʰKledic as their leader, and landed in the Alban. And when Arthyr heard this, he left kaer Efroc, and went to ᴸLlyndain, and called his nobles to him to counsel with them. The decision was to send to Howel, the son of Emyr llydaw, his nephew, his sister's son, who was king of llydaw, to ask support of him. Howel came with fifteen thou- *f. 106 rec.*
sand armed men to Northamtwn in the land of lloegr. And joyful was Arthyr over him. And from there they went together to kaer Lwyttgoed,

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nuncupatur. Ut igitur cum omni multitudine sua eo uenerunt
f. 89 vo. preliaturi [a] cum saxonibus.[c] inauditam cedem | inferebant.[1 b] Ceciderunt namque [2] ex illis eadem [c] die sex milia. qui partim fluminibus submersi. partim telis percussi uitam amiserunt. Vnde ceteri stupefacti. relicta obsidione fugam fecerunt.[d] Quos arturus [3 e] insequi non cessauit. donec in nemore colidonis [4] uenerunt. Ibi [f] ex fuga undique [g] confluentes.[c] conati sunt arturo [5 h] resistere. Conserto itaque prelio stragem britonibus [i] faciunt.[c] sese uiriliter defendentes. Usi etenim arborum [6] auxilio tela britonum [j] uitabant. Quod arturus [3 e] intuens. iussit arbores [k] circa illam partem nemoris [l] incidi & truncos ita in circuitu locari.[c] ut egressus eis abnegaretur. Uolebat namque [2] ipsos inclusos tamdiu obsidere.[c] donec fame interirent. Quo facto.[c] iussit turmas suas ambire nemus. mansitque tribus diebus ibidem. Cum igitur saxones [7] quo uescerentur indigerent. ne subita fame perirent. petierunt eo pacto [m] egressum. ut relicto omni auro & argento cum solis nauibus redire germaniam [8 n] sinerentur. Promiserunt quoque se daturos ei tributum ex germania.[9] obsidesque inde missuros.[10 o] Tunc arturus [e] quesito consilio. peticioni [11] eorum adquieuit. Retinuit namque [2] ipsorum [p] opes. reddendique uectigalis obsides. solumque abscessum largitus est.[q] Cumque illi in redeundo domum equora sulcarent. piguit eos [12 r] peracte pac-

Bern [1] *inferentes.* [2] *nanque.* [3] *Arturus.* [4] *Colidonis.* [5] *Arturo.* [6] *amborum.* [7] *Saxones.* [8] *Germaniam redire.* [9] *Germania.* [10] *mansuros.* [11] *petitioni.* [12] omit *eos.*

Harlech [a] *preliati;* insert *sunt.* [b] *inferentes.* [c] *ea.* [d] *inierunt.* [e] *Arturus.* [f] *Ibique.* [g] *undique ex fuga.* [h] *Arturo.* [i] *Britonibus.* [j] *Britonum.* [k] *arbo.* [l] omit *nemoris.* [m] *pactum.* [n] *germaniam redire.* [o] *mansuros.* [p] *eorum.* [q] omit *est.* [r] omit *eos.*

others call it Kaer Lincol, for there the ssaesson were. And a cruel battle happened there, in which between slaughter and drowning six thousand of the ssaesson were lost. And those who escaped fled to the wood of Kelyddon, with Arthyr chasing them. And there was a hard battle, and on both sides many were killed, for the bryttaniait were harried from the shelter of the oak woods. Then Arthyr ordered the oaks to be felled and crossed together into a high stockade around the ssaesson, and here they were guarded three days and nights without food or drink. And then lest they should die of famine, the ssaesson gave up to Arthyr all their Plunder, and also tribute from ssermania that they might be let go to their country. And they gave

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tionis. retortisque[a] uelis.[f] ambierunt[b] britanniam.[c] & totonesium litus adiuerunt. Nacti deinde tellurem. patriam usque ad sabrinum mare depopulant. colonos letiferis | uulneribus affici- *f. 90 rec.*
entes. Inde arrepto itinere uersus pagum badonis.[1 d] urbem obsident.[2] Id[e] itaque[3 f] cum regi nuntiatum[4 g] esset. admirans ultra modum ipsorum[h] facinus. iudicium fieri iussit de illorum obsidibus breui mora[5] suspendendis. Pretermissa etiam inquietatione qua scotos[i] & pictos opprimere inceperat.[f] obsidionem dispergere festinauit. Maximis uero[j] cruciabatur angustiis.[f 6 j] quoniam hoelum nepotem suum grauatum morbo in ciuitate alclud[7] deserebat. Postremo sumersetensem[8 k] prouinciam[l] ingressus[m] cominus obsidionem[9 n] in hec uerba locutus est. Quoniam impiissimi atque inuisi nominis saxones fidem mihi dedignati sunt tenere. ego[o] fidem deo meo conseruans sanguinem conciuium meorum in ipsos hodie[10] uindicare conabor. Armate uos uiri armate.[f] & proditores istos uiriliter inuadite. quos proculdubio auxiliante christo.[f 11] triumphabimus

Hec eo dicente sanctus dubricius[12] urbis legionum archi- *IX. io*
episcopus ascenso cuiusdam montis cacumine in hunc modum celsa uoce exclamauit.[p] Uiri christiana[q] professione insigniti. maneat in uobis[r] conciuium uestrorum[s] pietas & patrie.[f] qui prodicione[13] paganorum exterminati uobis

[1] *badouis.* [2] *obsiderent.* [3] *Idque.* [4] *nunciatum.* [5] *hora.* [6] *angustiis cruciatus.* *Bern*
[7] *aldclud.* [8] *sumersetentem.* [9] *obsidione.* [10] *hodie in ipsos.* [11] *deo.* [12] *Dubricius.*
[13] *proditione.*

[a] *retrorsisque.* [b] *redierunt.* [c] *Brittanniam.* [d] *Badonis.* [e] *Idque.* [f] omit *itaque.* *Harlech*
[g] *nunciatum.* [h] *eorum.* [i] *scottos.* [j] *angustiis est cruciatus.* [k] *summetensem.*
[l] *prouincia.* [m] insert *uisa.* [n] *obsidione.* [o] *Eo.* [p] *clamauit.* [q] *christiani.* [r] *nos.*
[s] *nostrorum.*

hostages for this. But when they were on the high seas, they were sorry for their compact with Arthyr, and they turned their sails and landed at the port of Totnais on the shore of lloegr, and ravaged the country as far as the hafren, and from there to kaer Vyddav, and they surrounded and *f. 106 vo.*
besieged the town. And when Arthyr knew this, without delay he had the hostages hanged. And he left the yssgottiait and ffichdiait, and left Howel his nephew grievously ill at kaer Alklyd amidst his enemies, and came

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sempiternum erunt opprobrium.[f a] nisi ipsos defendere institeritis. Pugnate pro patria uestra. & mortem si superuenerit ultro pro eadem patimini. Ipsa enim uictoria.[f] est & anime remedium. Quicumque etenim[1 b] pro fratribus[2] suis mortem subierit.[f 3 c] uiuam hostiam se prestabit[4 d] deo. christumque[e] insequi non
f. 90 vo. ambigitur.[f] | qui pro fratribus suis animam suam dignatus est ponere. Si igitur[f] aliquis[5] uestrum in hoc bello subierit mortem.[g] sit ei mors illa omnium delictorum suorum penitentia & ablutio.[h] dum hoc modo eam[i] recipere non diffugerit. Nec mora beati uiri benedictione[i] hylarati. festinauit[k] quisque[l] armare[6 m] se.[f] & preceptis eius parere. Ipse uero arturus[7 n] lorica tanto rege digna indutus.[f] auream galeam simulacro[8] draconis insculptam. capiti adaptat.[o] Humeris quoque suis clipeum[p] uocabulo pridwen.[9 q] in quo[r] imago[s] sancte marie[10] dei genitricis[t] inpicta[11] ipsum[u] in memoriam ipsius sepissime reuocabat. Accinctus ergo[v] caliburno gladio optimo. & in insula auallonis[w] fabricato.[f] lancea dextram[x] suam decorat. que nomine ron[12 y] uocabatur. Hæc[13 z] ardua erat.[14 a'] lataque lancea.[b'] cladibus apta. Deinde dispositis[c']

Bern [1] *Quicunque enim.* [2] *confratribus.* [3] *inierit.* [4] *prestet.* [5] *aliquis igitur.* [6] *armari.* [7] *Arturus.* [8] *simulachro.* [9] *priduuen.* [10] *Marie.* [11] *impicta.* [12] *Ron.* [13] *Hec.* [14] *erat ardua.*

Harlech [a] *obprobrium.* [b] *enim.* [c] *ingerit.* [d] *prestat.* [e] *christum.* [f] omit *igitur.* [g] *mortem subierit.* [h] *penitencia & absolucio.* [i] *eam hoc modo.* [j] *benedictione beati uiri.* [k] *festinauitque.* [l] omit *quisque.* [m] *armari.* [n] *Arturus.* [o] *adaptauit.* [p] *clypeum.* [q] *prid-Wen.* [r] *qua.* [s] *ymago.* [t] insert *erat.* [u] *ipsam.* [v] *etiam.* [w] *aualonis.* [x] *dexteram.* [y] *Ron.* [z] *Hec.* [a'] *erat ardua.* [b'] omit *lancea.* [c'] *disposuit.*

upon the ssaesson at kaer vyddav. And he said to them, "Ye treacherous thieves, you have not kept faith with me, nor will I keep faith with you." Then came Dyfric, Archbishop of kaer llion, and from a high hill with uplifted voice cried out, "Ha, nobles," said he, "such of you as are of [ch]kristian faith, remember to avenge this day the blood of your kindred upon the pagan ssaesson. And by God's strength the efforts ye shall make, and your deaths, will wash you clean of your sins." And then Arthyr put on a breast-plate worthy of a King; and on his head was a golden helmet with the likeness of a dragon of fire on it, and another image called prydwenn [blessed form], and on its inner side was carved the likeness of Mary. And this Arthyr bore with him when he went into battle-peril. And he took a sword, called kaledvwlch, for it was the best in all ynys Brydain. It was

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cateruis saxones [1] suo more in cuneos [a] dispositos audacter inuasit. Ipsi tota die uiriliter resistebant. britones [b] undique [2 c] prosternentes. [d] Uergente tandem ad occasum sole. [e] saxones [3 e] proximum occupant montem. [f] pro castro eum habituri. Multitudine etenim sociorum confisi. [4 f] solus mons sufficere uidebatur. At ut posterus [g] sol diem reduxit. [h] ascendit arturus [5 i] cum exercitu suo cacumen. set [6] in ascendendo. [f] multos suorum amisit. Saxones namque [7] ex summitate occurrentes. facilius ingerebant uulnera dum ipsos citior [j] cursus in descensu [k] ageret quam eos in | ascensu. Britones tamen [l] cacumen maxima ui adepti. [f] *f. 91 rec.*
dextris hostium dextras suas confestim [m] conserunt. [8 n] Quibus saxones [1] pectora pretendentes. [f o] omni nisu [p] resistere nituntur. Cumque multum diei [9] in hunc modum preterisset. [f] indignatus est arturus [i] ipsis ita successisse. nec sibi uictoriam aduenire. [q] Abstracto ergo [r] caliburno gladio. [s] nomen sancte marie [10] proclamat. & sese cito impetu infra [t] densas hostium acies inmisit. [11] Quemcumque attingebat [u] deum inuocando solo ictu perimebat. Nec quieuit [12 v] impetum suum facere. [f] donec quadringentos septuaginta [w] uiros solo caliburno gladio [x] peremit. Quod uidentes

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[1] *Saxones.* [2] *usque.* [3] omit *saxones.* [4] *confisis.* [5] *Arturus.* [6] *sed.* [7] *nanque.* *Bern*
[8] *conferunt.* [9] *diei multum.* [10] *Marie.* [11] *immisit.* [12] *requieuit.*

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[a] *cuneo.* [b] *Britones.* [c] *usque.* [d] *insequentes.* [e] omit *saxones.* [f] *confisa.* [g] *posterum.* [h] *reduxit diem.* [i] *Arturus.* [j] *cicior.* [k] *descensum.* [l] *inde.* [m] omit *confestim.* [n] *conferunt.* [o] *protendentes.* [p] omit *nisu.* [q] *aduenisse.* [r] omit *ergo.* [s] *gladio caliburno.* [t] *in.* [u] *inuadebat.* [v] *requieuit.* [w] *.cccc.lxx.* [x] omit *gladio.* *Harlech*

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made in ynys afallach. And in his hand he took the spear called Rongymyniad. And when all were harnessed, with the Arch-Bishop's blessing, *f. 107 rec.*
fiercely they fell upon the enemy, and killed them until night. And towards night the ssaesson made for the top of a high hill, thinking they could take shelter there. And when the next day came, Arthyr took the mountain from them; in spite of this they fought fiercely. And then in a rage, Arthyr drew his sword kaledvwlch, and remembering the name of Mair [Mary], manfully rushed upon his enemies* and whoever met him he killed with a single stroke; nor did Arthyr rest till he had slain four hundred and seventy of the ssaesson. And when the bryttaniait saw their king excelling in warcraft and courage, they took to themselves cheer and strength to keep step

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britones.[a] densatis turmis illum secuntur.[1] stragem undique facientes. Ceciderunt ilico colgrinus.[2] & baldulfus[b] eius frater.[c] & multa milia aliorum. At cheldricus[3][d] uiso sociorum[e] periculo,[f] continuo in fugam cum ceteris uersus est.

IX.[g] Rex igitur potitus uictoria. cadorem[4] ducem[f] cornubie[5] iussit persequi illos,[f] dum ipse albaniam petere festinaret. Nunciatum namque illi[6] fuerat. scotos[g] atque pictos obsedisse hoelum nepotem suum[7][h] in urbe aldclud.[8][i] in[9] qua ipsum[j] ut supra dixi[k] dereliquerat[10][l] infirmitate grauatum.[m] Iccirco[11] properabat ei in auxilium uenire.[f][12][n] ne a barbaris occuparetur. Dux itaque cornubie[5][o] decem milibus comitatus. fugientes saxones nondum[13] insequi uoluit,[f] immo naues eorum festinanter[p] adiit.[14][q] ut[r] ingressum prohiberet. Mox ergo[15][s]
f. 91 vo. ut ipsis potitus est,[f] muniuit eas militibus | optimis,[f] qui introitum abnegarent paganis. si ad easdem confugerent. Deinde festinat hostes[t] persequi.[16][u] inuentos,[f][17][v] sine pietate trucidare. preceptum arturi[w] facturus. Qui modo genuina[18] feritate fulminabant,[f] nunc timido corde fugientes. aliqui[x] eorum[y] occulta nemorum.[19] aliqui[20][z] montes & cauernas montium petebant. ut spacium uiuendi haberent. Postremo cum nichil eis tutamini[a] accessisset,[f] insulam teneth[a'] lacerato[21][b'] agmine ingrediuntur.

Bern [1] *sequntur.* [2] *Colgrimus.* [3] *Cheldricus.* [4] *Cadorem.* [5] *Cornubie.* [6] *illi nanque.* [7] omit *nepotem suum.* [8] *alclud.* [9] omit *in.* [10] omit *dereliquerat.* [11] *Quo circa.* [12] omit *uenire.* [13] *nundum.* [14] *exigere.* [15] omit *ergo.* [16] *sequi.* [17] *sectatos.* [18] *leonina;* in margin *genuina.* [19] omit *aliqui eorum occulta nemorum.* [20] *aliquando.* [21] *lacero.*

Harlech [a] *Britones.* [b] *colgrimus & Baldulfus.* [c] *frater eius.* [d] *clecdricus.* [e] *sociorum uiso.* [f] *codorem;* omit *ducem.* [g] *scottos.* [h] omit *nepotem suum.* [i] *alclud.* [j] omit *in qua ipsum.* [k] *dicta.* [l] omit *dereliquerat.* [m] insert *Quod.* [n] omit *uenire.* [o] *commitatus.* [p] *festinantes;* insert *exigere.* [q] omit *adiit.* [r] insert *ipsis.* [s] omit *ergo.* [t] omit *hostes.* [u] *sequi.* [v] *sectatos.* [w] *Arturi.* [x] *aliquando.* [y] omit *eorum.* [z] *tutaminis.* [a'] *taned.* [b'] *lacero.*

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with him. And in the end, Kolgrin and Baldwlff his brother, were killed and many thousands with them. And Kledric fled and abandoned his own army. And then Arthyr ordered GKattwr, Earl of Kerniw, with ten thousand armed men to chase them; but Arthyr took the road to kaer Alklyd, because he heard that the Yssgottiait and ffichdiait were trying [to drive] Howel out of the town. Meanwhile, Kattwr and his army attacked the ships

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Insequitur eos ibidem dux cornubie.[1] solitam cedem inferens. Nec requieuit donec perempto cheldrico.[2 a] cunctos deditioni[b] compulit.[c] receptis obsidibus.

Pace itaque firmata. profectus est aldclud.[c 3 c] quam arturus[d] iam a barbarica oppressione liberauerat. Deinde duxit exercitum suum mureif.[4 e] ubi obsidebantur scoti.[f] & picti. qui tercio contra regem nepotemque[g] suum dimicantes[5 h] & ab eo superati[6 i] usque ad eandem prouinciam diffugerant.[i] Ingressi autem stagnum lumonoi.[7 k] occupauerunt insulas que infra erant. securum refugium querentes; Hoc autem stagnum quadraginta[l] insulas continens.[m] sexaginta[l] flumina recipit.[8] nec ex eo nisi unum[9] solum ad mare decurrit. In insulis[n] uero sexaginta[l] rupes manifestum est esse.[o] totidem[p] aquilarum nidos[q] sustentantes. que singulis annis conuenientes. prodigium quod in regno[r] uenturum esset celso clamore communiter edito notificabant. Ad has itaque insulas | confugerant predicti[10] *f. 92 rec.* hostes. ut presidio stagni fruerentur. set parum illis profuit. Nam arturus[c] collecto nauigio flumina circuiuit. ipsosque per .xv.[s] dies obsidendo tanta afflixit fame.[c] ut ad milia morerentur.

Lx. vi

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[1] *Cornubie.* [2] *Cheldrico.* [3] *Alchud.* [4] *mureis.* [5] *dimicati;* insert *ipsos.* [6] omit *&* *ab eo superati.* [7] *Lumonoi.* [8] *recepit.* [9] insert *nec.* [10] *picti.* *Bern*

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[a] *cleldrico.* [b] *dedicioni.* [c] *alclud.* [d] *Arturus.* [e] *muref.* [f] *scotti.* [g] *nepotem.* [h] *dimicati;* insert *erant.* [i] omit *&* *ab eo superati;* insert *ipsos.* [j] *diffugaueræt.* [k] *lumonoy.* [l] *lx.* [m] *tenens.* [n] *insulas.* [o] *esse est.* [p] *totitem.* [q] *nidos aquilarum.* [r] *regnum.* [s] *quindecim.* *Harlech*

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of the ssaesson, and filled them with his own men, and with the remainder he pursued them like a forest lion. And then Kledric, their prince, was slain, *f. 107 vo.* and the rest were subdued to perpetual slavery. And after [s]kattwr had conquered the ssaesson, he went toward kaer Alklyd, where was Arthyr, who had already driven the ffichdiait back to the sea. This was the third rout in which Arthyr and Howel drove them. And then they fled to lake llimonwy. There come into this lake three hundred and sixty rivers, which rush down from the mountains of Prydain;* and from there in one river they go seaward, and that river is called llefn. And on each of these islands there is a mighty crag and on each crag an Eagle's nest; and when these all go to the top of a single crag to scream, they know that some disaster comes

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Dumque illos in hunc modum opprimeret.[a] gilmaurius[1][b] rex hybernie[2] cum maxima barbarorum[c] copia classe superuenit. ut ipsis[d] oppressis[3] auxilium subuectaret. Pretermissa itaque obsidione. cepit arturus[e] arma uertere in hybernienses.[4][f] quos sine pietate laceratos coegit domum[g] refretare. Potitus ilico[h] uictoria. uacauit[i] iterum[j] delere[5] gentem scotorum[k] atque pictorum.[l] incommutabili seuicie indulgens. Cumque nulli prout reperiebatur parceret.[l] conuenerunt omnes episcopi miserande patrie cum omni clero sibi subdito reliquias sanctorum & ecclesiastica sacra nudis ferentes pedibus. misericordiam regis pro salute populi sui imploraturi. Qui[6][l] mox ut presentiam[m] regis nacti sunt.[l][7][m] flexis genibus genibus deprecati sunt eum[8][n] ut pietatem super[9] contrita gente haberet. Satis etenim periculi intulerat.[l] nec erat opus[10] perpaucos qui remanserant usque ad[o] unum delere. Sineret illos[p] portiunculam habere patrie.[q] perpetue seruitutis iugum ultro gestaturos.[r] Cumque regem in hunc modum rogassent.[l][11][s] commouit eum pietas in lacrimas. sanctorumque uirorum peticionibus[12][t] adquiescens. ueniam donauit.

Bern [1] *Gillamurius.* [2] *hibernie.* [3] *obsessis.* [4] *hibernienses.* [5] *uastare.* [6] omit *Qui.* [7] omit *nacti sunt;* insert *habuerunt.* [8] omit *eum.* [9] *supra.* [10] *opus erat.* [11] *rogauissent.* [12] *petitioni.*

Harlech [a] *opprimerent.* [b] *Gillomaurus.* [c] *barbarum.* [d] *ipsos.* [e] *Arturus.* [f] *hybernenses.* [g] omit *domum.* [h] *igitur.* [i] *ualuit.* [j] omit *iterum.* [k] *scottorum.* [l] omit *Qui.* [m] *presenciam;* omit *regis nacti sunt;* insert *eius habuerunt.* [n] omit *eum.* [o] omit *ad.* [p] *eos.* [q] *patrie habere.* [r] *gestantes.* [s] *rogauissent.* [t] *peticioni.*

from overseas upon this island. Then Arthyr had gathered ships and boats, sailed around the lake, and rounded up those people until thousands of them died of famine. And while they were doing so, behold Gilamwri, King of Iwerddon, was coming with a great fleet to support the Yssgottiait, for they were of one language and of one race. And when Arthyr saw that, he left the Yssgottiait and fought the gwyddyl [Irish], and put them to flight
f. 108 rec. as far as to Iwerddon. And as it happened to Arthyr the first time, thus he came upon the Yssgottiaid the second time. And then came the Bishops and consecrated Abbots in their vestments, and fell on their knees before Arthyr and besought peace for that people, [on the terms] that those who had escaped be held as slaves perpetually to him and his descendants. And

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His [a] itaque gestis. explorat [b] hoelus situm predicti stagni. admiraturque tot flumina. tot insulas. [c] | tot rupes. tot nidos aquilarum. eodem [d] numero adesse. Cumque id in mirum uenisset.[1] [e] accessit arturus. [f] dixitque illi [g] aliud stagnum magis esse [h] mirandum in eadem prouincia. Erat quippe haut [i] longe illinc. habens latitudinem[2] [j] .xx. [k] pedum. eademque [l] mensura longitudinem. [m] cum .v. [n] pedum altitudine. [o] In quadrum uero siue[3] [p] hominum arte. siue natura constitutum. quatuor [q] genera piscium infra quatuor[4] [q] angulos procreabat. nec in aliqua parcium pisces alterius partis [r] reperiebantur.[5] Adiecit etiam aliud stagnum [s] in partibus gualiarum[6] [t] prope sabrinam esse [u] quod pagenses linliguam[7] [v] appellant. Quod cum in ipsum mare fluctuat.[8] [w] recipitur [x] in modum uoraginis. sorbendoque fluctus.[f] nullatenus repletur. ut riparum marginem operiat. Et [y] dum mare decrescit. eructat [z] ad instar montis absortas aquas quibus demum ripas tegit & aspergit. Interim si gens tocius [9] regionis [a'] illius facie uersa prope astaret. recepta infra uestes undarum aspergine. uel uix uel nunquam [b'] elabi ualeret.[f] quin a stagno uoraretur. Tergo autem uerso.[f] non est irroratio [c'] timenda. etiam si in ripis astaret. [d']

IX. vii f. 92. vo.

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[1] *contulisset.* [2] *latitudinem habens.* [3] *sine.* [4] *or .iiii.* [5] *repperiebantur.* [6] *gualliarum.* [7] *Linliguuam.* [8] *fluctuat.* [9] *tolius.* — *Bern*

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[a] *Hiis.* [b] *implorat.* [c] omit *tot insulas.* [d] omit *eodem.* [e] *contulisset.* [f] *Arturus.* [g] *ei.* [h] *esse magis.* [i] *haut.* [j] *longitudinem.* [k] *uiginti.* [l] *eadem.* [m] *latitudinem.* [n] *quinque.* [o] omit *altitudine.* [p] *sine.* [q] *or .iiii.* [r] omit *partis.* [s] insert *esse.* [t] *GWalliarum.* [u] omit *esse.* [v] *linligWan.* [w] *fluctuat.* [x] *reperitur.* [y] *at.* [z] omit *eructat.* [a'] *patrie.* [b'] *unquam.* [c'] *irroracio.* [d'] *staret.* — *Harleck*

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this Arthyr accepted. And when peace was made Howell went to see the condition of the lake and its surroundings. And then Arthyr said to Howel, "There is not far off a pond more wonderful than this. It is twenty feet wide and twenty feet long and five feet deep, and there are four kinds of fish in it, one kind at each corner of the pond, and yet none of them ever mingles with the others. And there is another lake near the hafren which is called llynn lliawn, and as sea-tide makes, its waters ebb; and however much fresh water gets into it, never does it rise up to its banks. But when the sea ebbs, it fills, like a great mountain, throwing up waves. Whoever

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IX. viii Data igitur[a] uenia scotorum[b] populo.[c] petiuit rex eboracum.[1] instantis natalis[e] domini festum celebraturus. Cumque in[2 d] urbem uenisset,[f 3 e] uisa sanctarum[4 f] ecclesiarum desolatione,[g] condoluit. Expulso namque[5] beato samsone[6 h] archiepiscopo. ceterisque sancte religionis uiris. templa semiusta ab officio dei cessabant. Tanta etenim pagaf. 93 rec. norum | insania preualuerat. Exinde[7] conuocato[i] clero.[8 j] populo piramum[9] capellanum[k] suum metropolitane sedi destinat.[l] ecclesias usque ad solum destructas renouat.[m] atque religiosis uirorum cetibus[10 n] ac mulierum exornat.[o] Proceres autem inquietatione[p] saxonum expulsos patriis honoribus[q] restituit.

IX. ix Erant autem[r] ibi tres fratres regali prosapia orti. loth uidelicet atque[s] urianus. necnon & auguselus.[11 t] qui antequam saxones[12] preualuissent,[u] principatum illarum partium habuerant. Hos igitur ut ceteros paterno iure donare[v] uolens. reddidit auguselo[13] regiam potestatem scotorum.[b] fratremque[v] suum urianum sceptro murefensium insigniuit. Loth autem qui tempore aurelii[w] ambrosii sororem ipsius duxerat. ex qua gwalwanum[14 x] & modredum[15] genuerat. ad consultum[16 y]

Bern [1] *Eboracum.* [2] omit *in.* [3] *introisset.* [4] *sacrarum.* [5] *nanque.* [6] *Sansone.* [7] *Exin.* [8] insert &. [9] *Piramum.* [10] *cetibus uirorum.* [11] *Anguselus.* [12] *Saxones.* [13] *anguselo.* [14] *Gwalguanum.* [15] *Modredum.* [16] *consulatum.*

Harlech [a] omit *igitur.* [b] *scottorum.* [c] *nathalis.* [d] omit *in.* [e] *intrasset.* [f] *sacrarum.* [g] *desolacione.* [h] *sampsone.* [i] *uocato.* [j] insert &. [k] *capplanum.* [l] *destinauit.* [m] *renouauit.* [n] *cetibus uirorum.* [o] *exornauit.* [p] *inquietudine.* [q] omit *honoribus.* [r] omit *autem.* [s] &. [t] *Auguselis.* [u] *ditare.* [v] *fratem.* [w] *Aurelii.* [x] *Walwanium.* [y] *consulatum.*

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meets those waves facing them will scarce escape alive, while if his back is toward the lake he will escape, however near he may stand. And from thence Arthyr went to kaer Efroc to hold his court at christmas. And there
f. 108 vo. was Arthyr sorrowful to see the Churches ruined by the ssaesson and the sons of learning killed. And Arthyr gave to Aron, the son of Kynvarch, Yssgottlont; and to Elw, son of Kynvarch, the Earldom of Lindessi, for he was Arthyr's brother-in-law, and [brother-in-law] also to WGwyar, mother of WGwalchmai, the Emperor. And to Yrien, the son of Kynvarch, he gave Reged. And then Arthyr had finished subduing ynys Brydain in

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lodenesie [1 a] ceterarumque [b] comprouinciarum [c] que ei pertinebant.[f] reduxit. Denique cum tocius [2] patrie statum in pristinam dignitatem reduxisset.[f] duxit uxorem nomine [d] guenhuueram.[3 e] ex nobili genere romanorum editam. que in thalamo cadoris [4] ducis educta.[5 f] tocius insule mulieres pulcritudine [6 g] superabat. Aduenientе deinde sequenti estate. parauit classem suam. &.[h] *IX. x* adiuit [7 i] hybernie [8 j] insulam [k] quam sibi subdere desiderabat. Applicanti autem sibi predictus rex gillmaurus [9 l] cum innumerabili gente obuius uenit. contra illum dimicaturus Cumque prelium incepisset [10 m] gens [n] eius nuda & inermis misere [o] | lacerata ilico [11 p] confugit.[f] quo ei locus refugii [q] patebat. Nec mora *f. 93 vo.* captus est etiam [r] gilmaurus.[9 l] & [s] dedicioni [12 t] coactus. Unde ceteri principes patrie stupefacti exemplo regis.[13] deditionem [u] fecerunt. Subiugatis [v] itaque tocius [2] hybernie [14] partibus classem suam [w] direxit [x] in yslandiam.[15 y] eamque debellato populo subiugauit. Exin [z] diuulgato per ceteras insulas rumore quod ei nulla prouintia [16 a'] resistere poterat.[f] doldauius [17 b'] rex gotlandie [18 c'] & gunhpuar [19 d'] rex orcadum [20] ultro uenere. promissoque

[1] *Lodonesie.* [2] *tolius.* [3] *Guenhuuaram.* [4] *Cadoris.* [5] *educata.* [6] *pulchritudine.* *Bern*
[7] omit &; *adiuitque.* [8] *Hibernie.* [9] *Gillamuri.* [10] insert *confestim.* [11] omit *ilico.*
[12] *deditioni.* [13] *regem.* [14] *hibernie.* [15] *Islandiam.* [16] *nulla prouincia ei.* [17] *Doldauius.*
[18] *Godlandie.* [19] *Gunuasius.* [20] *Orcadum.*

[a] *lodonesiam.* [b] *ceterasque.* [c] *prouincias.* [d] omit *nomine.* [e] *Guenuaran.* *Harlech*
[f] *educata.* [g] *pulcritudinem.* [h] omit &. [i] *adiuitque.* [j] *hyberniam.* [k] omit *insulam.*
[l] *Gillomaurus.* [m] insert *confestim.* [n] *genus.* [o] *mire.* [p] omit *ilico.* [q] *refrigerii.*
[r] omit *etiam.* [s] omit &. [t] insert *eciam.* [u] *dedicionem.* [v] *Subiugati.* [w] omit *suam.*
[x] *duxit.* [y] *hislandiam.* [z] *Exinde.* [a'] *prouincia.* [b'] *Doldauius.* [c'] *Goudlandie.*
[d'] *Gunuasius.*

a way better than it ever had been. And then Arthyr took to wife [W]Gwenhwyfar, daughter of Gogvran the giant.* Her mother was descended from the aristocracy of Ryfain, and [Ch]Kattwr, Earl of Kerniw, had brought her up, and she was one of the fairest in ynys Brydain. And Arthyr then prepared a fleet against the next summer to go to Iwerddon. And when Arthyr reached there, Gilamwri with his army was ready to fight with him. And he did not prosper, but fled; and in that flight Gilamwri was taken, and he had to do homage to Arthyr, he and his army. And from hence Arthyr went to Isslont* and subdued that country; and when that was heard by many of the other islands and that Arthyr was victorious wherever

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uectigali. subiectionem fecerunt. Emensa deinde hyeme. reuersus est in britanniam.[a] statumque regni[1] in firmam pacem
IX. xi renouans.[b] moram[c] .xii.[d] annis ibidem fecit. Tunc inuitatis[e] probissimis quibusque[f] ex longe positis regnis. cepit familiam suam augmentare. tantamque facetiam in domo sua habere. ita[g] ut emulationem[h] longe manentibus[i] populis ingereret. Vnde nobilissimus quisque incitatus nichili[j] pendebat se. nisi sese siue[2] in[k] induendo. siue in arma ferendo. ad modum militum arturi[3][l] haberet.[m] Denique fama largitatis atque[4] probitatis illius per extremos mundi cardines diuulgata reges transmaritanorum[5][n] regnorum nimius inuadebat timor ne inquietatione eius oppressi. nationes[o] sibi subditas amitterent. Mordacibus[p] ergo curis anxiati.[q] urbes atque urbium turres renouabant.[r] opida[6] etiam[7][s] in congruis[t] locis edificabant.[u] ut si impetus arturum[v] in illos[w]|
f. 94 rec. duceret.[x] refugium si opus esset[z] haberent.[y] Cumque id arturo[z] notificatum esset extollens se quia cunctis timori erat. totam europam[8] sibi subdere aflectat.[a'] Paratis deinde[b'] nauigiis. norguegiam[9][c'] priusa diuit. ut illius diademate loth[10] sororium

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Bern [1] insert *sui.* [2] omit *siue.* [3] *Arturi.* [4] *ac.* [5] *transmarinorum.* [6] *oppida.* [7] omit *etiam.* [8] *Europam.* [9] *Norguegiam.* [10] *Loth.*

Harlech [a] *Brittanniam.* [b] *reuocans.* [c] *morem.* [d] *duodecim.* [e] *inuitatus.* [f] *militibus.* [g] omit *ita.* [h] *emulacionem.* [i] *positis.* [j] *nichil.* [k] omit *in.* [l] *Arturi.* [m] *haberent.* [n] *transmarilimorum.* [o] *naciones.* [p] *Mordatius.* [q] *anxiatus.* [r] *renouabat.* [s] omit *etiam.* [t] *in incongruis.* [u] *edificabat.* [v] *Arturum.* [w] *illum.* [x] *esse.* [y] *haberet.* [z] *Arturo.* [a'] *affectauerat.* [b'] *denique.* [c'] *norWegiam.*

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he went and none could stay him, Doldaf, the king of Yssgottlont, and Gwynnwas, the king of Ork, of their own will came to do homage to Arthyr,
f. 109 rec. and to give him tribute every year. And after the winter was over, Arthyr returned to ynys Brydain. And there for twelve years Arthyr rested and called to him well-tried and famous men from every country, to increase their numbers. And then flew abroad his praise and his warcraft and those of his comrades, and for courage, and generosity of social code and custom, this island had never borne their equals. Nor was there a king at that time who could be compared to Arthyr; so that every king feared him lest he should conquer his country. And when Arthyr heard this, he was minded to match with deeds the praise which words ascribed to him; nor was his purpose less than the conquest of all Eüropia, that was, a third part of the whole

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suum insigniret. Erat autem loth[1] nepos sichelmi[2 a] regis norguegensium.[3 b] qui ea tempestate defunctus. regnum suum eidem destinauerat. At norguegenses[4 c] indignati illum recipere.[f] erexerant iam quendam riculfum[5 d] in regiam potestatem. munitisque urbibus arturo[e] se posse[f] resistere existimabant. Erat tunc[6 g] filius[h] predicti loth[1] gualguanus[6 h] nomine[i] .xii.[j] annorum iuuenis obsequio sulpicii[7] pape ab auunculo traditus. a quo arma recepit. Ut igitur arturus sicut dicere ceperam[8 k] in norguegensi[9 l] littore applicuit. obuiauit ei rex riculfus[10 m] cum uniuerso patrie populo. preliumque commisit. Et cum multum cruoris in utraque parte effusum[11 n] esset.[f] preualuerunt tandem britones.[o] factoque impetu. riculfum[5 d] cum multis aliis.[12 p] peremerunt. Uictoria igitur[q] potiti. ciuitates accumulata flamma inuaserunt. dispersisque pagensibus. seuicie[r] indulgere non cessauerunt.[s] donec totam norguegiam.[13 t] necnon & daciam dominio arturi[u] submiserunt. Quibus subactis[14] cum loth in regem norguegie[15 v] promouisset.[f] nauigauit arturus[w] ad gallias.[16] factisque turmis.

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[1] *Loth.* [2] *Sichelmi.* [3] *Norguegensium.* [4] *Norguegenses.* [5] *Riculfum.* [6] insert *Bern Gwalgwanus;* omit *gualguanus nomine* later. [7] *Sulpicii.* [8] *inceperam.* [9] *Norguegensi.* [10] *Riculfus.* [11] *diffusum.* [12] omit *aliis.* [13] *Norguesiam.* [14] *subditis.* [15] *Norguesie.* [16] *Gallias.*

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[a] *chelmi.* [b] *NorWegensium.* [c] *NorWegenses.* [d] *Rauculfum.* [e] *Arturo.* [f] omit *Harlech se posse.* [g] *autem.* [h] *WalWanius filius predicti loth.* [i] omit *nomine.* [j] *duodecim.* [k] *inceperam.* [l] *NorWegensi.* [m] *Rauculfus.* [n] *diffusum.* [o] *Britones.* [p] omit *aliis.* [q] *ergo.* [r] *seuitie.* [s] *cessauere.* [t] *NorWegiam.* [u] *Arturi.* [v] *norWegie.* [w] *Arturus.*

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world. And there was neither king, nor powerful Lord, who did not try to school himself according to the modes and manners of the men of Arthyr. And then Arthyr fitted out a Fleet to go to LLlychlyn, because Assychlym, the King of Prydain,* was dead, and had committed the kingship to LLlew, son of Kynvarch, his nephew. The men of llychlyn would not have this, but made Rikwlff their king, and strengthened themselves in the castles seeking to defend their country. And living there was WGwalchmai, the son of Llew, son of Kynvarch, in the service of the bishop of Ryfain, where Arthyr his uncle had sent him to learn manners and usage and horsemanship from the men of Ryfain. And that bishop first gave arms to WGwalchmai. And when Arthyr reached LLlychlyn, Rikwlff was there with a great host to oppose Arthyr. And they joined battle, and many on both sides were

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undique[a] patriam[1] uastare incepit. Erat tunc gallia[2][b] prouincia rome[c] frolloni[3][d] tribuno commissa. quia[4][e] eam sub leone imperatore regebat. | Qui cum[f] aduentum arturi[g] comperisset.[5][h] omnem armatum militem qui potestati sue parebat[6][i] secum adduxit.[7][j] cum arturo[k] prelialiaturus.[8][l] set minime resistere[m] quiuit. Nam arturum[n] iuuentus[o] omnium[p] insularum quas[q] subiugauerat comitabatur.[r] unde tantum peribebatur[9][s] habere exercitum quantus erat difficilis erat difficile[10][t] ab ullo posse superari. Famulabatur quoque ei[u] melior pars gallicane[11] militie.[12][v] quam sua largitate sibi obnoxiam fecerat. Frollo[w] igitur cum sese in deteriorem prelii partem incidere uidisset. relicto confestim campo. parisius cum paucis diffugit.[x] Ibi resociato populo dilapso.[13][y] muniuit urbem. iterumque affectauit cum arturo[k] dimicare. At[z] dum exercitum suum uicinorum auxilio roborare intenderet uenit ex inprouiso[14] arturus.[a'] ipsumque infra ciuitatem obsedit. Emenso deinde mense cum frollo[15][b'] gentem suam fame perire doluisset.[c'] mandauit arturo[k] ut ipsi soli duellium[16][d'] inissent. & cui uictoria

Bern [1] *patriam undique.* [2] *Gallia.* [3] *Frolloni.* [4] *qui.* [5] insert *collegit.* [6] insert *&*; omit *secum.* [7] omit *adduxit.* [8] *preliatus est.* [9] *perhibebatur.* [10] *difficilis.* [11] *Gallicane.* [12] *milicie.* [13] *dilapso populo.* [14] *improuiso.* [15] *Frollo.* [16] *duellum.*

Harlech [a] omit *undique.* [b] *gallie.* [c] *thome.* [d] *Valoni.* [e] *qui.* [f] *ut.* [g] *Arturi.* [h] insert *collegit.* [i] insert *&*; omit *secum.* [j] omit *adduxit.* [k] *Arturo.* [l] *preliatus est.* [m] omit *resistere.* [n] *Arturum.* [o] omit *iuuentus.* [p] *omnes;* insert *uiri.* [q] *quos.* [r] *comitabantur.* [s] *perhibebatur.* [t] *difficilis.* [u] omit *ei.* [v] *milicie.* [w] *Vallo.* [x] *fugit.* [y] *dilapso populo.* [z] *Vt.* [a'] *Arturus.* [b'] *uallo.* [c'] *dubitasset.* [d'] *duellum.*

killed; but in the end Arthyr killed* Rikwlff, and subdued the whole country to himself and Denmark* also, and compelled the people to do homage to him. And he left llew, son of Kynvarch, as King over those two places. And from there Arthyr and his Fleet sailed to ffraink, and began to subdue ffraink. And against him came out ffrolo, the man who held ffraink under Leo, the Emperor of Ryfain. And he fought with Arthyr, but could not make a stand, for Arthyr's horsemen were more numerous and also better. And ffrolho fled to [Mh]Paris and called together the largest army he could. For a month Arthyr with his army surrounded the city until many of them died of famine. And then ffrolho was greatly troubled, and proposed that both he and Arthyr should go to an island in the river which is

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proueniret.[f] alterius regnum optineret.[1] Erat enim ipse magne stature &[a] audacie. atque[b] fortitudinis. quibus ultra modum confisus ista mandauerat. ut hoc modo aditum salutis haberet. Quod cum arturo[c] nuntiatum[2d] fuisset.[f] placuit ei[3e] affectus frollonis[4] uehementer[3e] renuntiauitque[5f] sese paratum fore[6] predictam conuentionem tenere. Dato[g] igitur in utraque[7h] parte federe.[f] conueniunt uterque[8] in insulam[i] que[9] erat extra ciuitatem populo expectante quod de eis futurum erat. Ambo erant decenter armati. | super equos etiam.[j] mire uelocitatis *f. 95 rec.*
residentes. nec erat promptum[k] dinoscere cui triumphus proueniret. Ut itaque erectis lanceis in aduersis partibus steterunt. confestim subdentes equis calcaria. sese maximis ictibus percusserunt. At arturus[l] gestando[m] cautius[n] lanceam. frollonem[10o] in summitate pectoris infixit. eiusque[p] telo uitato. quantum uigor sinebat. illum in terram[q] prostrauit. Euaginato quoque ense. festinabat eum ferire. cum[r] frollo[11] uelocius erectus pretensa lancea occurrit.[r] illatoque infra pectus equi arturi[s] letifero uulnere.[t] utrumque concidere[u] coegit. Britones ut regem prostratum uiderunt. timentes eum peremptum esse. uix potuerunt retineri quin confedere[12v] rupto. in gallos[13] unanimiter

[1] *obtineret.* [2] *nunciatum.* [3] insert *uehementer;* omit later. [4] *Frollonis.* [5] *renunciauitque.* [6] *esse.* [7] *amba.* [8] omit *uterque.* [9] *quæ.* [10] *Frollonem.* [11] *Frollo.* [12] *federe.* [13] *Gallos.* *Bern*

[a] *atque.* [b] *&.* [c] *Arturo.* [d] *nunciatum.* [e] *uehementer effectus Vallonis.* [f] *renunciauitque.* [g] *Data.* [h] *amba.* [i] *insula.* [j] omit *etiam.* [k] *prorato.* [l] *Arturus.* [m] *gestans.* [n] *caucius.* [o] *Vallonem.* [p] *eiusdem.* [q] *terra.* [r] omit *cum . . . occurrit.* [s] *Arturi.* [t] *telo.* [u] *incidere.* [v] *federe.* *Harlech*

called the ssain,— running through the city of Paris, — the one who should conquer to take the other's kingdom, but to leave the armies in peace. And *f. 110 rec.*
Arthyr liked nothing better than that. And to the island went they both, fully armed and mounted, with the two armies looking at them. And without delay ffrolho attacked Arthyr with his spear, but Arthyr dodged that peril. Then Arthyr straightway charged ffrolho so that he fell underneath his horse's belly and then he drew his sword to try to kill him. Then ffrolho bravely rose up, and killed Arthyr's horse, and Arthyr and his horse went to earth. And when the Bryttaniait saw that, it was hard for them to keep the compact with the ffraink. Then, full of fury, Arthyr rose up and swung

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irruerent. At dum metam pacis iam [a] egredi meditarentur.[b] erectus [1 c] ocius arturus.[d] pretensoque clipeo [e] imminentem [f] sibi frollonem [2 g] cito cursu petiuit. Instantes ergo cominus mutuos ictus ingeminant alter alterius neci insistens. Denique frollo [3 h] inuento aditu [i] percussit arturum [j] in frontem. & nisi collisione cassidis mucronem ebetasset.[f] [4 k] mortiferum uulnus forsitan induxisset. Manante igitur sanguine. cum arturus [d] loricam & clipeum [l] rubere uidisset. ardentiori [m] ira succensus est atque [n] erecto totis uiribus [n] caliburno. impressit [o] eum per galeam infra [p] caput frollonis. [5 q] quod in duas partes dissecuit. Quo uulnere cecidit frollo [3 r] tellurem calcaneis [s] pulsans. & spiritum in auras emisit. Cumque id per exercitum diuulgatum
f. 95 vo. fuisset.[f] | concurrerunt ciues. apertisque ualuis [t] ciuitatem arturo [u] tradiderunt. Qui deinde uictoria potitus. diuisit exercitum suum [v] in duo. & unam partem hoelo [6] duci [7] commisit. precepitque illi [w] ut ad expugnandum [x] guitardum [y] pictauensium [8 z] ducem iret. Ipse uero cum reliqua [9] parte [a'] ceteras prouincias sibi rebelles.[b'] subiugare uacauit. Mox hoelus [10] aquitaniam [11 c'] ingressus urbes patrie inuasit. guitardumque [12 d'] pluribus preliis anxiatum deditioni [e'] coegit. Guasconiam [f'] quoque ferro & flamma depopulans

Bern [1] insert *est.* [2] *Frollonem.* [3] *Frollo.* [4] *hebetasset.* [5] *Frollonis.* [6] *Hoelo.* [7] omit *duci.* [8] *Guitardum Pictauensium.* [9] *cetera;* alternative *reliqua* written above. [10] *Hoelus.* [11] *Equitanniam.* [12] *Guitardumque.*

Harlech [a] omit *iam.* [b] *meditabantur.* [c] insert *est.* [d] *Arturus.* [e] *clypeo.* [f] *imminentem.* [g] *Vallonem.* [h] omit *frollo.* [i] insert *Vallo.* [j] *Arturum.* [k] *hebetasset.* [l] *clypeum.* [m] *ardenciori.* [n] omit *atque . . . uiribus.* [o] *inpressit.* [p] *in.* [q] *Vallonis.* [r] *Vallo.* [s] *calcaribus.* [t] *ualius.* [u] *Arturo.* [v] omit *suum.* [w] omit *illi.* [x] *expungnandum.* [y] *Guytardum.* [z] *pictauiensem.* [a'] *multitudine.* [b'] omit *rebelles.* [c'] *equitanniam.* [d'] *Guitardumque.* [e'] *dedicioni.* [f'] *Gasconium.*

his shield between himself and ffrolho, and engaged with him. And then were strokes exchanged between them in cruel fashion. And then ffrolho landed a stroke on Arthyr, and struck him on his forehead so that the blood poured to the ground down his face and breast. And then Arthyr became furious and raised aloft Kaledvwlch, and struck ffrolho on the top of his head, and split his body and his armour to the girdle. And there ffrolho fell to the ground, digging up the ground with his heels, until he died. And then all ffraink did homage to Arthyr. And then Arthyr divided his army in two parts, and one part he sent with his nephew Howel to conquer

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principes eiusdem subiugauit. Emensis interim .ix.[a] annis cum tocius[1] gallie[2] partes potestati sue submisisset[3] uenit iterum arturus[b] parisius.[4][c] tenuitque[d] ibidem curiam.[e] ubi conuocato clero & populo statum[f] regni[g] pace[h] & lege[i] confirmauit. Tunc largitus est bedeuero[5][j] pincerne suo estrusiam.[6] que[7] nunc normannia[8][k] dicitur. kaioque[9][l] dapifero andegauensium[10][m] prouinciam. Plures quoque aliās prouincias nobilibus[n] uiris qui in obsequio eius fuerant. Deinde pacificatis quibusque ciuitatibus[o] & populis. incipiente uere. in britanniam[p] reuersus est.

Cum[q] igitur sollempnitas[11] pentecostes[12] aduenire inci- *IX. xii*
peret. post tantum triumphum maxima leticia fluctuans arturus.[b] affectauit curiam[r] ilico[13] tenere. regnique diadema capiti suo imponere. reges[14][s] & duces sibi subditos ad ipsam festiuitatem conuocare. ut & illam uenerabiliter celebraret. & inter proceres[15] suos firmissimam pacem renouaret.[t] Indicato autem familiaribus suis quod | affectauerat. consilium cepit *f. 96 rec.*
ut in urbe legionum suum exequeretur propositum. In glamor-

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[1] *totius.* [2] *Gallie.* [3] *summisisset.* [4] *Parisius.* [5] *Beduero.* [6] *Etrusiam.* [7] *quæ.* *Bern*
[8] *Normannia.* [9] *Kaioque.* [10] *Audegauensium.* [11] *sollennitas.* [12] *Pentecostes.*
[13] *ilico curiam.* [14] insert *etiam.* [15] *poceres.*

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[a] *nouem.* [b] *Arturus.* [c] insert &. [d] *tenuit.* [e] insert *suam.* [f] *statuit.* [g] *regno.* *Harleck*
[h] *pacem.* [i] *legem.* [j] *Beduero.* [k] *Normannia.* [l] *Kayo;* add *quoque.* [m] *andegauiensium.*
[n] *nobilioribus;* insert *suis.* [o] *prouinciis.* [p] *Britanniam.* [q] *Cumque*
[r] insert *suam.* [s] insert *etiam.* [t] *reuocaret.*

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peitio. And with the other he went himself to conquer Gassgwin and Einssio. *f. 110 vo.*
And there Gwidrad, the prince of Peittio was compelled to do homage to Arthyr; and nine years was Arthyr in subduing those countries. And after this he went to hold his court in [B]Paris, and invited there all the princes of the islands, and the Nobles and the clerks and laymen. And by agreement of the whole multitude there were made good laws for the whole extent of these kingdoms. And then Arthyr gave to [V]Bedwyr, his head butler, the Earldom of Normandi; and to [G]Kei, his head officer, the Earldom of Angiw; and to all his nobles according to their desert. And by his liberality and love he bound them in unity. And then when he had settled those lands, the following spring Arthyr went back again to ynys Brydain. And in council he was advised to hold his court at kaer llion ar wysc, because that

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gantia [1] [a] etenim super oscam [2] fluuium [b] non longe a sabrino mari ameno situ locata.[c] pre ceteris ciuitatibus diuiciarum copiis habundans. tante sollempnitati [3] apta erat. Ex una namque [4] parte.[5] [d] predictum nobile flumen [6] iuxta eam fluebat per quod transmarini reges & principes qui uenturi erant nauigio aduehi poterant. Ex alia uero parte pratis atque [7] nemoribus uallata. regalibus prepollebant palatiis.[8] [e] ita [f] ut aureis tectorum fastigiis romam imitaretur. Duabus autem [g] imminebat [9] [h] ecclesiis. quarum una in honore iulii [10] [i] martiris [11] erecta uirgineo [j] deo [12] [k] dicatarum choro perpulcre [13] ornabatur. Alia quidem in [14] [l] beati aaron eiusdem socii nomine [m] fundata.[n] canonicorum conuentu subnixa. tercia [15] [o] metropolitanam sedem britannie [16] [p] habebat. Preterea [q] ginnasium ducentorum phỳlosophorum [17] habebat.[q] qui astronomia ceterisque [r] artibus [18] eruditi [r] cursus stellarum diligenter [s] obseruabant. & prodigia eo tempore [19] uentura regi arturo [t] ueris argumentis predicebant. Tot igitur deliciarum copiis [u] preclara [20] [v] disponitur. Missis deinde in diuersa [w] regna

Bern [1] *Glamorgantia.* [2] *Oscam.* [3] *sollennitati.* [4] *nanque.* [5] omit *parte.* [6] *flumen nobile.* [7] *&.* [8] *prepollebat palaciis.* [9] *eminebat.* [10] *Julii.* [11] *Martỳris.* [12] omit *deo.* [13] *perpulchre.* [14] insert *honore.* [15] *terciam.* [16] *britanniæ.* [17] *phỳlosoforum.* [18] *atque ceteris artibus.* [19] *eorum temporum.* [20] insert *festiuitati edicte.*

Harlech [a] *Glamorgancia.* [b] *flumen.* [c] *loca.* [d] *parte namque.* [e] *prepollebat palaciis.* [f] omit *ita.* [g] *enim.* [h] *eminebat.* [i] *Julii.* [j] *uirgines.* [k] omit *deo.* [l] insert *honore.* [m] omit *socii nomine.* [n] *fundatoris.* [o] *terciam.* [p] *Britannie.* [q] omit *Preterea . . . habebat.* [r] *eruditi & ceteris artibus.* [s] omit *diligenter.* [t] *Arturo.* [u] *corpus.* [v] *preclare;* insert *festiuitati edicte.* [w] *uniuersa.*

was the place most beautiful and wealthy, and most suitable for a king to keep a feast therein. For on one side of the city there is a great river so that ships from the ends of the world can approach it, and on the other side of the city are meadows fair, level, and dry, and around them are lovely high
f. 111 rec. hills, and nearby are fair, far-spreading forests, to hunt animals [in]. And within the town there were buildings of regal beauty, and on this account the city was likened to Ryfain. And also there were in the city two chief churches, and one of them was consecrated in the name of ssiliws the Martyr, and there was a convent of nuns; and another church was there to Aron the Martyr, and that was a monastery of canons. And here also was the third chief Archbishop-house in ynys Brydain, and there were also in the city two hundred schools of clerks in many kinds of learning, — and first

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legatis. inuitantur tam ex galliis [1 a] quam ex collateralibus insulis occeani qui ad curiam uenire deberent. Uenerunt ergo. Auguselus [2] rex [3] albanie que nunc scocia [b] dicitur Vrianus rex [3] murefensium. [4] Caduallo [5 c] laurh [6 d] rex [3] uenedotorum. qui nunc norgualenses [7 e] dicuntur. Stater [8] rex [3] demetarum [9 f] *f. 96 vo.* id est sudgualensium. [10 g] Cador rex cornubie. [11] Trium etiam [h] metropolitanarum [i] sedium. archipresules. [j] lundoniensis [12 k] uidelicet atque eboracensis. [13] nec non & [l] ex urbe legionum dubricius, [14] Hic britannie [m] primus & apostolice sedis legatus. tanta religione clarebat. ut quemlibet [15 n] languore grauatum orationibus [o] suis posset [16 p] sanare. [17 q] Uenerunt nobilium ciuitatum nobiles [18 r] consules. Morduid [19 s] consul claudiocestrie. [20] Mauron Wigornensis. [21] Anarauth [22 t] salesberiensis. [23 u] Artgualchar [24 v] guerensis. [25 w] que nunc warewic [x] appellatur. Jugein [26 y] ex

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[1] *Galliis.* [2] *Aguselus.* [3] *Rex.* [4] *Murefensium.* [5] *Caduanus.* [6] omit *laurh.* *Bern*
[7] *Nordgualenses.* [8] *Eddelin.* [9] *Demetarum.* [10] *Suthgualensium.* [11] *Cornubie.*
[12] *Londoniensis.* [13] *Eboracensis.* [14] *Dubricius.* [15] *quemquam.* [16] omit *posset.*
[17] *sanaret.* [18] omit *nobiles.* [19] *Moruid.* [20] *Claudiocestrie.* [21] *Guigornensis.*
[22] *Anaraut.* [23] *Salesberiensis.* [24] *Arthgal.* [25] *Cargueirensis.* [26] *Jugin.*

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[a] *gallia.* [b] *scotia.* [c] *CadWallo.* [d] *lauero.* [e] *NorWallenses.* [f] *demetorum.* *Harlech*
[g] *sudWallensium.* [h] *eciam.* [i] *metropolitanorum.* [j] *Archipresules.* [k] *Lundoniensis.*
[l] omit &. [m] *Brittannie.* [n] *quemque.* [o] *oracionibus.* [p] omit *posset.* [q] *sanaret.*
[r] omit *nobiles.* [s] *Moriud.* [t] *Aderat;* insert *consul.* [u] *salesbiriensis.* [v] *Arthal.*
[w] *carguerensis.* [x] *Warguic.* [y] *Iugemer.*

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of all in the seven arts. For the principal place in the island was Kaer llion ar Wysc. And there Arthyr decreed a feast marvellously great, and sent messengers to all the lands he had subdued to invite to it all the kings, chiefs, and laymen, so many that they could not be counted, to come to the feast at Kaer llion, and [he decreed] to give dignities to all as they deserved because of their rank and lineage. And so from Alban came Aron, son of Kynvarch, the king of Prydyn; and Yrien, son of Kynvarch, Lord of Reged; and [Ch]Kasswallawn Lawhir, lord of Gwynedd; and Meyric, King of Dyfed; and [Ch]Kattwr, Earl of Kerniw; and the three Archbishops of ynys Brydain, — and chief among them was the Archbishop of Kaer lliawn, for his was the *f. 111 vo.* rank of Legate, and a saintly man was he. And thither also came Morydd, Earl of Kaerloyw; and Mor, Earl of Kaer-rangon; and Anarawd, Lord of amwythic; and Madoc of kaer Wair; and Owain of kaer Vallawc, called also by another name, of ssalstbri; and Gwrssalen of kaer [G]Kynnvarch; and

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legecestria. Cursalem[a] ex Kaicestria.[b] Kynniarc[1 c] dux dorobernie.[2] Vrbgennius[3 d] ex badone.[4 e] Jonathal[f] dorocestrensis.[5 g] Boso. ridochemsis.[6 h] id est oxenefordie.[i] Preter predictos[j] consules.[k] uenerunt non minoris dignitatis heroes. Donaut.[k] Mappapo.[l] Cheneus.[m] Mapcoil.[n] Peredur.[7 o] Maperidur.[8 p] Grifud. Mapnogord.[9] Regin. Mapclaut.[10] Eddeliui.[11] Mapoledauc.[12 p] Kyncar.[13 q] Mabbangan.[14 r] Kynmaroc.[15 s] Gorbonian.[t] Masgoit.[u] Worloit.[16 v] Runmapneton.[17 w] Kymbelin.[18] Edelnauth.[19] Maptrunat. Cathleus. Mapkathel.[20] Kynlit.[21] Maptieton.[22 w] Plures alii quoque[23 x] quorum nomina longum est enumerare. Ex collateralibus[24] etiam[y] insulis. Gilmaurus.[25 z] rex[26] hybernie.[27] Maluasius[a'] rex[28] hislandie. Doldauius rex gudlandie.[28 b'] Gunuasius[c'] rex orcadum.[29] Loth rex[26] norguegie.[30 d'] Aschillus[e'] rex dacorum. Ex transmarinis quoque
f. 97 rec. partibus | holdinus[f'] dux rutenorum.[31 g'] Leodegarius hoilandie consul.[32 h'] Bedeuerus[33 i'] pincerna dux normannie.[34] Borellus[35 j']

Bern [1] *Kinmarc.* [2] insert *Galluc Guintoniensis.* [3] *Urgennius.* [4] *Badone.* [5] *dorecestrensis.* [6] *Ridocesis.* [7] *Pederur.* [8] *Maheridur.* [9] *Mapnogoid.* [10] *Mapclaud.* [11] *Eddelein.* [12] *Mapcledauc.* [13] *Kingar.* [14] *Mapbangan.* [15] *Kinmarc.* [16] *Clofaut.* [17] *Run. Mapneton.* [18] *Kinbelin.* [19] omit *Edelnauth.* [20] *Mapcatel.* [21] *Kinlith.* [22] *Mapnthon.* [23] *quoque alii.* [24] *collateribus.* [25] *Gillamuri.* [26] *Rex.* [27] *Hibernie.* [28] *Godlandie.* [29] *Orchadum.* [30] *Norguegie.* [31] *Rutenorum.* [32] *consul Bolonie.* [33] *Beduerus.* [34] *Normannie.* [35] *Borrellus.*

Harlech [a] *Cursale.* [b] *kaercestria.* [c] *Kyminare.* [d] *Urgenus.* [e] *Badone.* [f] *Ionathal.* [g] *dorchecestrensis.* [h] omit *Boso. ridochemsis.* [i] *oxinfordie.* [j] omit *predictos.* [k] *Venit.* [l] *Mappapus.* [m] *Cleneus.* [n] *Mappclaud.* [o] *Eddeler.* [p] *Mappedauc;* omit *Grifud ... Mapoledauc.* [q] *Kincar.* [r] *Mabbangar.* [s] *Kyminare.* [t] *Gorbonia.* [u] *Masgoid.* [v] *Clofland.* [w] *Rumapecon;* omit *Kymbelin ... Maptieton.* [x] *quoque alii.* [y] *eciam.* [z] *Gilla.* [a'] *Mausalius.* [b'] *Goudlandie.* [c'] *GunWali.* [d'] *NorWegie.* [e'] *Asclillus.* [f'] *Holdinus.* [g'] *Rutenorum.* [h'] *consul Bolonie.* [i'] *Beduerus.* [j'] *Berellus.*

Yrien of kaer [B]Vaddon; and Bosso, Earl of Rydychen. And with them many nobles whom it would be too tiresome to name. And from other islands* came Gilamwri, King of iwerddon; and another Gilamwri, King of Alawnt; and Doldaf, King of Yssgottlont; and Gwynnwas, King of Ork; llew son of Kynvarch, King of llychlyn; and Achel, King of *D*enmark. And from the islands* of ffraink came Oldynn, prince of Rwytton; and Bwttel, prince of Kenonia; Leodegar of [V]Bolwyn; and Bedwyr, prince of Norm*a*ndi; Kei, prince of Angyw; and Gwidard, prince of Paittio; and the twelve peers; and geraint of [G]Carwys in Yssbaen; and Howel, son of

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cenomanensis.[1] Gaius[2 a] dapifer. dux andegauensium. Guitardus pictauiensis.[3] Duodecim quoque pares galliarum.[4] quos gerinus[5 b] carnotensis[6 c] conducebat. Hoelus[7] dux[d] armoricanorum britonum.[8 e] cum proceribus sibi subditis. qui tanto[f] apparatu ornamentorum mularum & equorum incedebant. quantum difficile est scribere.[9 g] Preter hos. non remansit princeps alicuius[h] precii[i] citra[j] hyspaniam[10 k] quin ad istud edictum ueniret. Nec mirum. Largitas namque[11] arturi[12 l] per totum mundum diuulgata. cunctos in amorem ipsius illexerat.[13] Om- *IX. xiii*
nibus denique[14] in urbe congregatis. sollempnitate[15] instante archipresules ad palatium[16 m] ducuntur ut regem diademate regali coronent. Dubricius ergo quoniam in sua diocesi curia tenebatur. paratus ad celebrandum obsequium huius rei curam suscepit. Rege tandem insignito. ad[17] templum metropolitane sedis ordinate[n] conducitur. A dextro enim & a leuo latere[o] duo archipontifices[p] ipsum tenebant. Quatuor autem reges albanie[18] uidelicet atque cornubie.[19] demecie.[20 q] & uenedocie.[r] quorum ius id fuerat. or iiii.[21] aureos gladios ferentes ante illum preibant. Conuentus

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[1] *Cenomanensis.* [2] *Kaius.* [3] *Pictauiensis.* [4] *Galliarum.* [5] *Gerinus.* [6] *Karnotensis.* [7] insert *eciam.* [8] *Britonum.* [9] *describere.* [10] *hispaniam.* [11] *nanque.* [12] *Arturi.* [13] *allexerat.* [14] *igitur.* [15] *sollennitate.* [16] *palacium.* [17] *ad sedem templum.* [18] *Albaniæ.* [19] *Cornubiæ.* [20] *Demetiæ.* [21] *quatuor.* *Bern*

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[a] *Kayus.* [b] *Gerinus.* [c] *karnotensis.* [d] *rex.* [e] *Britonum.* [f] omit *tanto.* [g] *est difficile describere.* [h] *aliquis.* [i] omit *precii.* [j] *circa.* [k] *hispaniam.* [l] *Arturi.* [m] *palacium.* [n] *ornate.* [o] *latere leuo.* [p] *archipresules.* [q] *Demecie.* [r] *Venedocie.* *Harlech*

Emyr Llydaw; and many to tell of whom would be too long. In short, there never came to any festival so many noblemen and noblewomen, and fine horses, and hawks, and dogs, and precious jewels, golden vessels, and splendid garments of satin and purple, such as came there. For there was not a man this side of yssbaen, who wished to benefit, who did not come there to receive gifts innumerable of whatever kind each one wished. And *f. 112 rec.*
also many came there unbidden to look upon the feast. And when all had come, the three Archbishops were called to dress the king in royal robes, and to put the crown upon his head. And Dyfric sang the mass. And when they went into the Church, two Archbishops led Arthyr, in his kingly garments. And before him went four men bearing four naked swords, for

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quoque multimodorum ordinatorum.[1] miris modulationibus precinebat. Ex alia autem[a] parte reginam[2] suis insignibus laureatam archipresules[3] atque pontifices ad templum dicatarum[4]
f. 97 vo. puellarum conducebant. | Quatuor quoque[b] predictorum regum regine quatuor[c] albas columbas more preferebant. Mulieres omnes[d] que aderant cum[e] maximo illam sequebantur gaudio.[5] Postremo processione peracta.[6] *f* tot organa. tot cantus in utrisque fiunt templis. ita ut pre nimia dulcedine milites qui aderant nescirent quod templorum prius peterent. Cateruatim igitur[7] *g* nunc ad hoc. nunc ad illud[h] ruebant. nec si totus dies in[8] *i* celebratione[9] *j* expenderetur.[10] *k* tedium aliquod ipsis generaret. Diuinis tandem[l] obsequiis in utroque celbratis.[11] *m* rex & regina[12] diademata sua deponunt. assumptisque[n] leuioribus ornamentis. ipse ad suum[o] palatium[13] *p* cum uiris. illa[14] *q* ad aliud cum mulieribus epulatum incedunt. Antiquam namque[15] consuetudinem troie britones seruantes.[16] *r* consueuerant mares cum maribus.

Bern [1] *coronatorum.* [2] *Reginam.* [3] *archỳpresules.* [4] *dedicatarum.* [5] *illam cum maximo gaudio sequebantur.* [6] *peracta processione.* [7] *ergo.* [8] omit *in.* [9] *celebrationi.* [10] omit *expenderetur.* [11] *celebratis.* [12] *Rex & Regina.* [13] *palacium.* [14] *ipsa.* [15] *nanque.* [16] *seruantes britones.*

Harleck [a] omit *autem.* [b] *uero.* [c] *or iiii.* [d] *autem.* [e] *illam cum maximo gaudio sequebantur.* [f] *peracta processione.* [g] *ergo.* [h] *istud.* [i] omit *in.* [j] *celebracioni.* [k] *uacaret.* [l] *tantem.* [m] *celebratis.* [n] *assumptis.* [o] omit *suum.* [p] *palacium.* [q] *ipsa.* [r] *seruantes Britones.*

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that was the high dignity of an Emperor,—namely, Aron, son of Kynvarch, king of Alban; Casswallaon llawhir, king of Gwynedd; and Mayric, king of dyfed; and [Ch]Kattwr, Earl of Kerniw. And on each side of them the convent choirs sang, to organs, various hymns, the best and sweetest that ever music hymned. And from the other side the queen went to the Church in queenly adornments, and her crown on her head, and bishops and nuns with her; and the four wives of the four kings just now [mentioned], — each one of them with a white pigeon in her hand. And when she was within the church, the service was begun by the best clerks in the sweetest numbers that man ever sang. And then was seen much rushing from one church to
f. 112 vo. the other to listen to the wondrous songs. And so after the mass, they went to the palace, and laid aside their robes of dignity, and put on others, and went to the hall to eat. And in another part was [W]Gwenhwyfar and

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mulieres cum mulieribus festiuos dies separatim celebrare. Collocatis postmodum cunctis ut dignitas[1] singulorum expetebat. Kaius[2] [a] dapifer herminio [b] honoratus.[3] [c] mille uero nobilibus comitatus.[d] qui omnes herminio induti. fercula cum ipso ministrabant. Ex alia uero parte beduerum[4] [e] pincernam uario [f] totidem amicti uario[5] sequuntur.[6] [g] qui in ciphis[7] [h] diuersorum generum [i] multimoda pocula cum ipso [j] distribuebant.[k] In palatio[8] [l] quoque regine innumerabiles ministri diuersis ornamentis induti. obsequium suum prestabant. morem suum exercentes. Quem [m] si omnino describerem.[9] [n] nimiam prolixitatem hystorie[10] [o] generarem. Ad tantum etenim statum dignitatis britannia [p] tunc reducta [q] erat. | quod coma[11] [r] luxu ornamentorum. facecia *f. 98 rec.* incolarum. cetera regna excellebat. Quicumque[12] uero famosus probitate miles [s] in [t] eadem erat.[t] unius coloris uestibus atque armis utebatur. facete [u] etiam mulieres [v] consimilia indumenta habentes. nullius amorem habere dignabantur[:] nisi tercio in milicia probatus esset. Efficiebantur ergo caste. & meliores. &

[1] omit *ut dignitas.* [2] *Gaius.* [3] *ornatus.* [4] *Beduerum.* [5] omit *uario.* [6] *secuntur.* [7] *cyphis.* [8] *palacio.* [9] *describere pergerem.* [10] *historie.* [11] insert *diuiciarum.* [12] *Quicunque.* *Bern*

[a] *Kayus.* [b] *hermino.* [c] *ornatus.* [d] *commitatus.* [e] *Beduerum.* [f] omit *uario.* [g] *secuntur.* [h] *cyphis.* [i] *operum.* [j] omit *cum ipso.* [k] *distribuunt.* [l] *palacio.* [m] *Que.* [n] *describere;* insert *peragerem.* [o] *historie.* [p] *Britannia.* [q] *redacta.* [r] *copia;* insert *diuiciarum.* [s] omit *miles.* [t] *erat in eadem.* [u] omit *facete.* [v] *Mulieres eciam.* *Harlech*

her noble ladies with her, as was the custom of the Queen. And so when he had seated all according to rank, Kai arose, with a thousand men to serve from the kitchen, with a robe of yellow ermine about him, — and such wore each one of them; and then arose Bedwyr, Arthyr's chief butler, with a thousand men adorned with the like garments, to pass the yellow mead in innumerable gold and silver cups. And neither the multitude nor the adornment of the Queen's servitors was less than that of the servitors of the emperor Arthyr and his men. And so there was no realm that could compare with ynys Brydain in prosperity, manners, and customs. For one usage had all the men of Arthyr's court, and the wives of those men had but one use of custom and dress, nor would matron or maid accept as husband or as lover any but a well-proved, skilful warrior. Thus were the men more valorous, and more chaste the women. And after dinner, all went outside

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IX. xiv milites pro amore illarum [a] probiores. Refecti [1] tandem epulis.[2] diuersi diuersos ludos composituri. campos [b] extra ciuitatem adeunt. Mox milites simulachrum [c] prelii sciendo [d] equestrem ludum componunt. mulieres in edituo [3 e] murorum aspicientes. in furiales amoris [4 f] flammas [g] ioci [5] irritant.[6] Alii cum celtibus.[h] alii cum hasta. alii pondorosorum [7 i] lapidum ictu [8 j] alii [k] saxis.[9] alii cum aleis.[l] ceterorumque iocorum diuersitate contendentes. quod [10 m] restabat postposita lite [n] pretereunt. Quicumque [11] ergo uictoriam ludi sui adeptus erat. ab arturo largis muneribus donabatur.[12 o] Consumptis autem [13] primis in hunc modum diebus tribus [14] instante quarta. uocantur cuncti qui ei [p] propter honores obsequium prestabant.[15] & singuli [q] singulis possessionibus ciuitatibus uidelicet atque castellis. archiepiscopatibus.[r] episcopatibus.[16 s] ceterisque honoribus donantur.[t]

IX. xv Beatus igitur dubricius [17] in heremiticam [18 u] uitam hanelans.[19 v] sese ab [w] archiepiscopali sede deposuit. In cuius loco consecratur [20 x] dauid [21] auunculus regis. cuius [y] uita tocius bonitatis exemplum erat.[22 z] his [a'] quos doctrina imbuerat.[a'] In loco uero [23] sancti [b'] samsonis.[24] [c'] dolensis [25] [d'] archipresulis [e']

Bern [1] omit *Refecti;* insert *Ut.* [2] insert *peractis.* [3] *in edito.* [4] *amores.* [5] insert *more.* [6] insert *Alii cum ceslibus. alii cum celtibus.* etc. [7] *ponderosorum.* [8] *iactu.* [9] *alii cum scaccis.* [10] insert *dici.* [11] *Quicunque.* [12] *ditabatur.* [13] *ergo.* [14] *tribus diebus.* [15] *prerabant.* [16] insert *abbaciis;* the Cambridge MS. has *abbatiis* in the margin but in probably a later hand. [17] *Dubritius.* [18] *heremitam.* [19] *anhelans.* [20] *sacratur.* [21] *Dauid.* [22] *cuius uita exemplum totius bonitatis erat.* [23] omit *uero.* [24] *Sansonis.* [25] *dalensis.*

Harlech [a] *illarum amore.* [b] *campum.* [c] *simulacrum.* [d] *sicientes.* [e] *editu.* [f] *amores.* [g] insert *more.* [h] *seltibus.* [i] *ponderosorum.* [j] *iactu.* [k] insert *cum.* [l] *aliis.* [m] insert *dici.* [n] *luce.* [o] *ditabatur.* [p] omit *ei.* [q] *singulos.* [r] *Archiepiscopatibus.* [s] insert *Abbaciis.* [t] *ditabat.* [u] *heremeticam.* [v] *anhelans.* [w] omit *ab.* [x] *sacratur.* [y] *cuius uita exemplum tocius bonitatis erat.* [z] *hiis.* [a'] *imbuebat.* [b'] omit *sancti.* [c'] *sampsonis.* [d'] *dalensis.* [e'] *archiepiscopus.*

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f. 113 rec. the city to look on at various sports, chiefly at lance play, but there were no games lacking that could be imagined. From the battlements of the city the women watched this, each one showing which man she loved the most; and for this the men did the bravest deeds they could. And whoever was victorious in the sports received reward for his efforts, — and that at the cost of the emperor and his treasury. And when they had kept

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destinatur tebaus [1 a] illustris presbiter [b] laudauie. annitente [2 c] | hoelo rege armoricanorum britonum. [d] cui [e] uita & boni mores *f. 98 vo.* uirum commendauerant. [f] Episcopatus quoque [g] silcestrie. [3 h] maugannio. [4 i] & guintonie [5 j] diuuanio [6 k] decernitur. Dercernitur quoque pontificalis [l] alclud [7] eledenio. [8]

Dum hec inter eos distriburet [9 m] arturus. [10 n] ecce duodecim uiri mature etatis. reuerendi [o] uultus. ramos [p] oliue in signum legationis [q] dextris ferentes. [r] moderatis passibus [s] ingrediuntur. & [t] salutato rege. [t] litteras ei ex parte lucii [u] hiberii [11 v] in hec uerba optulerunt. [12] Lucius rei publice procurator arturo [13 w] regi britannie. [x] que [14 y] meruit. [z] Ad-

[1] *Teliaus.* [2] *annuente.* [3] *Silcestrie.* [4] *Maugannio.* [5] *Guintonie.* [6] *Duuiano.* [7] *infula* *Bern*
Alsclud. [8] *Eledemio.* [9] *distribueret.* [10] omit *arturus.* [11] *hiberi.* [12] *obtulerunt.*
[13] *Arturo.* [14] *quod.*

[a] *thebas.* [b] *presbiter illustris.* [c] *annuente.* [d] *Britonum.* [e] *cuius.* [f] *commenda-* *Harleck*
uerunt. [g] *uero.* [h] *scilecestrie.* [i] *maugeranio.* [j] *Wintonie.* [k] *duniano.* [l] insert *infula.*
[m] *distribueret.* [n] omit *arturus.* [o] *uerendi.* [p] *ramum.* [q] *legacionis;* insert *in.*
[r] insert second *ferentes.* [s] *palibus.* [t] omit & . . . *rege.* [u] *Julii.* [v] *hyberii.* [w] *Arturo.*
[x] *Brittannie.* [y] *quod.* [z] *promeruit.*

that festival three days and nights, on the fourth day behold it was seen that those who had served it were rewarded for their efforts. For to some of them were given cities, and to others castles, and to others Bishoprics, where any were vacant. And then Dyfric, Archbishop of Kaer llion, became a Hermit and gave up the Archbishopric because he saw how great had been the provision for that feast, and the multitude, and its ending in three days. And therefore he meditated that all things in this world come to an end, and then he sought eternal things, looking toward the kingdom of the land of heaven. And in his place Dewi, son of ssanck, was made Archbishop, for a man of a godly conversation was he, and the uncle of Arthyr. And instead of ssamsson, Archbishop of Kaer Efroc, was placed Tailo, bishop of llandaf. And this was at the prayer of Howel, son of Emyr *f. 113 vo.* Llydaw, for a holy man was [D]Tailo. And then when all things were finished, behold they saw twelve high placed nobles approaching, each one with an Olive branch in his hand, as sign that they were ambassadors. And then they courteously saluted Arthyr and greeted him from [L]Lles, the Emperor of Ryfain, and they put a letter into his hands with these words in it:

"Lles, Emperor of Ryfain, to Arthyr, king of the Bryttaniaid, sends greeting according to his deserving. For thy fierceness and folly, nay, thy

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mirans uehementer admiror super tue [a] tirannidis [1 b] proteruia. Admiror inquam. & iniuriam [c] quam rome [2] intulisti [d] recolligens. indignor quod extra te egressus. eam cognoscere diffugias. nec animaduertere festines quid sit iniustis actibus senatum offendisse. cui totum orbem famulatum debere non ignoras. Etenim tributum britannie [e] quod tibi senatus reddi [3 f] preceperat. quia gaius [g] iulius [4 h] ceterique romane [5] dignitatis [i] uiri illud multis temporibus habuerunt. [j] neglecto tanti ordinis imperio detinere presumpsisti. Eripuisti quoque illi [k] galliam. eripuisti allobrogum prouinciam. eripuisti omnes occeani insulas. quarum reges dum romana [6] potestas in illis partibus preualuit. uectigal ueteribus. meis reddiderunt. Quia ergo [l] de tantis iniuriarum tuarum [m] cumulis senatus rectitudinem habere [7 n]
f. 99 rec. decreuit | mediante augusto [8 o] proximi anni. terminum prefigens romam [9] tibi uenire precipio. [10 p] ut dominis tuis satisfaciens. sententie [q] quam eorum dictauerit [11 r] iusticia [s] adquiescas. Sin autem. [t] ego ipse partes tuas adibo. & quicquid [t] uesania tua rei publice eripuit. eidem mediantibus gladiis restituere conabor. Que ut in presentia [u] regum [v] & [w] consulum recitata [12] fuerunt. [x w]

Bern [1] *tyrannidis.* [2] *Rome.* [3] *reddere.* [4] *Gaius. Julius.* [5] *Romane.* [6] *Romana.* [7] *petere.* [8] *mediantem augustum.* [9] *Romam.* [10] *uenire tibi iubeo.* [11] *dictauit.* [12] *recitate.*

Harlech [a] *te.* [b] *tyrannidis.* [c] *iniurie.* [d] *contulisti.* [e] *Britannie.* [f] omit *reddi.* [g] *Gaius.* [h] *Julius.* [i] *dignitatis romane.* [j] *habuerant.* [k] omit *illi.* [l] *igitur.* [m] *suarum.* [n] *petere.* [o] *augustum mediantem.* [p] *iubeo.* [q] *sentencie.* [r] *dictauit.* [s] *iusticie.* [t] *quod.* [u] *presencia.* [v] *regis.* [w] *recitata. fuerunt & consulum.*

folly out of all reason, Arthyr, are amazing to me; thou hast insulted the empire of Ryfain and thou art too slow in giving Ryfain her due, although the kings of the whole world bow down to her except thyself. For thou art holding back the tribute due to Ryfain from ynys Brydain, the which ilkassar got, and other emperors after him. For all other islands pay tribute to Ryfain. But thou hast subjected ynys Brydain to thyself, destroying the prestige of the men of Ryfain. And on this account the senate of Ryfain hath adjudged thee to come by next August to Ryfain, to suffer
f. 114 rec. the judgment that may be passed upon thee. And to summon thee there did we come, and if thou come not at the set time, then be it known to thee that they will come here to seek redress from thee for thy insults to Ryfain, as the sword shall judge between thee and her." And when Arthyr grasped

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secessit arturus[a] cum eis in turrim giganteam.[1 b] que[2] in[c] introitu[d] tractaturus que contra talia mandata disponi deberent. At dum gradus ascendere incepissent.[f] cador[3] dux cornubie[4] ut erat leti animi. in hunc sermonem cum risu coram rege solutus est. Hucusque in timore fueram ne britones[e] longa pace[f] quietos ocium quod ducunt ignauos faceret. famamque milicie qua[5] ceteris gentibus clariores censentur. in eis omnino[6] deleret. Quippe[g] ubi usus armorum uidetur abesse.[7] alee[h] autem[8 i] & mulierum inflammationes. ceteraque oblectamenta adesse dubitandum[i] non est etiam[9 k] id quod erat uirtutis. quod honoris. quod audacie. quod fame. ignauia[l] commaculari.[10 m] Fere namque[11] iam[12 n] transacti sunt .v.[o] anni ex quo predictis[p] deliciis dediti. exercicio[13] martis caruimus. Deus igitur ut[q] nos de hac[14 q] liberaret[15 r] segnicia romanos in hunc affectum induxit. ut in[16] pristinum statum nostram probitatem reduceret.[e] Hec & his[t] similia illo[17] cum ceteris dicente. uenerunt tandem ad sedilia. ubi collocatis singulis.[f] arturus[18 u] in hunc modum affatus est | Consocii[v] inquid[19] prosperitatis & aduersitatis. *f. 99 vo. IX. xvi*
quorum probitates actenus[20 w] & [x] in dandis.[21 y] & in miliciis agendis expertus sum. adibite[22 z] nunc unanimiter sensus uestros &

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[1] *giganteam turrim.* [2] *quam.* [3] *Cador.* [4] *Cornubie.* [5] *que.* [6] *omnimodo.* *Bern*
[7] insert &. [8] &. [9] *ne.* [10] *commaculet.* [11] *nanque.* [12] omit *iam.* [13] *exercitio.*
[14] omit *de hac.* [15] *deliberaret.* [16] omit *in.* [17] omit *illo.* [18] insert *illos.* [19] *inquit.*
[20] *hactenus.* [21] insert *consiliis.* [22] *adhibete.*

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[a] *Arturus.* [b] *gyganteam turrim.* [c] omit *in.* [d] insert *erat.* [e] *Britones.* [f] *pace* *Harlech*
longa. [g] *Qui;* insert *prope.* [h] *alie.* [i] *uero.* [j] insert *inde.* [k] *ne.* [l] *ignauie.*
[m] *commendaret.* [n] omit *iam.* [o] *quinque.* [p] *predicti.* [q] omit *de hac.* [r] insert *a.*
[s] *reduceremus.* [t] *hiis.* [u] *Arturus;* insert *illos.* [v] insert *mei.* [w] *hactenus.* [x] omit &.
[y] insert *consiliis.* [z] *adhibete.*

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the meaning of the letter, he went into council as to giving answer to the men of Ryfain. Then first of all Kattwr, Earl of Kerniw, made answer to Arthyr.

"Lord King," said he, "I fear that worthlessness and idleness have got the better of us b[r]yttaniait; for so long have we been idle, giving ourselves up to feasting and chattering with women — and that now for five years — and this has robbed us of our valour and our capacity; so that we ought to thank the men of Ryfain for awakening us." And then said Arthyr, "Ha, nobles," said he, "my Fellow-warriors, you have always before this given me good and fruitful counsels, and this hour I am in need of them.

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sapienter preuidete [a] que super talibus mandatis nobis agenda [1] esse noueritis. Quicquid enim a [b] sapiente [2] diligenter preuidetur cum ad actum [c] accedit.[3] [d] Facilius ergo inquietationem [e] lucii [f] tolerare poterimus.[f] si communi studio premeditati fuerimus quibus modis eam [4] [g] contra resistere debeamus.[4] [h] Quam [i] non multum nobis timendam [j] esse existimo.[k] cum irrationabili [l] causa exigat tributum [m] quod ex britannia [n] habere desiderat. Dicit enim ipsum sibi dari debere. quia iulio cesari [5] ceterisque [o] successoribus suis redditum fuerit.[p] qui discidio [q] ueterum nostrorum inuitati cum armata manu applicuerunt. atque patriam domesticis motibus [r] uacillantem sue potestati [6] ui & uiolentia [s] submiserunt.[7] Quia igitur eam hoc modo adepti fuerunt.[t] uectigal ex illa [t] iniuste ceperunt. Nichil enim quod ui & uiolentia [s] adquiritur.[t] iuste ab ullo possidetur. Quia [8] [u] igitur [9] [v] uiolentiam intulit.[t] [w] irracionabilem [10] causam pretendit. qua nos iure sibi [x] tributarios [y] esse arbitratur. Et quia [11] [z] id quod iniustum est a nobis presumpsit exigere nos [12] [a'] consimili ratione [b'] petamus ab illo tributum rome.[13] & qui fortior [c'] superuenerit.[t] ferat quod habere exoptauit. Nam si ideo [14] [d'] quia iulius [15] [e'] cesar ceterique romani [16] reges [f'] britanniam [17] [g'] olim [h'] subiugauerunt. uectigal nunc debere [i'] sibi ex illa reddi [i'] decernit similiter ego censeo quod

Bern [1] *agendum.* [2] *sapientia.* [3] insert *Facilius toleratur.* [4] *eam debilitare institerimus.* [5] *Juliocesari.* [6] *potestati sue.* [7] *summiserunt.* [8] *Qui.* [9] omit *igitur.* [10] *irrationabilem;* insert *ergo.* [11] *Quoniam autem.* [12] omit *nos.* [13] *Rome.* [14] omit *ideo.* [15] *Julius.* [16] *Romani.* [17] *Britanniam.*

Harlech [a] *uidete.* [b] omit *a.* [c] *aditum.* [d] insert *facilius toleratur.* [e] *inquietatem.* [f] *luci ii.* [g] *eum.* [h] *debilitare institerimus.* [i] *Quem.* [j] *timendum.* [k] *estimo esse.* [l] *irracionabili.* [m] *tributum exigat.* [n] *Britannia.* [o] insert *ante.* [p] *fuit.* [q] *discidium.* [r] omit *motibus.* [s] *uiolencia.* [t] *ea.* [u] *Qui.* [v] omit *igitur.* [w] *uiolenciam intuleri.* [x] insert *iure.* [y] *tributorios.* [z] *Quoniam autem.* [a'] omit *nos.* [b'] *racione.* [c'] *forcior.* [d'] omit *ideo.* [e'] *Julius.* [f'] *reges romani.* [g'] *Britanniam.* [h'] *sibi.* [i'] *sibi debere reddi ex illa.*

Let each one of us therefore, do powerful thinking. And if our decision be good, we shall triumph over the men of Ryfain. For though they got tribute from this island for coming with their armies to defend us against
f. 114 vo. the alien nations, at this hour they profit us nothing. And so since they ask us for something we do not owe them, we will ask of them what they do owe us, and let the strongest of us take tribute from the other. For our

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roma [1 a] tibi [2 b] tributum dare [3] debet. [4] | quia antecessores mei *f. 100 rec.*
eam [c] antiquitus optinuerunt. [5] Belli [6 d] etenim serenissimus
ille [e] rex britonum [7 f] auxilio fratris sui usus. brenni [8 g] uidelicet
ducis allobrogum [9] suspensis in medio foro .xx. [ti] ex [10 i] nobilioribus
romanis. [11] urbem cepit. [12 j] captamque multis temporibus
possedit. [13 k] Constantinus etiam [l] helene filius. [m] nec non & [14]
maximianus [15] uterque mihi [n] cognatione propinquus. [16] alter
post alterum diademate britannie [o] insignitus thronum romani [1]
imperii adeptus est. Censetis ne ergo [p] uectigal ex romanis [11] [q]
petendum? De gallia autem siue [17] de [r] collateralibus [18] insulis
occeani [s] non est respondendum. cum illas defendere diffugeret. [t]
quando easdem potestati eorum subtrahebamus. Hæc [19 u] &
his [v] similia eo [20] dicente. [21] hoelus rex armoricanorum britonum [f]
ceteros [w] precedere iussus. in hec uerba respondit.

Licet unusquisque nostrum totus in se reuersus omnia & de *IX. xvii*
omnibus [22] animo retractare [x] ualeret. non existimo [y] aliquem [23 z] prestantius [a'] consilium posse inuenire quam
istud quod modo discretio [b'] sollertis [c'] prouidentie [d'] tue redoluit. [e'] Prouide [f'] etenim prouidit nobis tua deliberatio [g'] tulliano

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[1] *Romani.* [2] omit *tibi.* [3] *dare dare.* [4] *debent.* [5] *obtinuerunt.* [6] *Belinus.* *Bern*
[7] *Britonum.* [8] *Brennii.* [9] *allogobrum.* [10] omit *ex.* [11] *Romanis.* [12] *ceperunt.*
[13] *possederunt.* [14] omit &. [15] *Maximianus.* [16] *propinqus.* [17] &. [18] *collateribus.*
[19] *Hec.* [20] omit *eo.* [21] insert *arturo.* [22] insert *omni.* [23] *eum.*

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[a] omit *roma.* [b] *mihi.* [c] *iam.* [d] *Belinus.* [e] *ille serenissimus.* [f] *Britonum.* *Harleck*
[g] *Brennii.* [h] *uiginti quatuor.* [i] omit *ex.* [j] *ceperunt.* [k] *possederunt.* [l] *etenim.*
[m] *filius helene.* [n] omit *mihi.* [o] *Britannie.* [p] omit *ergo.* [q] *ex romanis uectigal.*
[r] omit *siue de.* [s] omit *occeani.* [t] *diffugeret defendere.* [u] *Hec.* [v] *hiis.* [w] *ceterosque.*
[x] *tractare.* [y] *estimo.* [z] *eum.* [a'] *prestancius.* [b'] *discrecio.* [c'] *solertis.* [d'] *prouidencie.* [e'] *edocuit.* [f'] *Proinde.* [g'] *deliberacio.*

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ancestors conquered them, namely, Beli and Bran, the sons of Dyfnwal Moel Myd, for they brought twenty nobles of Ryfain as hostages from there to ynys Brydain. And after that were [G]Kastenin, the son of Elen, and Maxen Wledic, nobles of ynys Brydain, — and they conquered even unto Ryfain, and Ryfain also, and were emperors, one after the other. For this reason let us give no answer to them, save to demand our right from them." And then said Howel, son of Emyr llydaw, "Between myself and god, if each of us were to speak his mind one after another, there would be nothing said as

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liquore lita.[a] Unde[b] constantis uiri affectum. sapientis animi[c] effectum. optimi consilii profectum. laudare indesinenter[d] debemus. Nam si iuxta predictam rationem[e] romam[1][f] adire uolueris.[f][g] non dubito quin triumpho potiamur.[2] dum libertatem nostram tueamur. dum[h] iuste ab inimicis nostris exigamus. quod a nobis[3] petere inceperunt.[h] Quicumque[4] etenim[5][i] sua alteri eripere conatur.[i] merito que sua[6] sunt per eum
f. 100 vo. quem impetit amittit. Quia ergo romani[7] | nobis nostra demere affectant. sua illis procul dubio auferemus. si licentia[k] nobis congrediendi prestabitur. En congressus cunctis britonibus[l] desiderandus. En uaticinia sibille[8] que ueri̇sibus[9][m] testantur ex britannico[n] genere tercio nasciturum. qui romanum[10] obtinebit[o] imperium. De duobus autem adimpleta[p] sunt[11] oracula. cum manifestum[12] sit preclaros ut dixisti[q] principes. belli[13][r] atque[14] costantinum[15] imperii romani[7] gessisse insignia. Nunc uero te tercium habemus.[f] cui tanti[16][s] culmen honoris promittitur.[t] Festina ergo recipere.[f] quod[u] deus uult[17] largiri.[u] festina subiugare.[f] quod ultro uult subiugari. Festina nos[v] omnes exaltare. qui ut exalteris.[f] nec uulnera recipere. nec uitam amittere diffugiemus.[18] Ut autem hoc perficias.[f] x. milibus armatorum presentiam tuam[w] comitabor.

Bern [1] *Romam.* [2] *pociamur.* [3] insert *iniuste.* [4] *Quicunque.* [5] *enim.* [6] omit *sua.* [7] *Romani.* [8] *Sibille.* [9] *ueris.* [10] *Romanum.* [11] insert *opsius.* [12] *manifeste.* [13] *Belinum.* [14] *&.* [15] *Constantinum.* [16] *tantum.* [17] *non differt.* [18] *diffugiam.*

Harlech [a] *littera.* [b] blank left for *Unde* not filled by rubricator. [c] *uiri.* [d] insert *laudare.* [e] *racionem.* [f] omit *romam.* [g] *uolueritis.* [h] omit *dum . . . inceperunt.* [i] *enim.* [i] *conatur eripere.* [k] *licencia.* [l] *Britonibus.* [m] *uera.* [n] *Britannico.* [o] *optinebit.* [p] *impleta.* [q] omit *dixisti.* [r] *Beli.* [s] omit *tanti.* [t] *permittitur.* [u] *quod non differt deus largiri.* [v] *Festi- uos.* [w] *in presencia tua.*

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well as what the Emperor himself has said concerning this. Therefore, Lord, let us go forth to defend the kingdom's dignity, for since the men of Ryfain have begun by asking unrightful things, it belongs to you, Lord, to
f. 115 rec. demand rightful things of them. For the wise ssibli prophesied that there would be three emperors from [s]kymry in Ryfain. There have been two already, and thou shalt be the third. And, therefore, let us hasten there, for of one mind with thee are all thy men, and I myself will give thee in support ten thousand armed horsemen." And then said Aron, son of

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Auguselus etiam[a] rex albanie ut hoelus[1] dicendi finem[2 b] fecerat quod super hac[c] re affectabat. in hunc modum manifestare perrexit. Ex quo dominum meum ea que dixit affectare conieci. tanta leticia animo meo[3] illapsa est quantam nequeo in presentiarum[4 d] exprimere. Nichil enim in transactis debellationibus[e] quas tot & tantis regibus intulimus egisse uidemur. dum romani[5] & germani[6] illesi permaneant. nec in illos clades quas olim nostratibus[f] ingesserunt uiriliter[g] uindicamus.[7 h] At nunc[i] quoniam nobis licentia[j] congrediendi[8] promittitur[k] gaudens admodum gaudeo. & desiderio[l] diei[m] quo conueniemus exestuans. sicio[n] cruorem illorum quemadmodum | fontem.[f] si triduo prohiberer ne biberem. O si illam lucem uidebo? *IX. xviii* *f. 101 rec.*
Quam dulcia[9] erunt uulnera que uel recipiam uel inferam. quando dextras conseremus. Illa[10 o] etiam[a] mors dulcis erit. dum eam in uindicando patres nostros. in tuendo libertatem nostram. in[p] exaltando regem nostrum perpessus fuero.[11] Aggrediamur[12 q] semiuiros illos. & aggrediendo[13] perstemus.[r] ut deuictis ipsis. eorum honoribus cum leta potiamur[14 s] uictoria. Exercitum autem nostrum duobus milibus armatorum militum exceptis peditibus augebo. Postquam autem[15] ceteri ad hec[16] quod[17 t] dicendum[u] *IX. xix*
erat[18 v] dixerunt. promiserunt singuli ei[19 w] quot[x] in obsequium

[1] *Hoelus.* [2] *finem dicendi.* [3] omit *meo.* [4] *presentia.* [5] *Romani.* [6] *Germani.* *Bern*
[7] *uindicemus.* [8] *agrediendi.* [9] *dultia.* [10] *Ipsa.* [11] *fuerero.* [12] *Agrediamur;* insert *igitur.*
[13] *agrediendo.* [14] *pociamur.* [15] *etiam.* [16] *hoc.* [17] *que.* [18] *dicenda erant.* [19] *ei singuli.*

[a] *eciam.* [b] *finem dicendi.* [c] omit *hac.* [d] *presenciarum.* [e] *transsactis debellacionibus.* *Harlech*
[f] omit *nostratibus.* [g] omit *uiriliter.* [h] *uindicemus.* [i] omit *nunc.* [j] *licencia.*
[k] *permittitur.* [l] *desidero.* [m] *diem;* insert *uidere.* [n] *scicio.* [o] *ipsa.* [p] *siue.*
[q] insert *igitur.* [r] *prosternemus.* [s] *pociamur.* [t] *que.* [u] *dicenda.* [v] *erant.* [w] *ei singuli.*
[x] *quod.*

Kynvarch, "My Lord, between myself and god, I cannot say how great is my delight with what you have said concerning Ryfain. And therefore we are happy to take blows from the men of Ryfain in exchange for those that we shall deal to them, to avenge our grandfathers and more ancient ancestors. And to maintain thy dignity, Lord King, I will give thee to go there two thousand armed horsemen, and footmen also." And when all had finished speaking and telling how many soldiers each one would give to go to Ryfain, Arthyr thanked all of them one after another for their gifts. And then was

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suum[a] debebant. ita ut preter eos quos promiserat dux[b] armorie[c] ex sola insula britannie[1 c] .lx. milia hominum[2 d] armatorum[e] computarentur. At reges ceterarum insularum quoniam[f] non duxerant in morem[g] milites[h] habere[i] pedites.[j] quot[3] quisque debebat promittunt.[k] ita ut ex .vi.[l] insulis uidelicet hybernie.[4 m] yslandie.[5 n] guthlandie.[6 o] orchadum.[7 p] norguegie.[q] atque dacie.[8 r] sexies[s] .xx. milia essent annumerata.[9] Ex gallie[10 t] autem ducatibus rutenorum.[11 u] portiuensium.[12 v] estruensium.[13 w] cenomannorum.[14 x] andegauensium.[y] pictauensium[15 z] .lxxx. milia. Ex duodecim[16] autem[a'] consulatibus illorum[b'] qui[c'] cum gerino[d'] carnotensi[17 e'] aderant. duodecies centum.[18 f'] Hec[g'] est igitur summa tocius exercitus .c. octoginta milia. & tria milia & ccc.[18 g'] preter pedites. qui sub numero non leuiter[h'] cadebant.

Bern [1] *Britannie.* [2] *omnibus armis.* [3] *quos.* [4] *hibernie.* [5] *Hislandie.* [6] *Godlandie.* [7] *Orchadum.* [8] *Dacie.* [9] *adnumerata.* [10] *Gallicarum.* [11] *Ruthenorum.* [12] *portuensium.* [13] omit *estruensium.* [14] omit *cenomannorum.* [15] *Pictauensium.* [16] *xii.* [17] *Gerino Carnotensi.* [18] *Quod inter totum fuit centum octoginta milia. & tria milia. &. cc.*

Harlech [a] omit *suum.* [b] *rex.* [c] *Brittannie.* [d] *omnibus.* [e] insert *armis.* [f] omit *quoniam.* [g] *mortem.* [h] *mulieres.* [i] *Hec.* [j] *repedites.* [k] *promittitur.* [l] *sex.* [m] *Hybernie.* [n] *Hislandie.* [o] *Godlandie.* [p] *Orcadum.* [q] *NorWegie.* [r] *Dacie;* insert *ut.* [s] *sex.* [t] *galliarum.* [u] *Rutenorum.* [v] *Portuensium.* [w] *Estrusiencium.* [x] *Cenomannorum.* [y] *Andegauensium.* [z] *Pictamensium.* [a'] omit *autem.* [b'] *eorum.* [c'] omit *qui.* [d'] *Gerino.* [e'] *carnotenensi.* [f'] *milia. & cc.* [g'] instead of *Hec . . . ccc.*, insert *quod inter totum fuit .c. lxxx. milia. & iii. milia. & cc.* [h'] *leuiter non.*

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f. 115 vo. accounted to Arthyr the greatness of the number given to him, as follows. He got from ynys Brydain, aside from those given him by Howel, sixty thousand armed horsemen well proved in battle, and footmen beyond all number. It was counted that he would get from the six islands,* of foot folk one hundred and twenty thousand. And the names of those islands were Iwerddon, isslont, Yssgotlont, Ork, llychlyn, Dennmark. And from all of ffraink he got eighty thousand armed horsemen. And with the twelve Peers and Geraint of Kaerwys, came one thousand two hundred armed men. The whole number that was promised was about ninety-two thousand two hundred horsemen, and no one knew the number of the footmen. And so, after Arthyr had seen the willingness of all, he sent his messengers home to prepare for August. And he told that to the envoys of the men of Ryfain,
f. 116 rec. and not that he would pay them tribute. And then the envoys went away. And when LLles, the Emperor of Ryfain, heard this, he went into council, he and the senate of Ryfain. And their decision was to send to the

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Rex igitur arturus [1 a] recepit [2 b] omnes in obsequium suum unanimiter | paratos.[c] precepitque [3 d] eis celeriter repatriare. & exercitum promissum disponere. & in kalendis augusti ad [4] portum barbe [5 e] fluuii festinare. ut illinc allobrogum [6] fines cum ipso adituri. romanis [7] in obuiam uenirent. Imperatoribus autem per eorundem [f] legatos mandauit se nequaquam eis redditurum tributum. nec ob id ut sententie [g] eorum adquiesceret romam [8] aditurum.[f] immo ut ex illis appeteret quod ab illo iudicio suo [h] appetere decreuerunt.[9 i] Digrediuntur ergo [j] legati. digrediuntur reges. digrediuntur proceres. & quod eis preceptum fuerat [k] perficere non differunt. *IX. xx* *f. 101 vo.*

Lucius igitur hẏberus [10 l] agnita [m] sentencia [11 n] huius responsi.[o] iussu [p] senatus orienţatalibus indixit [12 q] regibus ut parato exercitu secum ad subiugandum britanniam [13 r] uenirent. [s] Conuenerunt ocius Epistrofus [14 t] rex grecorum.[15] Mustensar rex astricorum.[16 u] Aliphatima rex hẏspanie.[17] Hirtacius [v] rex parthorum.[18 w] Boccus [19 x] medorum. Sertorius [20 y] libie. Serses rex itureorum.[21] Pandrasus rex egẏpti.[22 z] Miecipsa [23 a'] rex babilonie.[24] Politetes dux [25] bithinie.[26 b'] Teuther [27 c'] dux frigie.[28] Euander [d'] sirie.[29 e'] Echion [f'] boecie.[f'] Ẏpolitus crete [30] cum ducibus & proceribus sibi subditis. Ex senatorio quoque *x. i*

[1] *Arturus.* [2] *exceptus.* [3] *precepit.* [4] omit *ad.* [5] *Barbe.* [6] *Allobrogum.* *Bern*
[7] *Romanis.* [8] *Romam.* [9] *decreuerat.* [10] *Hiberius.* [11] *sententia.* [12] *edixit.* [13] *Britanniam.* [14] *Epistrophus.* [15] *Grecorum.* [16] *affricanorum.* [17] *hispanie.* [18] *Parthorum.* [19] *Bolcus;* insert *rex.* [20] insert *rex.* [21] *Itureorum.* [22] *egipti.* [23] *Misipsa.* [24] *Babilonie.* [25] *rex.* [26] *Bitinie.* [27] *Tencer.* [28] *phrigie.* [29] *Sẏrie.* [30] *Crete.*

[a] *Arturus.* [b] *acceptus.* [c] *paratos unanimiter.* [d] *precepit.* [e] *Barbe.* [f] *eosdem.* *Harlech*
[g] *sentencie.* [h] omit *suo.* [i] *decreuerant.* [j] omit *ergo.* [k] *erat.* [l] *hẏberius.* [m] *agnito.*
[n] omit *sentencia.* [o] insert *edicto.* [p] *iussit.* [q] *edicere.* [r] *Britanniam.* [s] omit *uenirent.*
[t] *Epistrophus.* [u] *affricanorum.* [v] *Hircatius.* [w] *parcorum.* [x] insert *rex.* [y] *egipti.*
[z] *Micippa.* [a'] *Bithinie.* [b'] *Teuser.* [c'] *EWander;* insert *dux.* [d'] *sẏrie.* [e'] *Elhẏon;* insert *dux.* [f'] *Boecie.*

Kings of the east to ask for aid from them against Arthyr. The number of the war men that lles, Emperor of Ryfain, got was a hundred and forty and four hundred thousand of thousands. And when they had finished preparing everything, toward August they set out towards ynys Brydain. And when Arthyr heard it, he marshalled his army, and commended to

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ordine.[f 1 a] Marius [b] lepidus [c] Gaius [d] metellus.[2 e] Cocta.[f] Quintus milisus.[3 g] Catullus.[4] Quintus [g] carucius.[5 h] tot etiam [i] alii quot [j] inter totum quadringenta [k] milia. & .lx & .c.[k] computati fue-
x. ii runt.[6] Dispositis itaque quibusque necessariis. incipientibus kalendis augusti iter uersus britanniam[7 l] arripiunt.[m] Comperto
f. 102 rec. igitur[8] aduentu ipsorum arturus[9 n] modredo[10 o] | nepoti suo atque ganhumere[11 p] regine britanniam[7 l] ad conseruandum[12] permittens. cum exercitu suo portum hamonis adiuit. ubi tempestiuo uentorum afflatu mare ingressus est. Dum autem innumeris nauibus circumseptus prospero cursu & cum gaudio altum mare[13] secaret. quasi media hora noctis instante grauissimus somnus [q] eum intercepit. Sopitus itaque[14 i] per somnum [r] uidit ursum quendam [s] in aere uolantem.[t] cuius murmure tota litora [u] intremebant.[v] Terribilem quoque draconem ab occidente[15] aduolare. qui splendore oculorum suorum patriam illuminabat. Alterum uero alteri occurrentem. miram pugnam committere. &[16 w] prefatum draconem ursum sepius irruentem.[x] ignito anelitu[17 z] comburere. combustumque in terram [y] prosternere.

Bern [1] insert *Lucius catellus.* [2] *Metellus.* [3] *Miluius.* [4] *Catulus.* [5] *Carucius.* [6] *sunt.* [7] *Britanniam.* [8] *itaque.* [9] *Arturus.* [10] *Modreno.* [11] *Guenhumare.* [12] *considerandum.* [13] omit *mare.* [14] *etiam.* [15] *occidenti.* [16] *Sel.* [17] *anhelitu.*

Harlech [a] insert *lucius Castellus.* [b] *Mauricius.* [c] *Lepidus.* [d] *Gayus.* [e] *Metellus.* [f] *Costa.* [g] omit *milisus . . . Quintus.* [h] *Carucius.* [i] *eciam.* [j] *quod.* [k] *xl. milia. & l. x. & c.* [l] *Brittanniam.* [m] *arripuit.* [n] *Arturus.* [o] *Modredo.* [p] *Guanuare.* [q] *sompnus.* [r] *sompnium.* [s] omit *quendam.* [t] *uolantem in aere.* [u] *littora.* [v] *infremebant.* [w] *Sel.* [x] *anhelitu.* [y] *terra.*

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[v]Medrod, his nephew, son of his sister, the governance of his kingdom and also Gwenhwyfar [to hold] well and carefully until he should come home. And then Arthyr and his hosts went to the port of Northhamtwn; and when he got a fair wind he sailed for ffraink. And when he had reached the middle of the ocean, a sleep as of the dead held him much of the night, and he saw a dream. He saw flying from the south a sort of monster, with a
f. 116 vo. terrible voice, alighting on the shore of ffraink; and he saw a dragon coming from the west, and by the glare of its eyes the sea was lighted up. And he saw the dragon and the Bear [*Arth*] engaging; and when they had fought for a long time, he saw the dragon spitting out gleaming flames of fire upon the Bear, and burning him up completely. And perplexing was the dream

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Expergefactus ergo[a] arturus.[f][b] astantibus quod somniauerat[c] indicauit. Qui[d] exponentes dicebant draconem significare eum. ursum uero aliquem gigantem.[e] cum[f] quo[1] ipse congressurus erat.[2][f] Pugnam autem eorum portendere bellum quod inter ipsos futurum erat. Uictoriam uero draconis. illam que[3] ei proueniret.[g] At arturus[h] aliud coniectabat. existimans ob se & imperatorem talem uisionem contigisse Rubente tandem post cursum noctis aurora.[f] in portu barbe fluuii applicuerunt. Mox tentoria sua[h] figentes. expectauerunt ibidem insulanos reges & comprouintiarum[4][i] duces uenturos. Interea nuntiatur[5][j] ar- *x. iii*
turo[k] quendam mire magnitudinis gigantem[l] ex partibus hispaniarum[m] aduenisse. & helenam[6] neptim[n] ducis hoeli[7] custodibus eiusdem[o] | eripuisse. & in cacumine montis qui nunc michaelis[p] *f. 102 vo.*
dicitur cum illa diffugisse.[q] milites autem patrie insecutos nichil aduersus eum proficere. Nam siue mari siue terra illum inuadebant[8] aut naues eorum ingentibus saxis obruebat. aut[r] diuersorum generum telis eos[9][s] perimebat.[10][t] Set &[11][u] plures capiebat quos deuorabat semiuiuos.[v] Nocte igitur[12] sequenti in secunda hora assumpto kaio[w] dapifero & bedeuero[13][x] pincerna. clam ceteris tentoria egressus.[14] uiam uersus montem arripuit. Tanta namque[15] uirtute preualendo negligebat contra talia

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[1] *qui cum.* [2] *ipso congrediretur.* [3] *quæ.* [4] *comprouincialium prouinciarum.* *Bern*
[5] *nunciatur.* [6] *Helenam.* [7] *Hoeli.* [8] insert *illum.* [9] omit *eos.* [10] *interimebat.*
[11] omit &. [12] *ergo.* [13] *Beduero.* [14] insert *in.* [15] *nanque.*

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[a] omit *ergo.* [b] *Arturus.* [c] *sompniauerat.* [d] *Quod.* [e] *gygantem.* [f] *qui* *Harlech*
cum eo congrederatur. [g] *eueniret.* [h] omit *sua.* [i] *comprouincialium prouinciarum.*
[j] *nunciatur.* [k] *Arturo.* [l] *gygantem.* [m] *hyspaniarum.* [n] *nepotem.* [o] omit
eiusdem. [p] *michael.* [q] *fugisse.* [r] *aut.* [s] omit *eos.* [t] *interimebat.* [u] omit &.
[v] *semiuiuos deuorabat.* [w] *Kayo.* [x] *BedeWero.*

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to Arthyr. And then he awoke and told his comrades of the vision; and thus did they make interpretation: "Thou, Lord, shalt fight some monster of a giant and conquer him, for the dragon signifies thyself." But Arthyr put no trust in this, for he believed that it should be between the emperor and himself. And by the next day, Arthyr and his Fleet were in the port of Barilio in normandi. And there he waited for all the men from the other islands that had promised him support. And then it was told to Arthyr

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monstra exercitum ducere. cum &[a] suos hoc modo inanimaret. ut[1] solus ad illa[b] destruenda sufficeret. Ut igitur prope montem uenerunt. aspexerunt quendam rogum super eum ardere. alium[2] uero super minorem montem.[c] ad quem iussus a rege bedeuerus pincerna nauigauit.[2] quem aliter adire nequibat.[3] quoniam infra mare situs fuerat.[c] Cuius dum cacumen incepisset[4] ascendere. audito desuper ululatu femineo.[5 d] primo inhorruit. quia dubitabat monstrum[e] illud adesse. Reuocata ocius audatia[6 f] gladium euaginauit. & ascenso cacumine[7 g] nichil aliud reperiit[8 h] preter rogum. quem prospexerat. Inspexit quoque ibi[9 i] tumulum recenter factum. & iuxta eum anum quandam[10 j] flentem. & eiulantem.[k] Que ut eum aspexit.[l] confestim fletu impediente in hunc modum loqui exorsa[11 l] est. O infelix homo quod infortunium te in hunc locum subuectat? O inenarrabiles penas mortis[12] passure. Misereor[m] super te.[13 m] quia tam detestabile
f. 103 rec. monstrum florem iuuentutis tue in hac nocte | consumet. Aderit namque[14 n] sceleratissimus inuisi[o] nominis gigas.[o] qui neptim

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Bern [1] *&.* [2] *alium uero minorem qui non longe ab altero distabat. Dubitantes ilico super quem eorum habitaret Gigas. beduerum dirigunt. ut cercitudinem rei exploret. At ille inuenta quadam nauicula prius ad minorem nauigauit.* [3] insert *adire.* [4] *cepisset.* [5] *femineo ululatu.* [6] *audacia.* [7] *culmine.* [8] *repperit.* [9] omit *ibi.* [10] *quandam anum.* [11] omit *loqui; profata.* [12] *mortis penas.* [13] *Miseret me tui miseret.* [14] *ille.*

Harlech [a] *& cum.* [b] *ista.* [c] omit *montem . . . fuerat;* insert *qui longe ab altero non distabat. Dubitantes ergo super quem eorum habitaret gygas. Bedeuerum dirigunt. ut certitudinem rei exploret. At ille inuenta quadam nauicula prius ad minorem nauigauit. quem aliter nequibat adire. quoniam infra mare situs erat.* [d] *femineo ululatu.* [e] omit *monstrum.* [f] *audacia.* [g] *culmine.* [h] *repperit.* [i] omit *ibi.* [j] *quandam anum.* [k] *ululantem.* [l] omit *loqui exorsa;* insert *profata.* [m] *miserere tui miserere.* [n] *ille.* [o] *gygas in uisi nominis.*

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ducis [a] quam modo hic intumulaui. & me illius altricem [b] in hunc montem aduexit. [c] qui [d] inaudito mortis genere te [e] absque cunctamine afficiet. Proh [f] tristia fata. serenissima alumna. [1] [g]

Percepto [2] [h] infra tenerrimum pectus timore. dum eam nefandus ille amplecteretur. uitam diuturniori luce dignam [i] finiuit. Ut igitur illam que erat mihi alter spiritus. altera uita. altera dulcedo iocunditatis. fedo coitu suo deturpare nequiuit. detestanda uenere succensus. mihi inuite deum & senectutem meam testor [j] uim & uiolentiam [k] ingessit. Fuge dilecte mi fuge. ne si [l] more suo mecum [3] coiturus aduenerit. [m] te hoc modo repertum miserabili cede dilaniet. [n] At ille quantum humane nature possibile est [o] commotus eam amicis sedauit uerbis. [p] & promisso festinati auxilii [4] solamine. ad arturum [q] reuersus est & omnia que inuenerat indicauit. Arturus igitur casum [r] ingemiscens puelle precepit. eis ut sibi soli illum inuadere permitteretur. [5] [s] & [6] [t] si necessitas accideret. [u] in auxilium procedentes uiriliter eum [7] [v] aggrederentur. Direxerunt igitur [8] [w] inde gressus [x] ad maiorem montem. & equos suos armigeris commiserunt. & cum arturo [y] precedente [z] ascenderunt. Aderat

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[1] *alumpna.* [2] *recepto* — there is neither punctuation, paragraph, nor initial capital in the Bern and Harlech MSS. [3] *mecum more suo.* [4] *auxili . . . ;* corrupt. [5] *permitterent.* [6] *set.* [7] omit *eum.* [8] omit *igitur.* *Bern*

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[a] insert *hoeli.* [b] *altricem eius.* [c] *adduxit.* [d] omit *qui.* [e] omit *te.* [f] *Pro.* [g] *alumpnam.* [h] *recepto.* [i] omit *dignam.* [j] *testo.* [k] *uiolenciam.* [l] insert *forte.* [m] *dilaniat.* [n] omit *est.* [o] *uerbis sedauit.* [p] *Arturum.* [q] *casus.* [r] *permitterent.* [s] *set.* [t] omit *eum.* [u] omit *igitur.* [v] omit *gressus.* [w] *Arturo.* [x] *precedentes.* *Harlech*

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autem inhumanus ille. ad ignem. cuius [1 a] ora infecta erant [2] tabo semesorum porcorum.[a] quos partim deuorauerat. partim uero [b] uerubus infixos. subterpositis [c] prunis torrebat. Mox ut illos [d] nichil tale premeditatus aspexit.[f] festinauit clauam suam sumere
f. 103 vo. quam | duo iuuenes uix a terra erigerent. Euaginauit ergo rex gladium.[3 e] & pretenso clipeo [f] quantum uelocitas sinebat properauit [g] eum precedere [h] antequam clauam cepisset. At ille non ignarus male meditationis [i] iam ceperat eam.[j] regemque super [4 k] interpositum [l] clipeum [m] tanto [n] conamine percussit. ut [5 o] sonitu ictus & [p] tota littora [q] repleret.[6 r] & aures eiusdem [s] ultra modum hebetaret.[7 t] Arturus uero acri ignescens ira.[u] erecto in frontem ipsius [8 v] ense uulnus intulit tantum. & [w] si non mortale.[f] tamen unde [9 x] sanguis in faciem & oculos eius profluens.[f] eorundem [y] excecauit aciem. Interposuerat namque clauam ictui. & frontem suam a letali uulnere muniuerat.[z] Excecatus autem profluente sanguine acrior insurgit. & uelut [a'] aper per uenabulum in uenatorem.[f] ita irruit per gladium in regem. & complectendo eum per medium coegit eum [10] genua humi [11] flectere. Arturus itaque [b'] reuocata uirtute [c'] ocius elabitur. & celeriter nunc hinc nunc illinc nefandum gladio deuerberat.[12 d'] nec requieuit donec letali uulnere illato. totum mucronem capiti impressit. qua cerebrum testa [13] protegebatur. Exclamauit igitur [14 e'] inuisus [f']

Bern [1] *illitus.* [2] omit *infecta erant.* [3] insert *suum.* [4] omit *super.* [5] *quod.* [6] *repleuit.* [7] *hebetauit.* [8] omit *ipsius.* [9] *unde tamen.* [10] *illum.* [11] *humi genua.* [12] *diuerberabat.* [13] *testa cerebrum.* [14] *uero.*

Harlech [a] omit *cuius . . . porcorum;* insert *illi nitus ora tabose morum porcorum.* [b] omit *uero.* [c] *superpositis.* [d] *illos ut.* [e] insert *suum.* [f] *clypeo.* [g] *properabat.* [h] *percutere.* [i] omit *male meditationis.* [j] *eam ceperat.* [k] omit *super.* [l] *interposito.* [m] *clypeo.* [n] *toto.* [o] *quod.* [p] omit *&.* [q] *littora.* [r] *repleuit.* [s] *eius.* [t] *hebetauit.* [u] *ira ignescens.* [v] *eius.* [w] *& tamen.* [x] omit *unde.* [y] omit *eorundem.* [z] *muniuit.* [a'] *uelud.* [b'] *igitur.* [c'] *audacia.* [d'] *diuerbabat.* [e'] *uero.* [f'] *humanus.*

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ille. & uelut[a] quercus uentorum uiribus eradicata cum maximo sonitu corruit. Rex ilico in risum solutus. precepit bedeuero[1 b] amputare ei caput. & dare uni armigerorum[c] ad deferendum[2 d] in[3 e] castra ut spectaculum fieret intuentibus.[4 f] Dicebat autem se nunquam[5 g] inuenisse alium[h] tante uirtutis. postquam rethonem[i] gigantem[j] in aruaio[6 k] monte | interfecit. *f. 104 rec.* qui ipsum ad preliandum inuitauerat. Hic namque ex[7] barbis regum quos peremerat[l] fecerat sibi pelles. & mandauerat[m] arturo[n] ut barbam suam[o] diligenter[8] excoriaret. atque excoriatam sibi dirigeret. & quemadmodum ipse ceteris preerat[p] regibus.[f] ita in honore eius eam[q] ceteris barbis superponeret. Sin autem.[f] prouocabat eum ad prelium. & qui fortior superuenisset.[f] pelles & barbam deuicti tulisset Inito itaque certamine.[f] trihumphauit[9 r] arturus.[s] & barbam alterius cepit. & spolium.[10] & postea nulli forciori isto[11 t] obuiauerat ut superius asserebat. Victoriam[u] igitur[v] ut predictum est adepti[w] in secunde[x] noctis diluculo ad tentoria sua cum capite remeauerunt. ad quod admirandum[y] cateruatim concurrebant. ei ascribentes[z] laudes qui patriam[a'] a tanta ingluuie liberauerat. At hoelus ob casum[b'] neptis sue tristis precepit[c'] edificare basilicam super[d'] tumulum[12] ipsius[d'] in monte quo iacebat. qui nomen ex tumulo puelle nactus. tumba helene usque in hodiernum diem uocatur.

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[1] *beduero.* [2] omit *ad; adferendum.* [3] *ad.* [4] *intuentibus fieret.* [5] *non.* [6] *arauio.* *Bern*
[7] *de.* [8] *diligenter suam barbam.* [9] *triumphauit.* [10] *spoliauit.* [11] *illo.* [12] *corpus.*

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[a] *uelud.* [b] *Beduero.* [c] *armigero.* [d] *differendum.* [e] *ad.* [f] *intuentibus fieret.* *Harlech*
[g] *non.* [h] *alterum.* [i] *Ritonem.* [j] *gyganiem.* [k] *aramo.* [l] *perimerat.* [m] *mandauit.*
[n] *Arturo.* [o] omit *barbam suam.* [p] *preerat ceteris.* [q] omit *eius eam.* [r] *triumphauit.*
[s] *Arturus.* [t] omit *isto.* [u] *Uictoria.* [v] insert *potitus.* [w] omit *adepti.* [x] *secundo.*
[y] *mirandum.* [z] *assoluentes.* [a'] *eos.* [b'] *occasum.* [c'] insert *ei.* [d'] *super corpus eius.*

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x. iv Congregatis tandem[1] cunctis quos expectauerat arturus.[a] illinc augustudunum[b] progreditur. quo imperatorem adesse existimabat.[c] Ut autem ad albam[d] fluuium[e] peruenit.[2f] nuntiatum[g] est ei illum castra sua non longe posuisse. & tanto incedere[h] exercitu. quanto ut aiebant resistere nequiret. Nec iccirco perterritus[i] ceptis suis desistere uoluit. set super ripam fluminis castra sua metatus est unde[j] posset exercitum
f. 104 vo. suum libere conducere. | & si opus accidisset[k] sese infra ea[l] recipere. Duos etiam[m] consules bosonem[n] de uado boum. & gerinum[o] carnotensem.[p] Gwalwanum[3q] etiam[m] nepotem suum lucio hibero[r] direxit ut suggereret[4s] ei quatinus recederet a finibus gallie. aut in postero die ad experiendum ueniret quis eorum maius ius in galliam haberet. Iuuentus ergo curie maximo[t] gaudio fluctuans cepit stimulare[5u] gualwanum[6q] ut infra castra imperatoris aliquid[7v] inciperet quo occasionem haberent congrediendi cum romanis. Perrexerunt[8] igitur[9w] illi ad lucium. & preceperunt ei a gallia recedere. aut[10] in postero die ad pugnandum[x] uenire. Lucius uero cum[y] responderet eis quod non deberet recedere.[10] immo[z] ad regendum illam accedere.[a] interfuit

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Bern [1] *tamen.* [2] *uenit.* [3] *Galgwainum.* [4] *suggeret.* [5] *instimulare.* [6] *galgwainum.* [7] omit *imperatoris aliquid.* [8] *Perexerunt.* [9] omit *igitur.* [10] omit *aut . . . recedere.*

Harlech [a] *Arturus.* [b] *augustidinum.* [c] *estimabat.* [d] *album.* [e] *flumen.* [f] *uenit.* [g] *nunciatum.* [h] *excedere.* [i] omit *perterritus.* [j] *ut.* [k] *esset.* [l] *eam.* [m] *eciam.* [n] *Bolonem.* [o] *Gerinum.* [p] insert *atque.* [q] *Waluuanium.* [r] *hyberie.* [s] *dicerent.* [t] *magno.* [u] *instimulare.* [v] omit *aliquid.* [w] omit *igitur.* [x] *expugnandum.* [y] *At dum responderet.* [z] omit *immo . . . accedere.*

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that lles, emperor of Ryfain, was encamped with an immense host on the opposite side of the river called Gwenn. And that night Arthyr encamped on the other side of the river. And Arthyr sent messengers to the emperor
f. 117 rec. telling him that he must leave ffraink and its frontiers or give Arthyr battle in the field the next day. The messengers who went there were Gwalchmai, son of Gwyar; and Bosso, Earl of Rhydychen; and Geraint of Karwys, a prince of ffraink. And well pleased was Arthyr's army with Gwalchmai's going there, thinking that he would put some affront upon the men of Ryfain to compel them to fight them. And then the coming of the messengers was told to Lles, and the purpose of their message. And he an-

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gaius[a] quintillianus[b] eiusdem nepos qui dicebat britones magis iactantia[c] atque minis habundare[1] quam audatia.[2d] uel[3e] probitate ualere. Iratus ilico gualuuanus.[4f] euaginato ense[g] quo accinctus erat irruit in[h] eum. & eiusdem capite amputato. ad equos cum sociis digreditur. Insequuntur[5i] itaque romani partim pede. partim. equis. ut conciuem[j] suum in legatos omni nisu. diffugientes uindicent. At gerinus carnotensis dum quidam eorum ipsum attingere inciperet.[k] ex inprouiso reuersus direxit lanceam suam. atque ipsum per arma &[l] medium corpus foratum[m] humi quantum potuit prostrauit. Inuidit ergo[n] boso de uado boum quoniam tantam probitatem fecisset carnotensis. & retorquens equum suum. cui primo obuiauit | lanceam[6] suam ingessit[o] infra *f. 105 rec.*
gulam.[6] & letaliter uulneratum coegit caballum[p] deserere. quo eum insequebatur.[q] Interea marcellus mutius maximo affectu uolens quintillianum[r] uindicare. walwano[7s] iam imminebat[t] a tergo. atque eum iam[8u] ceperat retinere. cum ille[9v] continuo reuersus. galeam cum capite usque ad pectus gladio quem tenebat abscidit. Precepit etiam[w] ei quintilliano[x] quem infra[y] castra trucidauerat in inferno[10z] renuntiare britones[a'] minis &[11] iactantia[b']

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[1] *abundare.* [2] *audacia.* [3] *&.* [4] *galgwainus.* [5] *Insecuntur.* [6] *ingessit lanceam infra gulam sibi.* [7] *galgwaino.* [8] omit *eum iam.* [9] *ipse.* [10] *infernum.* [11] *ac.* *Bern*

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[a] *Gaius.* [b] *quintilianus.* [c] *magis Britones iactancia.* [d] *audacia.* [e] *&.* [f] *Walwanius.* [g] *gladio.* [h] omit *in.* [i] *Insecuntur.* [j] *consciuem.* [k] *incipet.* [l] omit *arma &.* [m] *perforatum.* [n] *ilico.* [o] *ingessit lanceam sibi.* [p] *equum suum.* [q] *insequebantur.* [r] *quintilianum.* [s] *WalWanium.* [t] *iminebat.* [u] omit *eum iam.* [v] *ipse.* [w] *Precepitque.* [x] *quintiliano.* [y] *in.* [z] *infernum.* [a'] *renunciare;* omit *britones.* [b'] *iactancia.* *Harlech*

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swered that it was far more meet for him to rule ffraink than to go away; and then said [G]Keiws, nephew of the emperor: "Much longer are the tongues of you bryttaniait than your swords." Then quickly Gwalchmai drew his sword and killed [G]Keiws. And then all three nimbly mounted their horses with the men of Ryfain chasing them, seeking to revenge their man upon them. Then Geraint, for he was the hindermost, wounded and killed the foremost of their pursuers. And then Markinigys came up seeking to avenge [G]Keiws, and Gwalchmai awaited him, and struck him with his sword on his head, and split him to the breast; — and told him to tell his comrades in Hell that the Swords of the Bryttaniait are longer than their *f. 117 vo.*

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hoc modo [a] habundare.[1] Sociis deinde [b] resociatis hortatur ut pari impetu reuersi quisque suum prosternere laboraret. Adquiescentes[2] [c] igitur ei reuertuntur. & quisque suum[3] [d] prosternit.[e] At romani eos[4] [f] insequentes quandoque cum gladiis quandoque cum lanceis percuciebant.[5] [g] nec[6] retinere nec prosternere preualebant.

Cum[7] [h] autem prope quandam siluam ut dictum est insequerentur confestim egrediuntur ex illa circiter sex [i] milia[8] britonum.[j] qui fugam consulum comperti infra eam delituerant.[k] ut eis auxilium subuectarent. Egressi autem subduxerunt calcaria equis suis. & aera [l] clamore replentes.[l] & clipeos [m] pectoribus pretendentes. romanos ex inprouiso[9] inuadunt. & confestim[10] in fugam propellunt.[n] Set & [o] unanimiter insequentes. quosdam eorum [p] ab equis suis cum lanceis suis [q] seiungunt.[r] quosdam autem retinent. quosdam interficiunt. Quod cum petreio senatori [s] nuntiatum fuisset[11] [t] .x.[12] [u] milibus comi-
f. 105 vo. tatus subuenire sociis suis festinauit.[v] | &[13] [w] coegit britones[x] ad siluam ex qua egressi fuerant recurrere.[y] nec sine detrimento suorum. Diffugiendo [z] etenim britones[x] reuertebantur in strictis [a'] locis. atque[14] insequentibus [b'] stragem ingerebant maximam.[c']

Bern [1] *abundare.* [2] *Acquiescentes.* [3] *unum.* [4] *usque.* [5] *percutiebant eos.* [6] *set nec.* [7] *Dum.* [8] *milia sex.* [9] *improuiso.* [10] *continuo.* [11] *est.* [12] *decem.* [13] omit &. [14] &.

Harlech [a] omit *hoc modo.* [b] *inde.* [c] *Adquiescente.* [d] *unum.* [e] *prostrauit.* [f] *usque.* [g] *percutiebant;* insert *set.* [h] *Dum.* [i] *.vi.* [j] *Britonum.* [k] *aere.* [l] *complentes.* [m] *clypeos.* [n] *propulerunt.* [o] omit &. [p] omit *eorum.* [q] omit *suis.* [r] *propellunt.* [s] omit *senatori.* [t] *nunciatum esset.* [u] *decem.* [v] *festinans.* [w] omit &. [x] *Britones.* [y] *recurere.* [z] *Diffugientes.* [a'] *stritis.* [b'] *insequentes.* [c'] *maximam ingerebant.*

tongues. And by Gwalchmai's counsel they held together, and each one killed a man of the foremost of their pursuers. And when they were near a forest, behold six thousand of the bryttaniait raised their battle cry against the men of Ryfain, and killed them cruelly, and captured others, and in the end put them to flight. And when Pentaraink, a Senator of Ryfain, heard this, he came forthwith with ten thousand armed men with him to protect the men of Ryfain. And at the first rush he drove the bryttaniait back into the wood, where they had been before. And there many on both sides were killed. And thereupon, behold, Edyrn, son of Nydd, with five thousand

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Quibus hoc modo cedentibus hẏderus[1 a] filius nu[2 b] .c.v.[3 c] milibus[4] accelerabat ut eisdem subueniret. Resistunt ergo ipsi. & quibus terga[d] pauloante dederant.[e] nunc pectora opponentes[f] ualidos ictus[5] uiriliter inferre elaborabant. Resistunt etiam[6 g] romani. & quandoque eos prosternunt.[h] quandoque uero[i] ab illis prosternuntur. At britones[j] toto[7] affectu desiderabant miliciam. set nec multum[k] curabant in quem euentum inciderent dum eam incipiebant. Romani autem sapientius[l] agebant quos petreius[m] cocta[n] more boni ducis nunc ad inuadendum. nunc ad diffugiendum sapienter edocebat.[o] & ita maximum dampnum ceteris inpendebat.[8 p] Quod cum bosoni compertum esset.[q] plures suorum[q] quos audatiores nouerat seiunxit a ceteris. & eos hoc modo affatus est. Quoniam nesciente arturo[r] istud prelium incepimus. cauendum nobis est[s] ne in peiorem partem[t] incepti nostri decidamus.[9 u] Nam[v] si in[w] illam[10] deciderimus.[x] & maximum[z] dampnum[y] militum nostrorum incurremus. &[a] regem nostrum ad execrandum nos commouebimus. Resumite audatiam & sequimini me per cateruas romanorum. ut si fortuna fauerit petreium[a'] interficiamus siue[b'] capiamus. Subduxerunt itaque[c'] calcaria equis suis. & cuneos hostium pari impetu penetrantes.

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[1] *hiderus.* [2] *nucii.* [3] omit *.c.v.; quinque.* [4] insert *incedebat.* &. [5] *ictus ualidos.* *Bern*
[6] *ergo.* [7] *tanto.* [8] *impendebat.* [9] *incidamus.* [10] *illa.*

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[a] *hiderus.* [b] *nun.* [c] *cum quinque.* [d] omit *terga.* [e] *cederunt.* [f] *opnentes.* *Harlech*
[g] *eciam.* [h] insert &. [i] omit *uero.* [j] *Britones.* [k] *dum.* [l] *sapiencius.* [m] omit *petreius.* [n] *hocta.* [o] *dodocebat.* [p] *impendebat.* [q] *eorum.* [r] *Arturo.* [s] *est nobis.*
[t] omit *partem.* [u] *incedamus.* [v] insert &. [w] omit *in.* [x] *maximam.* [y] *iacturam.*
[z] omit &. [a'] *petreyum.* [b'] *uel.* [c'] *ita.*

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armed men, came up in support of the bryttaniait, and anew did they [the Romans] manfully oppose them, and maintained their fame and pride. And [f]pedraink urged his men to attack fiercely. And when Bosso, Earl of Rhydychen, saw this, he rallied to him a goodly number, and went against them, and called out to gwalchmai, who was near by, "Beware lest we yet be worsted and be rebuked by the king. And therefore let us all try to get the better of [B]Pettraink himself by killing or capturing him." And without delay they broke through the armies of the men of Ryfain, dragged Pettraink from his horse, and bound him fast. Then hard fought was the *f. 118 rec.*

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f. 106 rec. ad locum quo petreius | socios [1] [a] commonebat uenerunt. In quem ocius boso [b] irruens [c] eundem per collum amplectitur. & sicut premeditatus [c] fuerat [c] cum illo in terram corruit. Concurrunt [d] ergo romani. ut eum ab hostibus eripiant. Concurrunt autem [2] britones [e] ut bosoni [f] auxilientur. Fit itaque inter eos maxima cedes. fit clamor. fit turbatio. [g] dum hi [h] ducem suum [i] liberare. [j] illi eundem retinere [k] conantur. [3] Inuicem ergo [4] [l] uulnerabantur. prosternebant & prosternabantur. [5] Illic itaque uideri poterat [m] quis hasta. quis gladio. quis telo preualeret. Denique britones densata caterua [n] incedentes. impetumque romanorum ferentes. [6] [o] sese infra fortitudinem [p] prelii sui cum petreio recipiunt. & [7] [q] confestim impetum fecerunt in illos iam rectore suo [r] orbatos. iam in maiori parte debilitatos. iam etiam [8] [s] dilapsos. atque terga eisdem ostendentes. Incumbentes igitur ipsos a tergo cedunt. cesos prosternunt. prostratos despoliant. [t] despoliatos [u] pretereunt. ut ceteros insequantur. Set & [v] plures capiunt quos regi presentare affectant. Postremo postquam [w] satis periculi ipsis [x] ingesserant [9] [y] remeauerunt cum spoliis. & captiuis ad castra. & indicantes quod sibi contigerat. petreium coctam [z] & ceteros captiuos. arturo [a'] cum leticia uictorie optulerunt. [10] Quibus ille congratulans & [b'] honores. & honorum [c'] augmentaciones [11] pro-

Bern [1] *suos* inserted above the line, probably the same hand. [2] omit *autem*. [3] the *re* to make *conarentur* is written in above the line. [4] insert *uulnerabant* &. [5] *prosternebantur*. [6] *ferentes romanorum*. [7] *set*. [8] *eciam*. [9] *ingesserunt*. [10] *obtulerunt*. [11] *augmentationes*.

Harleck [a] insert *suos*. [b] *otius Boso*. [c] insert *inde*. [d] *Concurrerunt*. [e] *Britones*. [f] *Bosoni*. [g] *turbacio*. [h] *hii*. [i] omit *suum*. [j] insert *dum*. [k] *tenere*. [l] insert *uulnerabant*. &. [m] *poterat uideri*. [n] *densata caterua Britones*. [o] *ferrentes*. [p] *fortidinem*. [q] *set*. [r] omit *suo*. [s] *eciam*. [t] *dispoliant*. [u] *dispoliatos*. [v] omit &. [w] *cum*. [x] *illis*. [y] *ingesserunt*. [z] *captum*. [a'] *Arturo*. [b'] omit &. [c'] *bonorum*.

battle on all sides; but in the end the bryttaniait won and took Pettraink with them to their own army, and then anew went to fight the men of Ryfain, and in the end put them to flight. And nothing was as pleasing as to capture, kill, and plunder. And then the Bryttaniait with their prisoners came to the place where Arthyr was, and told him all that had chanced. And much pleased was Arthyr that they had so prospered while he himself was not with them. And then Arthyr ordered VBedwyr and

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misit. quoniam eo absente tantam probitatem egerant. Captiuos autem in carceriębus [a] trudere uolens. [b] seuocauit quosdam qui eos in crastinum parisius ducerent. & custodibus opidi seruandos [1 c] traderent. donec ex illis aliud [d] fieri precepisset Iussit itaque [2 e] cadorem ducem. [f] beduerumque [g] | pincernam. nec *f. 106 vo.*
non & duos consules. borellum [3 h] & richerium [i] cum familiis [j] suis ipsos conducere donec uenirent eo quo minime disturbationem [k] romanorum timuissent. At romani forte comperientes *x.* [v]
apparatum [l] istum. imperatore iubente elegerunt .xv. [4 m] milia suorum qui nocte illa iter eorum precederent. atque cum ipsis [n] congressuri suos liberare perstarent. [o] Ipsis quoque [5] prefecerunt uulteium [6 p] catellum. [q] & quintum carucium [7 r] senatores. euandrum etiam [s] regem sỳrie. [8] & [t] sertorium [u] regem libie. qui nocte illa cum predictis militibus [v] iter iussum [9 w] arripuerunt. & locum latibulis conuenientem adepti. [x] delituerunt quo ipsos transituros [10 y] arbitrabantur. Mane autem facto. britones [z] uiam ineunt [11] cum captiuis. & iam prope locum incedunt nescii quos dolos uersuti [a'] hostes [12] instituerant. [b'] Cum uero [c'] preterire [d'] incepissent. egressi ex inprouiso romani ipsos nichil tale premeditatos occupauerunt & penetrauerunt. At illi tametsi [e'] ex [f'] inprouiso occupati atque [g'] dissipati fuissent tandem. tamen

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[1] *seruandum.* [2] *etiam.* [3] *borrellum.* [4] *quindecim.* [5] *Ipsisque.* [6] *Wlterium.* *Bern*
[7] *carulium quintum.* [8] *sirie.* [9] *iussum iter.* [10] *ituros.* [11] *inierunt.* [12] *illis romani* instead of *uersuti hostes.*

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[a] *carcerem.* [b] insert *ad.* [c] *seruandum.* [d] omit *aliud.* [e] *eciam.* [f] insert &. *Harlech*
[g] *Beduerum.* [h] *Borellum.* [i] *Richerium.* [j] *famulis.* [k] *distribucionem.* [l] *paratum.*
[m] *quindecim.* [n] *illis.* [o] *properarent.* [p] *Winterium.* [q] *castellum.* [r] *carulium.*
[s] *eciam eWandrum.* [t] omit &. [u] *Sercorium.* [v] *milibus.* [w] *iussum iter.* [x] *adepti*
conuenientem. [y] *ituros.* [z] *Britones.* [a'] omit *dolos uersuti.* [b'] *instituerunt.* [c'] insert
omnes. [d'] *penetrare.* [e'] & *si.* [f'] omit *ex.* [g'] &.

[ch]Kattwr, Earl of Kerniw, and two other princes to take the prisoners to [wmh]paris. And when the men of Ryfain heard this, they chose fifteen thousand armed men, and sent them by night to intercept the prisoners to try to free them. And at the head of that force was a Senator from Ryfain called Achwintys, and Ofander, king of ssiria, and ssertorys of Lybia. And so they waited in a concealed place. And the next day when the men of Arthyr and the prisoners came to the woody glen where the men of Ryfain

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resociati uiriliter resistunt. & quosdam circa captiuos statuunt. quosdam autem [a] per cateruas distribuunt. qui cum hostibus congrediantur.[b] Agmini autem illi quod ad conseruandum captiuos statuerant. richerium [c] & bedeuerum [1 d] prefecerunt.[2] Cador uero dux cornubie & [3 e] borellus [4 f] ceteris preponuntur. Set romani omnes sine ordine eruperant nec curabant suos per turmas disponere. immo [5] omni nisu prestantes [g] britonibus [h] stragem dabant. dum turmas disponere dum semetipsos defendere elaborarent. Unde ultramodum debilitati. illos quos con-
f. 107 rec. ducebant turpiter amisissent. nisi fortuna optatum | auxilium eis [i] accelerasset. Guitardus [6] etenim dux [j] pictauensium [k] comperto predicto dolo cum tribus milibus aduenerat. cuius [l] auxilio freti. tandem [l] preualere.[m] & uicem predicte stragis inpudentibus [7 n] grassatoribus [o] reddidere.[8 p] Attamen multos suorum in primo congressu amiserunt Amiserunt etenim illum inclitum [q] cenomannorum consulem borellum.[9 r] qui dum [10 s] cum euandro rege syrie [11] congrederetur [t] lancea ipsius infra gulam infixusa.[12 u] uitam cum sanguine eructauit. Amiserunt quoque quatuor [v] proceres nobiles. hyrelgas.[13] de periron.[w] mauricum.[x] cador canariensem.[14 y] aliduc [15 z] de tintagol. her [16 a'] filium hider [b']

Bern [1] *beduerum.* [2] *prefecerant.* [3] *atque.* [4] *borrellus.* [5] omit *immo.* [6] *Gwitardus.* [7] *impudentibus.* [8] *reddere.* [9] *borrellum.* [10] omit *dum.* [11] *sirie.* [12] *infixus.* [13] *hyrelglas.* [14] omit *cador;* insert *kaer dorcananensem.* [15] *Aliduc.* [16] *Er.*

Harlech [a] omit *autem.* [b] *aggrediantur.* [c] *Richerum.* [d] *Beduerum.* [e] *atque.* [f] *Borellus.* [g] *stantes.* [h] *Britonibus.* [i] omit *eis.* [j] omit *dux.* [k] *pictauiensium.* [l] *cuius freti tandem auxilio.* [m] *preualuere.* [n] *inprudentibus.* [o] omit *grassatoribus.* [p] *reddiderunt.* [q] *inclitum illum.* [r] *Borellum.* [s] omit *dum.* [t] *egrederetur.* [u] *infixus.* [v] *.iiii. er.* [w] *de peritum.* [x] *Mauricium.* [y] *cardo canensem.* [z] *Aliduc.* [a'] *Ker.* [b'] *hyder.*

f. 118 vo. were waiting, they rose upon them, and scattered them badly. Then, the Bryttaniait divided into two parts, to wit, under Bedwyr and Rissiart of [B]Paldwn, to guard the Prisoners. And at the head of the army fought [G]Kattwr, Earl of Kerniw, and Borel the prince. And the men of Ryfain attacked them. And then came Gwidart, prince of Paittio, with three thousand men to help the Bryttaniait. And there they opposed them manfully and punished their deception and treachery. And there was killed Borel the prince, for Ofander, king of ssiria, wounded him with a spear so

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quibus audatiores[a] non facile poterant repperiri.[1 b] Nec tamen[2] audatie[c] sue desistentes sibi desperauerunt.[d] set omni nisu instantes. & captiuos custodire. & inimicos prosternere intendebant.[e] Romani tandem congressum eorum ferre non ualentes. ocius campum reliquerunt.[3 f] & castra sua petere ceperunt.[g] At britones[h] usque insequentes[4] stragem inferunt.[i] complures[j] capiunt. nec requieuerunt donec uulteio[5 k] catello.[l] & euandro[m] rege sirie[n] peremptis. ceteros[o] penitus dissipauerunt. Habita igitur uictoria captiuos quos ducebant. miserunt parisium.[6 p] atque cum illis quos recenter ceperant ad regem suum repedantes. spem summe uictorie promittebant. cum admodum pauci de tot superuenientibus hostibus triumphum habuissent. Lucius autem hyberius[7] tales casus moleste ferens animum suum diuersis cruciatibus uexatum[q] nunc huc nunc illuc reuoluit. hesitans[8 r] an[s] cepta[t] prelia cum arturo[u] committat.[v] | an[w] infra augustudunum[x] receptus auxilium leonis imperatoris expectet.[y] Adquiescens tandem formidini. nocte sequenti predictam ciuitatem aditurus. lengrias[z] cum exercitibus suis ingreditur. Quod ut[a'] arturo[u] compertum est[b'] affectans iter eius precedere. eadem

x. vi

f. 107 vo.

[1] *reperiri poterant.* [2] *enim.* [3] *reliquerunt campum.* [4] *sequentes.* [5] *Wlteio.* [6] *parisius.* [7] *hiberus.* [8] *hesitando.* *Bern*

[a] *audaciores.* [b] *reperiri poterant.* [c] *audacie.* [d] *desperarunt.* [e] *incedebant.* [f] omit *reliquerunt.* [g] *incepcrunt.* [h] *Britones.* [i] insert *quam.* [j] *plures.* [k] *Witerio.* [l] *castello.* [m] *eWandro.* [n] *syrie.* [o] omit *ceteros.* [p] *parisius.* [q] omit *uexatum;* insert *ex hoc.* [r] *Hesitando.* [s] omit *an.* [t] *accepta.* [u] *Arturo.* [v] *committere.* [w] *aut.* [x] *Augustudunum.* [y] *expeteret.* [z] *lengas.* [a'] *cum.* [b'] *esset.* *Harlech*

that he died. Four others of Arthyr's nobles were killed: Hirlas of eliawn; and Mayric, son of Kattwr; and Halidyc of [D]Tindagol; and [Ch]Kei, son of *I*thel. But for all that ill fortune, the Bryttaniait lost not one of their prisoners, but routed the men of Ryfain; and in that flight efander, King of ssiria, was killed, as was also Vyltanys, a Senator from Ryfain. And then after winning, the Bryttaniait took their prisoners to [B]Paris, including also those taken that day. And then joyfully they went home to Arthyr and told him what had happened. And then lles was greatly distressed so evil was the fate of his men, and went into council to decide what he should do, whether to go home for reinforcements from Leo, the Emperor of Ryfain, or himself to fight with Arthyr. In the council it was decided to make for *f. 119 rec.*

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nocte relicta a leua [a] ciuitate. quandam uallem [1] quam [b] lucius transgressurus erat ingreditur. [1] que siesia [2] uocabatur. [c] Commilitones igitur suos per cateruas disponere uolens legionem unam cui prefecerat [d] consulem moruid [3] [e] iussit adesse. ut si opus accidisset sciret ubi sese posset [4] recipere. [f] & resociatis turmis iterum prelia hostibus [5] [g] ingerere. Ceteros etiam [h] per cateruas septenas distribuens. [6] [i] in unaquaque caterua quinquies [j] mille & quingentos. & quinquaginta quinque [j] uiros omnibus armis instructos collocauit. Pars quoque statutarum turmarum disponitur equestris. pars autem altera [f] pedestris. Daturque preceptum tale [k] inter eos. ut dum pedestris turma ad inuadendum intendat. [l] equestris ilico [m] ab aliquo [7] [n] superueniens stricto agmine dissipare hostes nitatur. [o] Erant autem pedestres [8] caterue britannico [p] more cum dextro [q] & sinistro cornu [r] in quadrum statute. quarum uni auguselus [9] [s] rex albanie. & cador dux cornubie. unus in dextro cornu. & alius in sinistro [10] preficiuntur [t] Alii uero duo insignes consules gerinus [u] uidelicet carnotensis. & boso [v] de ridichen. [w] que [x] lingua saxonum oxenefordia [11] nuncupatur. [z]

Bern [1] insert *ingreditur;* omit later. [2] *sessia.* [3] omit *moruid.* [4] *posset sese.* [5] *hostibus prelia.* [6] insert &. [7] *obliquo.* [8] insert *turme.* [9] *augusellus.* [10] insert *cornu.* [11] *oxeneford.*

Harleck [a] *alleua.* [b] *qua.* [c] *uocatur.* [d] insert *hoelem.* [e] omit *moruid.* [f] *posset sese recipere.* [g] *hostibus prelia.* [h] *autem.* [i] insert &. [j] *.v. milia. &. d. lv.* [k] *tale preceptum.* [l] *intendat ad inuadendum.* [m] insert *super.* [n] *obliquo.* [o] *nitatur hostes.* [p] *Britannico.* [q] insert *cornu.* [r] omit *cornu.* [s] *Auguselus.* [t] *preficitur.* [u] *Gerinus.* [v] *Boso.* [w] *uado Boum.* [z] omit *que . . . nuncupatur.*

Nafarn, to the place called Leigrys, and there they passed that night. And when Arthyr heard this, he went to a place called the glen of Assnessia, for there LLles, the Emperor, would come the next day. And there Arthyr awaited them; and posted his horsemen on either side, with Morydd, prince of Kaer Loyw, leading them. And he marshalled his host in eight armies. And in each army were three thousand five hundred well tried fighting men. And so when he had skillfully prepared them, Arthyr taught them to attack and also to await their opportunity. And at the head of each army were two nobles, famous and experienced; for at the head of the first was Aron, son* of Kynvarch, and ChKattwr, Earl of Kerniw. And that army was posted on the right hand. And at the head of the other on the left hand

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Tercie uero turme aschil rex dacorum. atque loth[a] rex norgue-
igensium[1 b] preerant.[2 c] | Quarte hoelus dux armoricorum.[d] *f. 108 rec.*
&[e] Gualguainus[3 f] nepos regis. Post has autem[f g] quatuor[4]
a dorso statute. quarum uni preponuntur kaius[h] dapifer.
& bedeuerus[5 i] pincerna. Alii autem preficiuntur[j] holdinus
dux rutenorum[6 k] & guitardus[7 l] dux pictauensium.[m] Tercie.
uigenis[8 n] de legecestria. &[o] ionathal[9] dorecestrensis. atque cur-
salem de caicestria.[10 o] Quarte uero[f] urbennius[11 p] de badone.[q]
Ipse quoque rex[12 r] post hos[s] elegit sibi & legioni uni quam sibi
adesse affectauerat locum quendam quo aureum draconem[t]
infixit[f] quem pro uexillo habebat. ubi uulnerati & fatigati si
necessitas compulisset quasi ad castrum[u] diffugissent.[13]
Aderant autem[v] in legione illa quam secum habebat sex[w] milia. &
sexcenti sexaginta sex.[w] Dispositis itaque cunctis[f] commilitones *x. vii*
suos in hec uerba profatur.[x] Domestici mei qui britanniam[y]

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[1] *norguegensium.* [2] omit *preerant.* [3] *Gwalgwainus.* [4] *quatuor fuerunt alie quatuor a dorso* etc. [5] *beduerus.* [6] *ruthenorum.* [7] *Gwitardus.* [8] *Iugenis.* [9] *Ionathal.* [10] *kaicestria.* [11] *urgennius.* [12] omit *rex.* [13] *confugissent.* *Bern*

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[a] *Loth.* [b] *NorWegensium rex.* [c] omit *preerant.* [d] *armoricanorum.* [e] *atque.* [f] *WalWanius.* [g] insert *.iiii. fuerunt alie.* [h] *Kayus.* [i] *Beduerus.* [j] omit *preficiuntur.* [k] *Ruthenorum.* [l] *Guitardus.* [m] *pictauiensium.* [n] *kygenis.* [o] omit *& ... caicestria.* [p] *Vrbigenius.* [q] *Badone.* [r] omit *rex.* [s] omit *hos.* [t] *draconem aureum.* [u] *castra.* [v] *namque.* [w] *.vi. milia. &. dc. & lxvi.* [x] *prefatur.* [y] *Brittanniam.* *Harlech*

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was Bosso of Ryd-ychen, and geraint of Kaerwys. Before the third army was Achle, king of Dennmark, and llew, son of Kynnvarch, king of prydyn. Before the fourth was Howel, son of Emyr llydaw, and Gwalchmai, son of Gwyar. In behind these four were the four others, and two leaders over each of them. Before the first was [C]Kei hir [the tall], and Bedwyr, son of [P]Bedrod; before the second was Holdins, prince of Ryttain, and Gwidart, prince of Peittio; before the third army was Owain of Kaer llion and *f. 119 vo.* Gwynnwas of kaer gaint; and before the fourth army was Yrien of Kaer [V]Baddon, and Gwrssalem of Dorssiestr. And behind them was Arthyr, and a legion of nobles with him. And before him was the image of a golden dragon, the sign of refuge for all wounded men. Arthyr's own division was about six thousand three hundred and six. And then Arthyr exhorted his army like this: "O nobles," said he, "it is well known that by your strength and counsels it was that ynys Brydain became head over thirty kingdoms,

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terdenorum regnorum fecistis[a] dominam.[f] uestre congratulor probitati. quam[1] nullatenus deficere.[f] immo magis ac[b] magis uigere considero.[c] Quamquam[d] quinque[e] annis inexercitati.[e] oblectamentis[f] ocii[g] pocius[2][h] quam usui milicie[3][i] dediti sitis. nequaquam tamen ab innata bonitate degenerauistis. set in ipsa[j] perseuerantes. romanos propulistis in fugam.[4] Qui instimulante superbia sua libertatem uobis[k] demere affectauerant.[5][l] qui ampliori numero incedentes ingerere prelia ceperunt.[m] qui congressui[6] uestro resistere non ualuerunt.[n] sese turpiter infra ciuitatem istam receperunt. ex qua ad presens egressuris.[o] & per[p] istam uallem augustudunum petituris obuiam poteritis
f. 108 vo. | adesse. & nichil tale premeditatos uelut[q] pecudes occupare. Sane orientalium gentium[7][r] segniciem[8][s] in uobis esse existimabant. dum patriam uestram[t] facere tributariam & uosmetipsos subiugare affectarent. Numquid[u] non[9][v] nouerunt que bella dacis atque norgueigensibus[10][w] gallorumque ducibus intulistis. quos mee subdidistis[11] potestati. & ab eorum pudendo dominio liberauistis? Qui[x] igitur in grauiore[y] decertacione[z] preualuimus.[12][a'] in hac leuiori sine dubio preualebimus. si pari affectu semiuiros illos elaborauerimus opprimere. Quantos honores quisque uestrum possidebit. si uoluntati mee atque preceptis meis ut fideles commilitones adquieueritis. Subiugatis etenim ipsis continuo romam[13] petemus.[b'] petitam capiemus. captam autem possidebimus.

Bern [1] *quoniam.* [2] *potius.* [3] *militie.* [4] *in fugam propulistis.* [5] *affectauerunt.* [6] *congresui.* [7] *generum.* [8] *segnitiem.* [9] omit *non.* [10] *norguegensibus.* [11] *subdistis.* [12] *ualuimus.* [13] *romam continuo.*

Harlech [a] *fecisti.* [b] omit *magis ac.* [c] insert *licet.* [d] omit *Quamquam.* [e] *.v.* [f] *oblectamenti.* [g] *ocio.* [h] *potius.* [i] insert *hactenus.* [j] *ipsos.* [k] *nobis.* [l] *affectauerunt.* [m] *inceperunt.* [n] *ualentes.* [o] *egressuris.* [p] *in.* [q] *uelud.* [r] *orientales gentes.* [s] *segniciam.* [t] *nostram.* [u] *nunquid.* [v] omit *non.* [w] *norWegensibus.* [x] *Quia.* [y] *grauiori.* [z] *certamine.* [a'] *ualuimus.* [b'] *peteris.*

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and by your power we shall again triumph over Ryfain and take vengeance on them for trying to enslave us in place of our freedom. Remember this hour the slothful ease in which we lived for a long time bandying words with women. Remember further to rekindle* your bravery and warcraft. Let us be united when we meet the men of Ryfain, and drive them like

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Ergo[a] aurum. argentum. palatia.[b] turres. opida.[c] ciuitates. & ceteras uictorum[d] diuicias habebitis.[e] Adhuc autem ipso[f] loquente.[1][g] omnes uno clamore assentiunt.[h] parati mortem prius[2] recipere.[f][i] quam uiuente ipso campum diffugiendo relinquere.

At lucius hyberius[3] comperiens insidias que ei parabantur. noluit ut affectauerat[j] diffugere. set reuocata[k] audatia.[l] ipsos in eandem[4][m] uallem[5][n] proposuit[6][o] adire.[p] Denique[q] duces suos conuocauit. atque[7] his[r] uerbis eos[8][s] allocutus est. *x. viii*

Patres uenerandi quorum imperio & orientalia. & occidentalia regna subici debent.[9][t] ueterum nostrorum memores[10] estote. qui ut aduersarios rei publice superarent.[f] | non abhorrebant effundere sanguinem suum. set exemplum[11] probitatis & militie[u] posteris suis relinquentes. ita decertabant ac si in prelio deus non prouidisset eos morituros. Triumphabant ergo sepius. & triumphando mortem euadebant. quia nulli alia mors[v] erat[12] prouentura[w] quam que ex[w] prouidentia[x] dei condescendebat. Augebatur itaque res publica. augebatur eorundem probitas. & quod honestatis. quod honoris. quod largitatis in generosis[y] esse solebat in eis diucius[13][z] uigens. ipsos. *f. 109 rec.*

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[1] *dicente.* [2] *prius mortem.* [3] *hiberus.* [4] *eadem.* [5] *ualle.* [6] omit *proposuit.* [7] insert *cum.* [8] *ipsos.* [9] *deberent.* [10] *uestrorum Memores.* [11] insert *bonitatis.* [12] *nulli erat alia mors.* [13] *diutius.* *Bern*

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[a] *& sic.* [b] *palacia.* [c] *oppida.* [d] *deuictorum.* [e] *habebimus.* [f] insert *talia.* [g] *dicente.* [h] *assenciunt clamore.* [i] *accipere.* [j] *affectaret.* [k] omit *reuocata.* [l] *audacia.* [m] *eadem.* [n] *uilla.* [o] omit *proposuit.* [p] *aditurus.* [q] omit *Denique.* [r] *hiis.* [s] omit *eos.* [t] *deberent.* [u] *milicie;* insert *sue.* [v] omit *mors.* [w] omit *prouentura . . . ex.* [x] *prouidencia.* [y] *genuosis.* [z] *diutius.* *Harleech*

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animals, because they do not think that we shall dare give them open battle. And, nobles, if you will obey my orders, I shall honour you as you may wish, with everything that may be in my possession." And all of them promised to follow Arthyr's commands. And when [L]Lles heard that Arthyr was exhorting his host, he also exhorted his host and said that the whole world ought to be obedient to Ryfain, and "Remember that your fathers kept Ryfain in the head place of all the world in bravery, warlike skill, and pros- *f. 120 rec.*

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& ipsorum [a] posteros in dominium tocius [1] orbis promouebat. Id igitur in uobis excitare desiderans. hortor [2 b] ut auitam [c] bonitatem reuocetis. atque in eadem perstantes [3 d] inimicos uestros [4] in ualle qua uobis insidiantur petatis. [e] & [f] quod uestrum [g] est ab illis exigere contendatis. Ne [h] existimetis [i] me iccirco infra ciuitatem hanc receptum esse ut uel eos uel eorum congressum [j] abhorruissem. Immo arbitrans quod [5] stulte prosequerentur. [k] prosequentibus ex improuiso [l] uero [6 m] obuiaremus. atque [7] segregatim [n] irruentes. [f] magna strage infestaremus. [o] Nunc autem quoniam aliter quam rati eramus fecerunt. [f] & nos aliter faciamus. Petamus igitur [8 p] illos. & audacter [q] inuadamus. Uel si conualuerint. [f] unanimiter resistamus. [r] primumque [s] impetum toleremus. [t] & sic proculdubio triumphabimus. In pluribus etenim [u] decertationibus qui in primo congressu perstare potuit. [f] cum uictoria sepissime abiuit. Ut itaque his [9 v] & pluribus aliis [w] finem dicendi fecit. [f] omnes uno assensu fauentes. facies [10 x] quoque & [11 y] manus promittentes
f. 109 vo. iureiurando [12 z] ad armandum | sese festinant. Armati tandem lengrias [a'] egrediuntur. atque predictam uallem adierunt ubi arturus cateruas suas statuerat. Porro & illi .xii. [13 b'] cuneata [c'] agmina atque omnia pedestria fecerunt. Qui [14 d'] romano more admodum cunei ordinata sex [e'] milia militum cum sexcentis. [f']

Bern [1] *totius.* [2] insert *uos.* [3] insert &. [4] *nostros.* [5] insert *nos.* [6] *uero ex inprouiso.* [7] insert *ipsos.* [8] *etenim.* [9] *his itaque.* [10] *solias.* [11] omit &. [12] *iureiurando promittentes.* [13] *duodecim.* [14] *que.*

Harlech [a] omit & *ipsorum;* insert *eorumque.* [b] insert *uos.* [c] *habitam.* [d] insert &. [e] *petentes.* [f] omit &. [g] *nostrum.* [h] *Nec.* [i] *existimantes.* [j] *congressum eorum.* [k] insert & *ut.* [l] *inprouiso.* [m] omit *uero.* [n] omit *segregatim;* insert *in ipsos.* [o] *infestaremur.* [p] *etenim.* [q] *aucdacter.* [r] insert &. [s] *primum.* [t] *paciamur.* [u] *eciam.* [v] *hiis.* [w] omit *aliis.* [x] *socios.* [y] omit &. [z] *iureiurando promittentes.* [a'] *lengas.* [b'] *duodecim.* [c'] *cuneta.* [d'] *que.* [e'] *.vi.* [f'] *.dc.*

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perity. And for this shrink ye not from death to uphold the dignity of Ryfain. Fight hard, so that we can ask tribute from other islands. And for this remember, nobles, that we came not here to flee, but unitedly to fight our enemies, and though they are brave at the beginning, let us stand together, and we shall conquer them." And when he had ended, he arrayed his host in twelve armies, and with each army a legion of horse, and

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lxvi.[1] singula omnia [a] continebant. Set & [b] unicuique suos [c] ductores dederunt.[d] ut monitu eorum & inauderent. & ceteris irruentibus resisterent. Vni itaque [2] [e] prefecerunt lucium catellum.[f] & alifatimam [3] [g] regem hispanie.[h] Alteri uero irtacum [4] [i] regem parthorum.[j] & marium [5] lepidum senatorem. Tercie [k] boccum [6] regem medorum. & garum [7] metallum [8] senatorem. Quarto [9] sercorium [10] regem libie & quintum miluum [11] senatorem.[k] Hec iiij.[12] agmina in prima acie statuta fuerunt.[l] Post ipsa uero [m] alia .iiij.[12] a dorso. quorum [n] uni sersem regem itureorum [o] preposuerunt. Alteri [p] uero pandrasum regem egỳpti. tercie politetem ducem bithinie.[q] quarte [r] theucrum [13] [s] ducem frigie.[14] [t] Post hec quoque alia .iiij.[12] & cuidam illorum dederunt quintum carucium senatorem. Alii autem lelium hostiensem.[u] tercie etiam [v] sulpicium subuculum.[15] [w] quarte mauricium[16] siluanum. Ipse [x] autem inter eos nunc hac. nunc illac incedebat suggerendo. docendo qualiter sese haberent. In medio etiam [y] auream aquilam quam pro uexillo duxerat iussit firmiter poni. & quoscumque casus segregasset.[z] submonuit ut ad eam reuerti conarentur. Postquam tandem in aduersa parte hinc britones [x] illinc romani *x. ix*
erectis steterunt telis.[z] confestim audito clascorum [17] [a'] sonitu agmen | illud cui rex hispanie.[b'] & lucius catellus [c'] preerant [18] in *f. 110 rec.*
cateruam illam quam rex scocie [19] [d'] & dux cornubie ducebant. au-

[1] *sexaginta sex.* [2] *etenim.* [3] *aliphatimam.* [4] *hirtacium.* [5] *Marium.* [6] *bocum.* *Bern*
[7] *gaium.* [8] *metellum.* [9] *Quartum.* [10] *senatorium.* [11] *miluium.* [12] *quatuor.* [13] *teucrum.*
[14] *phrigie.* [15] *subbuculum.* [16] *mauritium.* [17] *classicorum.* [18] *preerat.* [19] *scotie.*

[a] omit *singula omnia;* insert *exercitum suum disponentes.* [b] omit &. [c] *sui.* [d] *pre-* *Harlech*
ceperunt. [e] *etenim.* [f] *lutium castellum.* [g] *Aliphatimum.* [h] *hỳspanie.* [i] *hircatium.*
[j] *parchorum.* [k] omit *Tercie . . . senatorem.* [l] omit *fuerunt;* insert &. [m] omit *uero.*
[n] *quibus.* [o] *mireorum.* [p] *Alii.* [q] *phrigie.* [r] *Quartum.* [s] *teucrum.* [t] *bilinie.*
[u] *hostiliensem.* [v] omit *etiam.* [w] *subciculum.* [x] *Lucius.* [y] *autem.* [z] *Britones.*
[a'] *classicorum.* [b'] *hỳspanie.* [c'] *castellus.* [d'] *scotie.*

at the head of each army he placed two famous chiefs as leaders. And also Lles taught his men wherein he saw most need, and in the army's midst he ordered to be set up a golden eagle on a standard as a sign of refuge for any one who was in peril. And then they engaged, and, first, the army of the king of Yssbaen met the army of Aron, son of Kynvarch, and [ch]kattwr, Earl of Kerniw, and began to fight hard. And then, behold, Geraint of

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dacter [a] irruit set illam stricte coniunctam [b] nequaquam disiungere [c] potuit.[1] Cui itaque seuissime inuadenti occurrit caterua quam gerinus [d] & boso [e] regebant. Et dum alia ut predictum est resisteret. subito equorum cursu [2] [f] impetum in eandem [3] [g] fecit. & penetrata illa obuiauit agmini quod rex parthorum ducebat [h] contra turmam aschilli regis dacorum. Nec mora concurrunt [i] undique [4] hinc & inde caterue. & sese mutuo penetrantes. maximam pugnam lacescunt.[5] [j] Fit itaque miseranda cedes inter eos cum supremo [k] clamore. & terram uertice & calcaneis pulsantes uitam in utraque parte cum sanguine eructant. Set prius dampnum britonibus [l] illatum est quia [m] bedeuerus [6] [n] pincerna peremptus fuit.[o] & caius [7] [p] dapifer letaliter uulneratus.[q] Nam dum bedeuerus [6] [n] bocco [r] regi [s] medorum obuiaret. lancea eiusdem confossus inter hostiles cateruas peremtus [8] [t] corruit; Kaius [u] autem dapifer dum ipsum uindicare conaretur. infra medorum turmas circumdatus. mortiferum uulnus [v] accepit.[9] [w] Qui tamen more boni militis cum uel ala acie [10] [x] quam [y] ducebat uiam aperiens cesis & dissipatis medis sese infra suos [z] integra caterua [a'] recepisset.[f] nisi in [b'] obuiam uenisset agmini regis libie. cuius irruptio illos quos ducebat omnino [11] [c'] disgregauit.[d'] Utcumque [e'] tamen cum paucis [f'] retro cedens. ad aureum diffugit [12] draconem.[f]

Bern [1] *set illam stricte irruentem. nequaquam disgregare potuit.* [2] *cursu equorum.* [3] *eadem.* [4] omit *undique.* [5] *lacessunt.* [6] *beduerus.* [7] *kaius.* [8] *peremptus.* [9] *suscepit.* [10] *ala.* [11] *omnes.* [12] *difugit.*

Harlech [a] *aucdacter.* [b] *irruentem.* [c] *segregare.* [d] *Gerinus.* [e] *Boso.* [f] *cursu equorum.* [g] *eadem.* [h] *parchorum ducebant.* [i] *occurrunt.* [j] *lascescunt.* [k] *summo.* [l] *Britonibus.* [m] *Nam.* [n] *Beduerus.* [o] *est.* [p] *Kaius.* [q] *uulneratur.* [r] *Bocco.* [s] repeat *regi.* [t] *peremptus.* [u] *Kayus.* [v] *uulnus mortiferum.* [w] *recepit.* [x] *aliquam.* [y] omit *quam.* [z] *suas.* [a'] *cateruas integras.* [b'] omit *in.* [c'] *omnes.* [d'] *diffugauit.* [e'] *At.* [f'] *cum paucis tamen.*

Kaerwys, and Bosso of Rydychen came up and pierced the armies of the
f. 120 vo. men of Ryfain. And from that time on so fiercely and confusedly came they together that the crash shook the earth and the sky with the noise of the soldiers' feet stamping the ground, and there there was fierce fighting on both sides, too tiresome to tell about. And there Bokys, King of Med, pierced [V]Bedwyr with a spear, so that he died. And Kei was wounded mortally. In spite of that, his army bore his body until they met the army of Libia, and that army scattered them, but in spite of this they bore his

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cum corpore | bedeueri.[1] [a] O quanta lamenta [b] neustriensium [c] *f. 110 vo.*
dum [d] corpus bedueri [e] sui ducis [e] tot uulneribus dilaniatum
aspicerent. O quantos etiam [f] andegauensium [g] planctus. [h]
dum kai [2] [i] consulis sui [3] uulnera pluribus modis tractarent.
Set non opus erat [j] querela [k] quia [l] undique sanguinolente [m]
acies mutuo irruentes non permittebant eis [4] spacium [n] predicti
gemitus quin ipsos ad defendum [5] [o] sese [p] coegissent. Hirelgas [6]
ergo nepos bedueri [q] ultra modum ob mortem ipsius commotus.
trescentos [7] [q] suorum associauit sibi. & uelut [r] aper infra turmam
canum. sic per hostiles cateruas subito cursu equorum locum ubi
uexillum regis medorum [8] aspexerat petiuit. parum excogitans
quid sibi contingere posset dum auunculum suum uindicaret.
Adeptus tandem locum quem affectauerat predictum regem per-
emit peremptumque ad socios suos [s] deportauit. deportatum [t]
autem [u] iuxta corpus [v] pincerne omnino dilaniauit. Deinde
maximo clamore conciuium suorum turmas [w] hortatur [9] [x] in
hostes irruere. crebris [10] irruptionibus infestare [y] dum in [11] [z] eis
uirtus recenter [a'] feruebat. dum illis formidolosis pectus tremebat.
dum cominus [12] imminentes [b'] sapientius [c'] quam ceteri per cater-
uas dispositi essent. [13] atque crudelius dampnum ingerere sepius
ualuissent. Inanimati igitur hortamine illius impetum [d'] in hostes
undique fecerunt. quo maxima strages utrisque facta fuit. In

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[1] *bedueri.* [2] *kaii.* [3] *sui consulis.* [4] *ei.* [5] *defendendum.* [6] *Hirelglas.* [7] *trecentos.* [8] *medorum regis.* [9] *hortabatur.* [10] *crebrisque.* [11] omit *in.* [12] *comminus.* [13] *disposuissent.* *Bern*

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[a] *Bedueri.* [b] insert *est.* [c] *rusiensium.* [d] insert *Kaii.* [e] omit *sui ducis.* [f] omit *etiam.* [g] *audegauiensium.* [h] *plactus.* [i] *kaii.* [j] *erat opus.* [k] *querele.* [l] *nam.* [m] *sanguineolente.* [n] *spatium.* [o] *defendendum.* [p] *se.* [q] *.ccc.* [r] *uelud.* [s] omit *suos.* [t] *deportatumque.* [u] omit *autem.* [v] insert *Bedueri.* [w] insert *inanimando.* [x] *hortabatur.* [y] omit *infestare.* [z] omit *in.* [a'] *recens.* [b'] *iminentes.* [c'] *sapiencius.* [d'] omit *impetum.* *Harlech*

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body to the place where was the golden dragon. Then Hirlas, [v]Bedwyr's nephew, took with him three hundred mighty veteran horsemen, and like a forest boar among a pack of dogs, he rushed among them until he met with Bokys, and he brought him along with them on his horse's back, near to Bedwyr's body, and there he was hacked in pieces. And then Hirlas went to his own army, and exhorted them to fight manfully. And many were

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parte namque[1] romanorum exceptis innumerabilibus aliis.[f] aliphatima[2] rex hispanie. & micipsa[3][a] babiloniensis.[b] quintus[4][c]
f. 111 rec. quoque miluius[c] | & marius[d] lepidus[e] senatores corruerunt. Corruerunt etiam[f] in parte britonum[g] holdinus dux rutenorum[5][h] & leodegarius bolonensis.[6][i] Tres etiam[f] consules britannie.[j] cursalem[k] kaicentrensis.[7][l] guallauc[8][m] salesberiensis. & urgenius[9][n] de badone.[o] Vnde turme quas conducebant[p] ultra modum debilitate retro cesserunt. donec uenerunt ad aciem armaricanorum[10] britonum.[q] quam hoelus & gualwanus[11][r] regebant. Que utique[12][s] uelut flamma ignescens impetum fecit in hostes. & renouatis[13][t] illis qui retro cesserant illos qui paulo ante[u] insequebantur[v] diffugere coegit. Set &[w] usque insequentes. nunc ipsos diffugientes prosternit. nunc interficit nunc[14][x] stragem[y] ingerere non[15][z] cessat donec ad turmam imperatoris uenit. Qui uisa calamitate sociorum properat[a'] illis[16][b'] succursum prestare.
x. x Inito itaque congressu.[f] debilitantur[c'] britones.[d'] Chinmarchocus[17][e'] siquidem consul[f'] trigerie. necnon & duo milia secum

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Bern [1] *quoque.* [2] *alifatima.* [3] *Micipsa.* [4] *Quintus.* [5] *ruthenorum.* [6] *bolo Nensis.* [7] *caicestrensis;* insert &. [8] *Gualauc.* [9] *Vrbgennius.* [10] *armoricanorum.* [11] *Gwalgwanus.* [12] *itaque.* [13] *reuocatis.* [14] *nec.* [15] omit *non.* [16] *ipsis.* [17] *Chinmarkogus.*

Harlech [a] *Micippa.* [b] *babylonensis.* [c] omit *quintus . . . miluius.* [d] *Marius.* [e] insert *Quintus uero Miliuus.* [f] *eciam.* [g] *Britonum.* [h] *ruthenorum.* [i] *bononensis.* [j] *Brittannie.* [k] *Cursalem.* [l] *caicestriensis;* insert &. [m] *Gualane.* [n] *Vrbigenius.* [o] *Badone.* [p] *ducebant.* [q] *Armoricanorum Britonum.* [r] *WalWanius.* [s] *itaque.* [t] *re uocatis.* [u] insert *se.* [v] *sequebantur.* [w] omit &. [x] *nec.* [y] *sternere.* [z] omit *ingerere non.* [a'] *properabat.* [b'] *ipsis.* [c'] *debilitabantur.* [d'] *Britones.* [e'] *Chimmarcosus.* [f'] *consul siquidem.*

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there lost on both sides. And of the men of Ryfain were killed Aliffantys, and Milinys, a Senator from Ryfain. And of Arthyr's men were killed Holdins, duke* of Ryttain, and Leodegar of VBolwn, and three princes of ynys Brydain, namely, Gwrissalem of kaer gaint, Gwalhoc of amwythic, and
f. 121 rec. Yrien of kaer VBaddon. And there Kai died of the wound he had got earlier. And then the foremost armies divided and fell back upon the army of Howel, son of Emyr llydaw, and Gwalchmai. And there they were strengthened, and manfully attacked their enemies anew, and whoever met Gwalchmai, he killed him with a single blow; nor did Gwalchmai rest till he reached the army of the emperor of Ryfain. But there the Bryttaniait were Weakened

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corruerunt. Corruerunt etiam [a] tres incliti proceres. riddomarcus [1 b] & bloctonius. [2 c] atque iaginuius [3 d] de bodloano. [e] qui si principes fuissent regnorum ob tantam probitatem quam habebant. uentura [f] etas [g] famam eorum celebraret. Nam [h] & dum predictum impetum [i] cum hoelo & gualwano [4 j] facerent. [k] non euadebat hostis cui imminebant. [l] quin ei uitam [l] uel [m] gladio uel lancea [5] eriperent. [6 n] Sed postquam infra [7] aciem lucii uentum fuit. undique a romanis circumsepti. cum predicto consule & predictis militibus [o] conciderunt; [p] Hoelus igitur & gualwanus [8 q] quibus meliores preterita secula non genuerant. [r] comperta strage suorum acriores | institerunt. [s] & nunc hac nunc illac. unus in *f. 111 vo.* una parte. alter in alia [9] parte discurrentes. cuneum imperatoris infestabant. [t] At gualwanus [10 q] semper [11] uirtute exestuans. nitebatur ut aditum congrediendi cum lucio haberet. nitendo ut [u] audacissimus miles irruebat. [v] irruendo hostes [w] prosternebat. prosternendo cedebat. Hoelus quoque non [x] inferior illo ex alia parte [12] fulminabat. socios etiam suos [y] hortabatur. [13] inimicos percutiebat. [14 z] eorumque ictus haut [a'] timidus recipiebat. nec ulla hora deficiebat quin sepissime percuteretur & percuteret. [15] Non [b'] facile diffiniri [c'] poterat quis [d'] eorum alterum [e'] excederet. [f']

[1] *Richomarcus.* [2] *bloccouius.* [3] *iagwiuius.* [4] *gwalgwino.* [5] *uelancea.* [6] *eripuissent.* *Bern*
[7] *inter.* [8] *gwalgwinus.* [9] *altera.* [10] *gwalgwainus.* [11] insert *recenti.*
[12] *ex parte alia.* [13] insert &. [14] *feriebat.* [15] *percuteret & percuteretur.*

[a] *eciam.* [b] *Ricomarcus.* [c] *Bloccouius.* [d] *languius.* [e] *bolloano.* [f] *uenturam.* *Harleck*
[g] omit *etas.* [h] omit *Nam.* [i] *impetum predictum.* [j] *WalWanio.* [k] *iminebat.* [l] insert *cum.* [m] omit *uel.* [n] *eripuissent.* [o] *consulibus.* [p] *coieruni.* [q] *WalWanius.* [r] *generauerant.* [s] *insistebant.* [t] *infestabat.* [u] *etiam.* [v] omit *irruebat.* [w] omit *hostes.* [x] omit *non.* [y] omit *etiam suos.* [z] *feriebat.* [a'] *aut.* [b'] *Nec.* [c'] *definiri.* [d'] *quin.* [e'] *quis.* [f'] *excideret.*

by the killing of Kynnvarch, prince of Teyger; and two thousand with him. And there were killed three nobles whose heroism was no less than that of princes. Howel and Gwalchmai kept together and upheld their honour, killing whoever met them, giving and taking blows. And in the end Gwalchmai got what he longed for, namely, to meet lles, Emperor of Ryfain. And there was nothing the Emperor liked better than to meet Gwalchmai, and they exchanged strokes. And when they were most fiercely dealing them, a multitude of the men of Ryfain came upon Howel and Gwalchmai, so

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·x. xi Porro gualwanus[1 a] cedendo[b] turmas ut predictum est[c] inuenit tandem aditum quem optabat.[2 d] & in imperatorem irruit. & cum illo congressus est. At lucius[e] prima iuuentute florens. multum audacie. multum uigoris.[f] multum probitatis habebat. nichilque magis desiderabat. quam congredi cum milite tali qui eum coegisset[3 g] experiri quantum in milicia[4] ualeret.[5 h] Resistens itaque[i] gualwano[6 j] congressum cum eo[7 k] inire letatur[l] & gloriatur.[m] quia tantam famam de eo audierat. Commisso itaque[8 n] diutius[o] inter se prelio.[f p] dant ictus ualidos. & clipeos[q] ictibus pretendo.[9 r] uterque neci alterius imminere[s] elaborabat.[10 t] Dum autem acrius in hunc modum decertarent.[f] ecce romani[u] subito recuperantes. impetum in armoricanos faciunt. & imperatori[11 v] subuenientes. hoelum & gualwanum[12 w] cum suis turmis[x] cedendo pepulerunt.[y] donec in
f. 112 rec. obuiam | arturo[z] & eiusdem agmini ex inprouiso uenerunt. Ipse etenim audita suorum strage que paulo ante eisdem[a'] dabatur. cum lelegione irruerat. & abstracto caliburno gladio optimo.[b'] celsa uoce atque his[c'] uerbis commilitones suos inanimabat.[f] inquiens. Quid facitis uiri? Ut quid muliebres istos[13 d'] permittitis illesos[e'] abire? Neon abscedat ullus uiuus. Mementote[f'] dexterarum uestrarum que tot preliis exercitate terdena regna potestati mee subdiderunt.[f'] Mementote auorum uestrorum

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Bern [1] *Gwalgwainus.* [2] *adoptabat.* [3] *cogisset.* [4] *militia.* [5] *ualuisset.* [6] *gwalgwaino.* [7] *eius;* omit *cum.* [8] omit *itaque.* [9] *preponendo.* [10] *elaborat.* [11] insert *suo.* [12] *gwalgwainum.* [13] omit *istos.*

Harlech [a] *WalWanius.* [b] omit *cedendo.* [c] insert *infestans.* [d] *petebat.* [e] *lutius.* [f] omit *multum uigoris.* [g] omit *qui eum coegisset;* insert *ut quiuisset.* [h] *ualuisset.* [i] omit *itaque.* [j] *WalWanio.* [k] *eius;* omit *cum.* [l] *letabatur.* [m] *gloriabatur.* [n] omit *itaque.* [o] *diucius.* [p] *prelium.* [q] *clypeos.* [r] *pretendendo.* [s] *iminere.* [t] *elaborat.* [u] omit *romani.* [v] insert *suo.* [w] *WalWanium.* [x] *turmis suis.* [y] *propulerunt.* [z] *Arturo.* [a'] *eis.* [b'] *optimo gladio.* [c'] *hiis.* [d'] omit *istos.* [e'] *illesos permittitis.* [f'] omit *Mementote . . . subdiderunt.*

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that they had to fall back to Arthyr and his army. And when Arthyr saw it, greatly enraged, he rushed upon the men of Ryfain, menacing them
f. 121 vo. with [Ch]Kaledvwlch, and calling loudly to his men, "Do not delay, nobles, to avenge the wrong of your ancestors on these vain men. Deal them blows in fierce fashion, and summon to you all your might, as you have

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quos romani dum forciores[1] erant tributarios fecerunt. Mementote libertatis uestre. quam semiuiri isti. &[a] uobis[2] debiliores eripere[3][b] affectant. Ne abeat[c] unus[4][d] uiuus. ne abeat. Quid facitis? Hec & plura alia uociferando irruebat in hostes. prosternebat. cedebat. & cuicumque obuiabat. aut ipsum aut ipsius equum uno ictu[e] interficiebat. Diffugiebant ergo ipsum uelut[f] belue ferocem leonem.[g] quem seua fames[h] instimulat ad deuorandum quicquid casus subuectat. Arma sua nichil eis proficiebant.[i] quin caliburnus dextera[5][j] tam uirtuosi[k] regis uibratus. cogeret ipsos[l] animas eructare cum sanguine. Duos[m] reges uidelicet[6][n] sertorium[o] libie. bithinieque politetem[p] infortunium ei obuios fecit.[q] quos abscisis capitibus ad tartara direxit.[r] Viso igitur rege suo in hunc modum decertare britones.[s] maiorem audaciam[7] capessunt.[t] romanos unanimiter inuadunt. densata caterua incedunt. Et dum ex una parte pedestres hoc | modo *f. 112 vo.* infestarent. equestres ex alia parte[u] prosternere & penetrare conabantur. resistunt tamen acriter romani. & monitu lucii[v] illustris regis uicem illate cladis britonibus[w] reddere elaborant.[x] Tanta igitur ui in utraque parte[u] pugnatur.[8][y] ac si tunc primum recenter conuenirent. Hinc autem arturus[v] sepius ac sepius ut predictum est hostes percuciens britones.[s] ad prostrandum[9][z] hortabatur. Illinc uero[a'] lucius hiberus.[b'] romanos

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[1] *fortiores.* [2] insert *demere.* [3] omit *eripere.* [4] *ullus.* [5] *dextra.* [6] omit *uidelicet.* *Bern*
[7] *audatiam.* [8] *pugnatur parte.* [9] *perstandum.*

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[a] *eciam.* [b] *demere.* [c] *habeat.* [d] *ullus.* [e] omit *uno ictu.* [f] *uelud.* [g] *leonem* *Harlech*
ferocem. [h] *fama.* [i] *proficiebant eis.* [j] *dextra.* [k] *uirosi.* [l] *eos.* [m] *Duo.* [n] omit
uidelicet. [o] *sertorum.* [p] *Politetemque Bithinie.* [q] omit *obuios fecit;* insert *optulit.*
[r] *direxit ad tartara.* [s] *Britones.* [t] *capescunt.* [u] omit *parte.* [v] *lucilii.* [w] omit
britonibus. [x] *elaborabant.* [y] *Arturus.* [z] *perstandum.* [a'] *autem.* [b'] *hyberius.*

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always done, and we shall not withdraw from them a single step." And then at the head of his men Arthyr attacked his enemies like a fierce lion, and whoever met him, with one stroke he killed him. And therefore all fled before him, as weak animals before a hungry lion; for no one's armour profited him against his blows. And then Arthyr met two kings, Sertorius, King of Libia, and ffpoltetes, King of Bettania, and killed them with two strokes. And then when all saw their Lord thus sufficing, inflamed with wrath and

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suos & monebat. & in [a] preclaras probitates multociens[1] [b] ducebat. Nec ipse cessabat ferire. set in omnes partes turmas suas circumagendo.[2] [c] quemcumque hostem casus offerebat uel lancea uel gladio[3] perimebat. Fiebat itaque in utraque parte cedes abhorrenda. quia quandoque britones.[d] quandoque romani uersa uice preualebant. Postremo dum talis decertacio[4] inter eos fieret. ecce moruid[e] consul claudiocestrie[5] cum legione quam esse[f] infra colles[g] superius dixi subito cursu[h] occurrit. & hostes nichil tale premeditatos. a[i] dorso inuadit. inuadens[6] penetrauit. penetrans dissipauit. atque maximam stragem fecit. Tunc multa milia romanorum conciderunt.[j] Tunc tandem[k] lucius imperator infra turmas occupatus. cuiusdam lancea confossus interiit. At britones[d] usque instantes[7] [l] uictoriam. licet maximo labore habuerunt.

x. xii Disgregati[m] igitur romani partim deuia & [n] nemora cogente timore[o] carpebant. partim[p] ciuitates & opida. & ad queque[8] [q] tutissima loca diffugiebant. Quos britones[d] |
f. 113 rec. omni nisu insequendo[r] miserabili[9] [s] cede. afficiunt. capiunt. despoliant.[10] [t] ita quod maxima pars eorum ultro protendebat [u] manus suas muliebriter uincendas.[v] ut pauxillum[11] spacium uiuendi[12] haberet.[w] Quod diu ne potentie[x] stabat [y] dispositione.[13] [z]

Bern [1] *multotiens.* [2] *circueundo.* [3] *uel gladio uel lancea.* [4] *decertatio.* [5] *cladiocestrie.* [6] *inuadensque* [7] *insistentes.* [8] *quecumque.* [9] insert *nece &.* [10] *dispoliant.* [11] *paxillum.* [12] *uiuendi spacium.* [13] *loco.*

Harlech [a] omit *in.* [b] *sepius.* [c] *circumeundo.* [d] *Britones.* [e] *Moriud.* [f] *se.* [g] omit *colles.* [h] *occursu.* [i] *in.* [j] *ceciderunt.* [k] *eciam.* [l] *insistentes.* [m] *Dissegregati.* [n] omit *&.* [o] *timore cogente.* [p] insert *ad.* [q] *quecumque.* [r] *insequentes.* [s] *mirabili.* [t] *dispoliant.* [u] *pretendebat.* [v] *uinciendas.* [w] *haberent.* [x] *potencie.* [y] *stabili.* [z] *loco.*

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hatred, from that time they fought manfully according to their lord's example. And thus also did the men of Ryfain, encouraging and ordering their men. And so the number of those killed there on both sides could not be counted. Then, behold, [v]Morydd, Earl of kaer-loyw, came up with a legion of nobles and pressed the men of Ryfain anew. And then came one of the bryttaniaid and stabbed lles, the Emperor of Ryfain, with a spear so that he fell dead upon the ground; it was not known who killed him. And

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cum & ueteres eorum priscis [a] temporibus auos istorum inuisis [b] inquietationibus infestarent.[1] & isti[2] [c] libertatem quam illi eisdem demere affectabant. tueri instarent.[f] abnegantes tributum quod ab ipsis iniuste exigebatur. Habita denique uictoria illa. *x. xiii* arturus[3] [d] corpora procerum suorum ab hostilibus cadaueribus separari iubet. separata uero[4] [e] regio more parari.[f] parata uero.[f] [g] ad conprouinciales abbacias[5] deferri.[h] ut ibidem honorifice sepelirentur. At beduerus[i] pincerna[j] ad boiocas[6] [k] ciuitatem suam quam beduerus[i] primus & proauus suus edificauerat ab neustriensibus[7] [l] cum maximis lamentis deportatur. Ibi in quodam cimiterio quod in australi parte ciuitatis erat iuxta murum honorifice positus[m] fuit. Cheudo[n] autem ad camum[o] opidum quod ipse construxerat grauiter uulneratus asportatur.[p] & paulo post eodem uulnere defunctus. in quodam nemore in cenobio heremitarum qui ibidem non longe ab opido erant ut decuit andegauensium[q] ducem humatus fuit.[r] Holdinus quoque dux ruthenorum[s] flandrias delatus. in terwana[t] ciuitate sua sepultus est. Ceteri autem[u] consules & proceres ut preceperat arturus.[d] ad uicinas[v] abbacias[5] delati sunt. Hostes quoque suos miseratus precepit | indigenis sepelire[w] eos. corpusque lucii[x] *f. 113 vo.*

[1] *infestassent.* [2] insert *tunc.* [3] *Arturus.* [4] *autem.* [5] *abatias.* [6] *baiocas.* [7] *neustrensibus.* *Bern*

[a] *primis.* [b] *iniustis.* [c] insert *nunc.* [d] *Arturus.* [e] *autem.* [f] omit *parari.* [g] omit *uero.* [h] *defferri.* [i] *Beduerus.* [j] omit *pincerna.* [k] *Baiocas.* [l] *estruensibus.* [m] *sepultus.* [n] *Kayus.* [o] *Kainum.* [p] *aspotatur.* [q] *andegauiensium.* [r] *est.* [s] *Ruthenorum.* [t] *teruana.* [u] insert *&.* [v] insert *prouincias.* [w] *sepeliri.* [x] *lucilii.* *Harlech*

then the bryttaniait triumphed and put to flight the men, killing and hacking them for seeking to compel Free nobles to pay them tribute. And then Arthyr gave orders to separate the bodies of his men from the bodies of the men of Ryfain, and to bury them honourably in the nearest Monasteries. And then Arthyr ordered that the bodies of the nobles of Ryfain should be sent to be buried with their friends.* And the body of Bedwyr was carried to normandi to the city he himself had built; and there he was buried. And the body of Kei was taken to [B]Peittio, and there in a church of the hermits it was buried. And Holdin, prince of Ryttain, was borne to fflawndyrs. And all the other nobles were carried to the nearest churches. And *f. 122 rec.*

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ad senatum deferri.[1] mandans non debere aliud[2 a] ex britannia[b] reddi. Deinde post subsequentem hiemem[c] in partibus illis moratus est & ciuitates allobrogum subiugare uacauit. Adueniente uero estate[d] cum[3 e] romam petere affectaret. & montes transcendere incepisset.[f] nunciatur[4 f] ei modredum[g] nepotem suum cuius tutele commiserat[5] britanniam.[h] eiusdem diademate per tirannidem[6 i] & prodicionem[7] insignitum esse reginamque ganhumaram[8 j] uiolato iure priorum nuptiarum[k] eidem nefando[9 l] uenere copulatam fuisse.

XI. i De[10 m] hoc quidem[n] consul auguste galfridus[o] monumotensis[11 p] tacebit.[q] set ut in prefato britannico[r] sermone inuenit. & a walterio[12 s] oxenefordensi[t] in multis historiis[u] peritissimo uiro audiuit uili licet stilo breuiter tamen[13] propalabit que prelia inclitus ille rex[v] post uictoriam istam in britanniam[h] reuersus cum nepote suo commiserit.[w] Ut igitur infamia prenuncialis[14 x] sceleris aures ipsius[y] attigit.[z] [15] continuo dilata inquietatione[a'] quam leoni regi romanorum ingerere[a'] affectauerat. dimissoque[b'] hoelo duce[c'] armoricanorum cum

Bern [1] *deferre.* [2] insert *tributum.* [3] *dum.* [4] *nuntiatur.* [5] *permiserat.* [6] *tyrannidem.* [7] *proditionem.* [8] *ganhumeram.* [9] *nephanda.* [10] *Nec.* [11] *monemutensis.* [12] *gwaltero.* [13] omit *tamen.* [14] *prenuntiati.* [15] *attigit ipsius.*

Harlech [a] insert *tributum.* [b] *Brittannia.* [c] *hyemem.* [d] *Estate uero adueniente.* [e] *dum.* [f] *nunciatum est.* [g] *Modredum.* [h] *Brittanniam.* [i] *tyrannidem.* [j] *Guenhuaram.* [k] *nupciarum.* [l] *nefanda.* [m] *Nec.* [n] insert *tacebit.* [o] *Galfridus.* [p] *monemutensis.* [q] omit *tacebit.* [r] *Brittannico.* [s] *Waltero.* [t] *hoxinefordensi.* [u] *hystoriis.* [v] *rex ille.* [w] *commiserat.* [x] *prenunciata.* [y] *illius.* [z] *inquietacione.* [a'] *ingenere.* [b'] *dimisso.* [c'] *rege.*

then Arthyr ordered the body of the emperor of Ryfain to be laid before the Senate of Ryfain,* warning them to come not a second time to ynys brydain to get tribute. And there Arthyr dwelt that winter subduing Byrgwin. And so when in the first week of summer Arthyr was setting out towards Ryfain across the mountains of Mynnav, he was overtaken by messengers from ynys Brydain who told him that [V]Medrod, his nephew, son of his sister, had put on the crown of [L]Llvndain, and had taken Gwenhwyfar to his bed as his wedded wife, and had taken also the whole realm.
f. 122 vo. And then Arthyr hastened toward ynys Brydain, and left Howel the son of Emyr Llydaw to subdue the countries of the men of Ryfain. And then

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exercitu galliarum ut partes illas pacificaret.[f] confestim cum insulanis tantummodo regibus eorumque exercitibus[a] britanniam[b] remeauit. Predictus autem sceleratissimus proditor ille modredus chelricum[c] saxonum ducem germaniam direxerat. ut in illa[d] quoscumque posset associaret sibi. & cum[1 e] associoatis[2 f] quibusque iterum citissimus[3 g] rediret. Spoponderat enim[4 h] se | illi[5 i] hoc pacto daturum partem illam insule que a flumine *f. 114 rec.*
humbri usque ad scotiam porrigebatur. & quicquid in cantia[j] tempore uortegirni.[k] horsus & hengistus possederant. At ille peracto illius[6 l] precepto cum[7] octingentis[m] nauibus plenis armatis paganis iam[8 n] applicuerat. & federe dato huic proditori quasi regi suo parebat. Associauerat etiam[9 o] sibi scottos.[10] pictos. hybernienses.[11 p] &[12] quoscumque callebat habuisse auunculum suum[13 q] odio. Erant autem omnes numero quasi octoginta milia. tam paganorum quam christianorum. quorum auxilio fretus &[14 r] multitudine[15] comitatus arturo[s] in rutpupi[16] portu applicanti in obuiam uenit. & commisso prelio maximam stragem dedit applicantibus. Auguselus etenim rex albanie. & gualwanus[17 t] nepos regis cum innumerabilibus aliis in die illa[u]

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[1] omit *cum.* [2] *associatis.* [3] *citissimis;* insert *uelis.* [4] *etiam.* [5] *ipsi.* [6] *ipsius.* *Bern*
[7] omit *cum.* [8] omit *iam.* [9] *quoque.* [10] *scotos.* [11] *hibernenses.* [12] omit &. [13] *suum auunculum.* [14] *quorum.* [15] *multitudinem.* [16] *rupini.* [17] *gwalgwainus.*

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[a] omit *eorumque exercitibus.* [b] *brittanniam.* [c] *clericum.* [d] omit *in illa.* [e] omit *Harlech*
cum. [f] *associatis.* [g] *citissimis;* insert *uelis.* [h] *eciam;* insert *in.* [i] *ipso.* [j] omit
cantia. [k] *Wortegirni.* [l] *ipsius.* [m] *.c.dccc.* [n] omit *iam.* [o] *quoque.* [p] *hybernenses.*
[q] *suum auunculum.* [r] *quorum.* [s] *Arturo.* [t] *WalWanius.* [u] *illa die.*

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[v]Medrod was forced to send Selix to invite the Sermaniait to come to ynys Brydain to help him with the greatest number they could get, and he would give them as much as [w]Gwrtheyrn had given them, — that is from the hymyr onwards, and the shire of [g]kaint also. And then sselix went to ssermania and came back again with seven hundred ships full of armed pagans. And while awaiting his coming, [v]Medrod had made agreement between the ffichdiait and the Yssgottiait and the gwyddyl, and every tribe that hated Arthyr, until he got with him eighty thousand fighting men. And Medrod went with that multitude with him to Norddhamtwn to try to prevent Arthyr's landing. And Arthyr and his fleet were on the sea, and

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corruerunt. Successit autem auguselo [a] in regnum [1] huiuenus [2 b] filius uriani [c] fratris sui. qui postea in decertacionibus [3] istis [d] multis probitatibus preclaruit. Postquam tandem tametsi [e] magno labore litora [f] adepti fuerunt.[g] mutuam reddendo cladem. modredum [g] & exercitum eius in fugam propulerunt.[4 h] Assiduis namque debellationibus [i] usi. sapienter turmas suas disposuerant. que [j] partim equis [5 k] distribute tali modo decertabant. quod cum pedestre agmen ad inuadendum uel resistendum intenderet.[l] equestre ilico ab obliquo irruens. omni nisu hostes penetrare conantur.[l] unde eos ad diffugiendum coegerunt. Periurus [6 m] ille reuocatis undique suis. insequenti nocte guintoniam [7 n] ingressus
f. 114 vo. est. Quod ut ganhumare [o] | regine [p] nuntiatum est.[8] confestim sibi [q] desperans. ab [r] eboraco ad urbem legionum diffugit. atque in templo [s] iulii martiris inter monachas [t] earum [9 u] uitam suscepit.[x] & [u] caste uiuere proposuit.[v]

XI. ii At arturus [w] acriori ira succensus.[x] quoniam [y] tot centena commilitonum suorum amiserat. in tercia [z] die datis prius sepulture peremptis.[10] ciuitatem adiuit. atque infra receptum modedrum nebulonem obsedit. Qui tamen ceptis suis desistere nolens. set ipsos qui ei adherebant pluribus modis

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Bern [1] *in regnum auguselo.* [2] *hiwenus.* [3] *decertationibus.* [4] *propulerunt in fugam.* [5] *que partim pede. partim equo.* [6] insert *ergo.* [7] *gwintoniam.* [8] *nuntiatum est regine.* [9] *eiusdem.* [10] *peremtis.*

Harlech [a] *Auguselo.* [b] *iWenus.* [c] *Vnani.* [d] *illis.* [e] *& si.* [f] *littora.* [g] *Modredum.* [h] *propulerunt in fugam.* [i] *debellacionibus.* [j] insert *partim pede.* [k] *equo.* [l] omit *conantur.* [m] insert *ergo.* [n] *Wintoniam.* [o] *GuenWare.* [p] omit *regine.* [q] omit *sibi.* [r] *de.* [s] *templum.* [t] *Monachas.* [u] omit *earum . . . &*; insert *eiusdem.* [v] insert *atque uitam suscepit.* [w] *Arturus.* [x] *accensus.* [y] *qui.* [z] omit *in tercia;* insert *una.*

Medrod on the shore. And then many on all sides were killed; and foremost were Aron, son of Kynnvarch, and Gwalchmai, son of Gwyar. And in place of Aron was put Yrien, son of Kynvarch. But through mighty efforts and loss of Nobles, Arthyr landed, forced Medrod to flight, and scattered his men. And after nightfall, Medrod gathered his men together and went to kaer wynt, and fortified the city against them. And when
f. 123 rec. [w]Gwennhwyfar knew this, she went to kaerllion and took upon herself the garb of religion with the other Nuns in the church of ssiliws the Martyr.

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inanimans.[1] cum agminibus suis egreditur. atque cum auunculo suo preliari disponit.[2 a] Inito ergo certamine. facta est maxima cedes in utraque parte. que tandem magis in ipsius partem[3 b] illata. coegit eum campum turpiter relinquere. Qui deinde non multum curans que[c] sepelicio[4 d] peremptis[5] suis fieret cito remige fuge euectus. uersus cornubiam iter arripuit. Arturus autem interna anxietate cruciatus quoniam tociens[6] euasisset.[e] confestim persecutus est eum in predictam patriam usque ad fluuium camblam.[7 e] ubi ille aduentum eius[f] expectabat. Porro modredus[g] ut erat omnium audacissimus. & semper ad inuadendum celerrimus.[h] confestim milites suos[i] per cateruas distribuit.[j] affectans prius uincere uel mori.[e] quam predicto modo diucius[8] fugere.[k] Remanserant[l] ei adhuc ex predicto numero sociorum suorum .lx. milia.[9] ex quibus fecit[10] .vi. turmas.[11] & in unaquaque[m] posuit .vi. milia armatorum.[12] & sexcentos sexaginta sex.[n] Preterea uero fecit[o] unam turmam ex ceteris qui superfuerant. & unicuique aliarum ductoribus datis.[e] [p] eam tutele sue permisit.[q] His[r] ita[13 s] | distributis. quemque eorum[t] inanimabat. promit- *f. 115 rec.*
tens ceterorum[u] possessiones eis. si ad triumphandum[v] persta-

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[1] *animans.* [2] *disposuit.* [3] *in partem ipsius.* [4] *sepelitio.* [5] *peremtis.* [6] *toliens.* *Bern*
[7] *camblani.* [8] *diutius.* [9] insert *armatorum.* [10] omit *fecit.* [11] insert *constituit.* [12] omit *armatorum.* [13] *itaque.*

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[a] *disposuit.* [b] *parte ipsius.* [c] *quid.* [d] omit *sepelicio;* insert *de.* [e] *ablam.* *Harlech*
[f] *eius aduentum.* [g] *Modredus.* [h] *celerimus.* [i] insert *disponit.* [j] omit *distribuit.*
[k] *diffugere.* [l] *Remanserunt.* [m] insert *turma.* [n] *.dc. & lxvi.* [o] *secum.* [p] *datis ductoribus.* [q] *submisit.* [r] *Hiis.* [s] *itaque.* [t] *illorum.* [u] *eorum.* [v] *triumphum.*

And at the end of the third day, after he had his men buried, Arthyr and his army went to kaer Wynt. And then Medrod and his army came out from the city and gave battle to Arthyr. And there was a great slaughter and many were killed on both sides, — but in the end Medrod fled and escaped to [w][x]kerniw. And Arthyr did not wait here* to bury his men, but pursued Medrod the traitor, grieved because he had twice escaped him. And then on the river [y]kamlan Medrod awaited Arthyr, and the number of Medrod's army was sixty thousand six hundred and six men. And therefore it seemed better to him to await Arthyr than to fly the place. And Medrod marshalled his men in nine armies with about a legion of men in each army. And then Medrod promised everybody that if he were victori-

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rent. Arturus quoque suum exercitum in aduersa parte [e] statuit. quem [b] per nouem [1] diuisit agmina [c] pedestria cum dextro ac [d] sinistro cornu quadrata. & unicuique presidibus commissis. hortatur ut periuros & latrones interimant.[2] qui monitu proditoris sui de externis regionibus in [e] insulam aduecti. suas eis honores [f] demere [g] affectabant. Dicit etiam [h] diuersos diuersorum regnorum barbaros. inbelles. atque belli usus ignaros esse & nullatenus ipsis uirtuosis uiris & [i] pluribus debellationibus usis [i] resistere posse.[j] si audacter inuadere & uiriliter decertare affectent.[3 k] Ipsis itaque commilitones suos hinc & inde in [l] hunc modum [4 l] cohortantibus subito impetu concurrunt acies. & commisso prelio crebros [5] ictus [6] inferre [7 m] elaborant. Fiunt ilico in utrisque partibus tante strages. tanti morientium [n] gemitus. tanti inuadentium [o] furores. quantos & dolorosum [8] est describere. Undique etenim uulnerabant. & [p] uulnerabantur. perimebant. & perimebantur. Postquam ergo [9 q] multum diei in hunc modum duxerant.[f] [10 r] irruit tandem [s] arturus [t] cum agmine [u] uno quo sex [v] milia & sexcentos sexaginta sex [w] posuerat. in turmam illam ubi modredum [x] sciebat esse & uiam gladiis aperiendo eam penetrauit. atque horribilem [11 y] cedem ingessit. Condicit namque

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Bern [1] *ix.* [2] *perimant.* [3] *affectarent.* [4] omit *in hunc modum.* [5] *crebris.* [6] *ictibus.* [7] *inuectere.* [8] insert *&* *laboriosum.* [9] *autem.* [10] *duxerunt.* [11] *tristissimam.*

Harlech [e] *aduersam partem.* [b] *que.* [b] *agmina diuisit.* [d] *&.* [e] omit *in.* [f] *honores eis.* [g] *auferre.* [h] *eciam.* [i] omit *&* . . . *usis.* [j] *posse resistere.* [k] *affectarent.* [l] omit *in* . . . *modum.* [m] *in necte.* [n] *moriencium.* [o] *inuadencium.* [p] omit *uulnerabant. &.* [q] *autem.* [r] *duxerunt.* [s] omit *tandem.* [t] *Arturus.* [u] insert *suo.* [v] *.vi.* [w] *.dc. & lxvi.* [x] *Modredum.* [y] *tristicimam.*

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ous he would meet the desires of all as to land and earth and treasure and other gifts. And against him Arthyr marshalled, and said, "Ha nobles, those people yonder will never fight unitedly; for they are a mixed, gibberish speaking, excommunicated people*; they have not the same heart as
f. 123 vo. good [ch]kristians; and further, we are in the right, and they are in the wrong." And so, directing his men, Arthyr attacked his enemies, and he and his army fought so bitterly that the living went out of their minds because of the cries and shrieks of the half-dead. And then when the day was far spent, Arthyr fell upon the army in which [V]Medrod was, and at once scat-

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nefandus ille proditor.[1 a] & multa milia | secum. nec tamen ob *f. 115 vo.*
casum eius diffugiunt ceteri. set ex omni campo confluentes.
quantum audatia[2 b] dabatur resistere conantur. Committitur
ergo durissima[3 c] pugna inter eos. qua[4 d] omnes fere duces qui in
ambabus[5] partibus affuerant.[e] cum suis cateruis corruerunt.
Corruerunt etenim in[6] parte modredi[f] chelricus. elafius.[g]
egbrictus.[h] bruningus.[7 i] saxones. gillapatric.[8 j] gillamor.[9 k] gil-
lasel.[10 l] gillaruum[11 m] hibernenses.[n] scoti[o] etiam[12 p] picti. cum
~~omnibus fere quorum~~ dominabantur. In parte autem arturi.[f q]
odbrictus[13 r] rex norguegie.[s] aschillus[14 t] rex dacie. cador[u]
limenich,[15 v] cassibellaunus[16 w] cum multis milibus suorum. tam
britonum[x] quam ceterarum gentium.[f y] quas secum adduxerant.[z]
Set et inclitus ille rex arturus[a'] letaliter uulneratus est qui
illuc[inc] ad sananda uulnera sua in[b'] insulam auallonis euectus.
constantino cognato suo. & filio cadoris ducis cornubie diadema
britannie[c'] concessit. anno[17] ab incarnatione domini .d.xlii.[18]

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[1] *proditor ille nefandus.* [2] *audacia.* [3] *dirissima.* [4] *quia.* [5] *ambis.* [6] *ex.* *Bern*
[7] *bruniggus.* [8] *Gillapatric.* [9] *Gillabor.* [10] *Gillafer.* [11] *Gillarum.* [12] insert &.
[13] *olberictus.* [14] *Aschillus.* [15] *limenic.* [16] *cassibellanus.* [17] *Anno.* [18] add *Anima eius in pace quiescat.*

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[a] *proditor ille nefandus.* [b] *audacia.* [c] *dirissima.* [d] *quia.* [e] *affuerunt.* [f] *Mo-* *Harlech*
dredi. [g] *elaffius.* [h] *edbrictus.* [i] *Brumergus.* [j] *Gillopatric.* [k] *Gillamor.* [l] *Gillaci.*
[m] *Gillurium.* [n] *hybernenses.* [o] *Scotti.* [p] *eciam;* insert &. [q] *Arturi.* [r] *Odbrictus.*
[s] *norWegie.* [t] *Aschillus.* [u] *Cador.* [v] *luneuie.* [w] *Cassibellaunus.* [x] *Britonum.*
[y] *gencium.* [z] *adduxerat.* [a'] *Arturus.* [b'] *ad.* [c'] *Britannie.*

---

tered the army, and pierced it through, this did Arthyr, like a lion amid tame animals. And in that onrush, he killed [V]Medrod, and thousands with him. And yet in spite of the death of Medrod, all of those who still lived fought the greatest battle that ever was. And these of Medrod's princes were killed: Eiaes, Brytt, Bwfynt, of the ssaesson. From Iwerddon, Gilamwri, and Gilaffradric, and Gilassgwrwm, and ilarch. And the ffichdiaid and Yssgottiait were all killed. And on Arthyr's side were killed Ebras, King of llychlyn; and [Ch]Koel, King of dennmark; and [Ch]Kattwr Lemennic; and [Ch]Kasswallawn, and many thousands more. And there also was Arthyr wounded mortally, and from the midst of [s]kam Lan he was borne and went thence to ynys Avallach to be healed. And there is not said here of the death of Arthyr more than this.*

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xi. iii Illo[1] igitur insignito. insurrexerunt saxones. & duo filii modredi[a] nec in eum preualere quiuerunt. set post plurima prelia[b] diffugiendo. unus lundonias.[2] alter uero guintoniam[c] ingressus. eas optinere[3 d] cepunt.[4 e] Tunc defunctus est sanctus daniel[f] bangornensis[g] ecclesie. religiosissimus antistes. &[5 h] glouecestrensis[6 i] episcopus. in archiepiscopatum[j] lundoniarum[7] erigitur. Tunc obiit sanctissimus urbis legionum archiepiscopus dauid in meneuia ciuitate infra abbatiam[8 k] suam. quam pre ceteris sue diocesis[9] monasteriis[l] dilexerat. quia beatus |
f. 116 rec. patricius qui natiuitatem eius prophetauerat ipsam[m] fundauit. Dum[n] ibi apud[o] confratres suos moram faceret. subito languore grauatus defunctus est[10] & iubente mabgone[p] rege[11] in eadem ecclesia sepultus.[12] Pro eo ponitur in metropolitana sede kinocus[q] lampaternensis ecclesie antistes. & ad altiorem[r] dignitatem promouetur.

xi. iv At constantinus insecutus est[13] filios[s] modredi. & saxones[t] potestati sue subiugauit. & predictas ciuitates cepit. & alterum guintonie iuuenem[14 t] in ecclesia sancti amphibali[u] diffugientem ante altare trucidauit. Alium[v] uero lundoniis[15] in quorundam[16] fratrum[w] cenobio absconditum. atque

Bern [1] Initial *I* omitted by rubricator. [2] *londonias.* [3] *oblinere.* [4] *ceperunt.* [5] *&.* *enim.* [6] *gloeccestrensis.* [7] *londoniarum.* [8] *abatiam.* [9] *dioceseos.* [10] omit *grauatus defunctus est;* insert *mortuus.* [11] omit *&* *iubente mabgone rege.* [12] insert *est.* [13] insert *duos.* [14] *iuuenem gvintonie.* [15] *londoniis.* [16] *quorumdam.*

Harlech [a] *Modredi.* [b] *bella.* [c] *Wintoniam.* [d] *opprimere.* [e] *ceperunt.* [f] *dauid.* [g] *Bangornensis.* [h] insert *theonus.* [i] *Glancestrensis.* [j] *archiepiscopum.* [k] *abbaciam.* [l] omit *monasteriis.* [m] *illam.* [n] insert *enim.* [o] *apud.* [p] *malgone;* insert *uenedotorum.* [q] *Kynocus.* [r] *alciorem.* [s] omit *filios . . . saxones;* insert *saxones. & eos.* [t] *iuuenem Wintonie.* [u] *Amphibali.* [v] *Alterum.* [w] omit *fratrum.*

And to [G]Kystennin, son of Kattwr, did Arthyr commit the crown of the kingdom. The age of Krist was then five hundred and forty-two years.
f. 124 rec. This is the end of the history of Arthyr and Medrod.

And when Kystennin had been crowned King, the two sons of [V]Medrod and the ssaesson rose against him, but it did not prosper them. And then died Dewi, the Archbishop of Kaer llion, and Maelgwn Gwynedd caused him to be buried honourably. And so after many battles between Kystennin

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tandem [a] iuxta altare [a] inuentum crudeli morte affecit. Exin [b] quarto [c] anno sentencia [d] dei percussus [d] iuxta utherpendragon [e] infra lapidum structuram sepultus fuit. que haut longe a [1] salesbiria [2 f] mira arte composita anglorum lingua stanheng [3] nuncupatur. [4]

Cui successit aurelius [g] conanus mire probitatis iuuenis & ipsius nepos qui monarchiam [h] tocius [5] insule tenens [i] eiusdem diademate dignus esset si non [6] foret ciuilis belli amator. Auunculum etenim suum [i] qui post constantinum regnare debuit. [k] inquietauit atque in carcerem posuit. eiusque [l] duobus filiis peremptis. optinuit [7 m] regnum. tercioque [n] regni sui anno defunctus est. *XI. v*

Cui successit uortiporius. [8 o] in quem insurrexerunt [p] saxones. conducentes conciues suos. ex germania maximo nauigio. [9] set ipse prelium cum eis iniuit & | superauit. & monarchiam tocius [5] regni adeptus. populum [q] tandem gubernauit cum diligentia & pace. [q] *XI. vi* *f. 116 vo.*

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[1] omit *a.* [2] *salesberia.* [3] *stanhenge.* [4] *nunccupatur.* [5] *totius.* [6] *nisi.* [7] *obtinuit.* [8] *wortiporius.* [9] *conducentes conciues suos nauigio.* *Bern*

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[a] *iuxta altare tandem.* [b] *Exinde.* [c] *tercio.* [d] omit *sentencia ... percussus;* insert *interfectus est a conano &.* [e] *Vterpendragon.* [f] *salesberia.* [g] *Aurelius.* [h] omit *monarchiam.* [i] insert *monarchiam.* [i] *alium.* [k] *deberet.* [l] *eiusdem.* [m] *optinuitque.* [n] *secundoque.* [o] *Vortiporius.* [p] *surrexerunt.* [q] omit *populum ... pace;* insert *qr .iiii. annis cum pace & diligencia gubernauit.* *Harlech*

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and the ssaesson, the ssaesson and one of the sons of [V]Medrod fled to Llyndain, and there he was killed, in the monastery of the brothers. And the other son fled to kaer wynt, and there he was killed in the church of Amffidalys, before the high altar. And in the third year of his reign, Kystenn*in* was killed by [G]Kynan Wledic, and was buried beside Ythyr benn dragwn in the circle of the Giants at ssalssbr*i*.

And after Kystennin reigned Kyna*n* Wledic, a famous Young-man was he, and meet it was for him to wear a Crown, and apt was he in tumult and fightings. And he had an uncle with claim on the crown; and he caught that man and killed his two sons. And in the second year of his reign he died.

And after him came Maelgwn Gwynedd. And a great man was he, a conqueror of many kings, courageous, strong, and fierce was he. And good *f. 124 vo.*

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XI. vii Cui successit malgo. omnium fere ducum britannie[a] pulcherrimus. multorum tirannorum[b] depulsor. robustus armis. largior ceteris. & ultra modum probitate preclarus.[c] nisi sodomitana[d] peste uoluntarius[1][e] sese deo inuisum exhibuisset.[2] Hic etiam[f] totam insulam optinuit.[3] & sex[g] comprouinciales[4][h] occeani insulas. hyberniam[5] uidelicet atque yslandiam.[6][i] gotlandiam.[7][j] orchades.[k] norguegiam.[l] daciam.[m] subiecit[8][n] dirissimis preliis potestati sue.[o]

XI. viii Cui successit keredic[9][p] amator ciuilium bellorum. inuisus deo & britonibus[q] cuius inconstantiam[r] comperientes saxones miserunt[s] propter godmundum[10][t] regem affricanorum[11] in hiberniam.[u] in quam maximis nauigiis aduectus. gentem patrie subiugauerat. Exin[v] prodicione eorum[12] cum centum sexaginta[w] milibus affricanorum ad britanniam[x] transfretauit. quam in una parte mentite fidei[13] saxones. in alia uero[14] ciues patrie. ciuilia bella[15] inter se assidue agentes. penitus deuastabant. Inito igitur[y] federe cum saxonibus obpugnauit

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Bern [1] *uolutatus.* [2] *deo inuisum deo exibuit.* [3] *obtinuit.* [4] *comprouintiales.* [5] *hiberniam.* [6] *hislandiam.* [7] *godlandiam.* [8] *adiecit.* [9] *kareticus.* [10] *gotmundum.* [11] *inffricanorum.* [12] *Exin gotmundus dux eorum.* [13] omit *mentite fidei.* [14] insert *parte.* [15] omit *bella.*

Harlech [a] *Britannie.* [b] *tyrannorum.* [c] *clarus.* [d] *sodomitica.* [e] *uoluptatus.* [f] *eciam.* [g] *.vi.* [h] *prouinciales.* [i] *Hyslandiam.* [j] *Godlandiam.* [k] *Orcades.* [l] *NorWegiam.* [m] *Daciam.* [n] *adiecit.* [o] *sue potestati.* [p] *Kareticus.* [q] *Britonibus.* [r] *inconstanciam.* [s] *irruerunt.* [t] *Gormundum.* [u] *hyberniam.* [v] *Exinde.* [w] *.clx.* [x] *Britanniam.* [y] *ergo.*

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would have been all his doings, had he not given himself to the sin of ssottma and Amorra. And for this he was hateful to god. And he was the first king after Arthyr to subdue six islands* in addition to ynys brydain. These were Iwerddon, Isslont, Yssgottlont, ork, llychlyn, Dennmark. And he made them tributaries to ynys Brydain. And in the church of the brothers did he die when he looked at the yellow spectre through a hole in the door of the Church. And after him Karedic became king; and he loved strife between the tribes, and for this he was hateful to God and the Bryttaniait. And when the ssaesson knew this, [*they*]* sent messengers to Iwerddon to [o]Gormwnt, the King of the Affric who was there; he had come with a great fleet to conquer *I*werddon. And at the request of the ssaesson this Gormwnt came here with sixty ships filled with armed men to ynys Brydain.

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kareticum [a] regem. & post plurima bella [1] fugauit eum a [b] ciuitate in ciuitatem. donec eum trusit in cirecestriam [c] & obsedit. ubi isembardus [d] nepos lothewici [2] [e] regis francorum uenit ad eum. & cum eo fedus amicitie iniuit. [f] & [g] christianitatem suam tali pacto & pro amore suo deseruit. ut auxilio eius [3] [h] regnum gallie [4] auunculo [i] eripere ualeret. [5] [j] a quo ut aiebat | ui & iniuste erat *f. 117 rec.*
expulsus. Capta tandem predicta ciuitate. & succensa. [k] commisit prelium cum karetico [l] & fugauit eum ultra sabrinam in gualias. [6] Moxque [7] [l] depopulans agros. ignem cumulauit in [m] finitimas quasque ciuitates. [n] qui non quieuit accensus donec cunctam pene superficiem insule [o] a mari usque ad mare exussit. [8] [p] ita ut cuncte colonie [q] crebris arietibus omnesque [9] coloni cum sacerdotibus ecclesie mucronibus undique micantibus ac flammis crepitantibus simul [10] humi sternerent. [11] [r] Diffugiebant [12] ergo [s] reliqui [13] [t] tantis cladibus affecte. quocumque tamen [u] fugerent. [v] ipsis cedentibus patebant. [14] Quid ociosa [15] [w] gens pondere inmanium *XI. ix*

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[1] *prelia.* [2] *lodouici.* [3] *suo.* [4] insert *ab.* [5] *ualuisset.* [6] *gwalias.* [7] *Mox.* *Bern*
[8] *excussit.* [9] *omnes.* [10] omit *simul.* [11] *prosternerent.* [12] *Diffugientibus.* [13] *reliquie.* [14] *quocumque tutamen ipsis cedentibus patebant.* [15] *odiosa.*

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[a] *Kareticum.* [b] omit *eum a;* insert *de.* [c] *cirescestriam.* [d] *isem bartus.* [e] *lode-* *Harlech*
Wici. [f] *amicicie adiuit.* [g] omit *&.* [h] *suo.* [i] insert *eius.* [j] *ualuisset.* [k] *Karetico.*
[l] *Mox.* [m] omit *in.* [n] insert *combussit.* [o] omit *insule.* [p] *excussit.* [q] *colone.*
[r] *sternerentur.* [s] omit *ergo.* [t] *reliquie.* [u] *tutamen.* [v] omit *fugerent.* [w] *Quod odiosa.*

The Bryttaniait, who were good [g]kristians, held the other part by true right, and on evil terms were they with the ssaesson. And when this Gormwnt had come to help the ssaesson, they fought [Ch]Karedic and got the victory over him, and drove him in flight to ssyssedr. And after this Gormwnt had beaten the bryttaniait, Imbert, the King of ffraink, came to *f. 125 rec.*
do homage to this Gormwnt to get his help to win back ffraink from his uncle, who had driven him from his rightful heritage. And together they went to kaer Vyddav to attack the city, and to find Karedic, and to shut up the citizens within it, — getting nothing, except losing their men. And then in council they formed this plan, — to catch a great number of sparrows,* and fill nutshells with fire and brimstone and pitch, and towards nightfall to tie the nutshells to their bills, and to let them fly to the roofs of the houses of the town and to the stacks of grain and hay. And then the fire blazed up in the shells fanned by the wind from the bird's wings, so that the

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scelerum oppressa. quid semper ciuilia prelia siciens[1] tete[a] domesticis in tantum debilitasti motibus. que[2][b] cum prius longe posita regna potestati tue subdidisses.[c] nunc uelut[d] bona uinea degenerata in amaritudinem uersa.[e] patriam. coniuges. liberos nequeas ab inimicis tueri? Age ergo age ciuile discidium. parum intelligens illud euangelicum.[3][f] Omne regnum in se ipsum diuisum desolabitur. & domus supra domum cadet. Quia ergo regnum tuum in se[g] diuisum fuit. quia[2] furor[h] ciuilis discordie. & liuoris[i] fumus mentem tuam hebetauit. quia superbia tua uni regi obedientiam[j] ferre te[4][k] non permisit. cernis iccirco[l] patriam tuam ab impiissimis paganis desolatam.[m] domos etiam[5][n] eiusdem supra[o] domos reuersas.[6][p] quod posteri tui in futurum lugebunt. Uidebunt[q] etenim barbare[7] leene catulos opida. ciui-
f. 117 vo. tates atque ceteras | eorundem[r] possessiones obtinere.[s] ex quibus misere expulsi. prioris dignitatis statum uel[t] uix uel nunquam[8][u]
XI. x recuperabunt. Postquam autem ut predictum est infaustus

Bern [1] *sitiens.* [2] *qui.* [3] *ewangelicum illud.* [4] omit *te.* [5] *etiam domos.* [6] *ruentes.* [7] *barbarie.* [8] *uel nunquam uel uix.*

Harlech [a] *te.* [b] *qui.* [c] *subdidisset.* [d] *uelud.* [e] *uerba.* [f] *eWangelium illud.* [g] *te.* [h] omit *furor.* [i] *liuioris.* [j] *obedienciam.* [k] omit *te.* [l] *idcirco.* [m] *dosolatam.* [n] *eciam.* [o] *super.* [p] *ruentes.* [q] *Videbut.* [r] *eorum.* [s] *optinere.* [t] *uel numquam uel uix.*

next day the city was hot. And then Karedic came out to give battle to his enemies, and did not prevail, but had to fly across the Hafren to the boundaries of Kymry. And then without delay this Gormwnt and the ssaesson killed, and burned the cities and castles, sparing no one of the bryttaniait, lay or learned. And no one cared to what place he might flee, for not even ancient ancestry availed them,* — against the manifold out-
f. 125 vo. rages of the nation which god had sent to punish the bryttaniait. And it is not strange, O unhappy race of ynys brydain, that you were thus humbled.* For before this your ancestors conquered other peoples through the ages, and now are you bitterly repaying, until you can not defend your own land from the hands of the alien nation. Poor ynys brydain, accept penance as you have deserved, and recognize the words of god in the gospel, "Every kingdom which is divided and separated within itself [there] the houses [shall] fall one upon another." For it is the disunion of the bryttaniait and their jealousy that have destroyed this island, and therefore it is that cruel pagans overcome the inheritors of this island. And so

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tirannus[1 a] cum innumerabilibus affricanorum milibus[2 b] totam fere insulam uastauit. maiorem partem eius que loegria uocabatur[c] prebuit saxonibus quorum prodicione[3] applicuerat. Secesserunt itaque britonum reliquie in occidentalibus regni partibus cornubiam[4 d] uidelicet atque[e] gualias. unde crebras & ferales irruptiones[f] incessanter hostibus fecerunt. Tunc igitur archipresules theonus[5] lundoniensis.[6] & tadioceus[7 g] eboracensis cum omnes ecclesias sibi subditas usque ad humum destructas uidissent. cum omnibus ordinatis qui in tanto discrimine superfuerant. diffugerunt[8] ad tutamina nemorum in galliis.[9 h] cum reliquiis sanctorum. timentes ne barbarorum irruptione[i] delerentur tot & tantorum ueterum sacra ossa. si ipsa[10] imminenti[j] periculo desererent. & sese instanti martirio offerrent. Plures etiam[k] armoricanam[11 l] britanniam[12 m] magno nauigio[13 n] petiuerunt. ita ut tota[14] ecclesia diuersarum[15 o] prouinciarum. loegrie uidelicet & norhamhimbrie[16 p] a conuentibus suis desolaretur. Set hec alias referam cum librum de exultacione[q] eorum transtulero. Amiserunt deinde britones[r] regni diadema multis tem- *XI. xi*

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[1] *tyrannus.* [2] *militibus.* [3] *consilio.* [4] *cornubia.* [5] *teolius.* [6] *londoniensis.* *Bern*
[7] *tadiocus.* [8] *diffugierunt.* [9] *gvaliis.* [10] insert *in.* [11] *armoricam.* [12] *britannicam.*
[13] *nauigio magno.* [14] omit *tota.* [15] *duarum.* [16] *norhaumbrie.*

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[a] *tyrannus.* [b] *militibus.* [c] *uocatur.* [d] *cornubia.* [e] *&.* [f] *irrupciones.* [g] *thadi-* *Harlech*
oceus. [h] *gualiis.* [i] *irrupcione.* [j] *iminente.* [k] *eciam.* [l] *armoricam.* [m] *Brittanniam.* [n] omit *magno nauigio.* [o] *duarum.* [p] *northanhumbrie.* [q] *exultacione.* [r] *Britones.*

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when the pagans had ravaged it and slaughtered and burned from sea to sea, therefore* Karedic gave up all [L]Lloegr to the ssaesson. And the remnants of the poor nation inhabited the extremities of the island toward [ch]kerniw, and in the place called Kymrrv, suffering many attacks from their enemies. And when Teon, the Archbishop of llyndain, and the Archbishop of Kaer efroc saw the churches destroyed, then those bishops took all the relics and bones of the saints, and fled with them to the wildest place in the Yrri, for fear lest this accursed people should get them. And many of *f. 126 rec.*
them went to llydaw. For in neither of the two bishoprics was there one church that had not been destroyed by the ssaesson pagans, and the sons of learning killed off entirely. And thus for a long time the bryttaniait lost the kingdom's crown and its sovereignty, and also those parts of the country

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poribus & insule monarchiam necnon & pristinam dignitatem recuperare nitebantur. immo & [1 a] partem illam patrie que [b] eis adhuc [2] remanserat. non uni regi tantum [3 c] set tribus tirannis [4 d] sub-
f. 118 rec. ditam ciuilibus | preliis sepissime uastabant. Set nec saxones diadema insule [5] adhuc adepti sunt. qui tribus etiam [e] regibus subditi. [6 f] quandoque [7] britonibus inquietationem inferebant. [g]
XI. xii Interea missus est augustinus a beato gregorio papa in britanniam. [h] ut anglis uerbum dei predicaret. qui pagana superstitione [8] cecati. in illa [9 i] insule parte [10 j] quam habebant. totam deleuerant christianitatem. In parte autem britonum [k] adhuc uigebat christianitas. que a tempore eleutherii pape habita. nunquam [11 l] inter eos defecerit. Postquam ergo [m] uenit augustinus.

Bern [1] omit &. [2] *adhuc eis.* [3] omit *tantum.* [4] *tyrannis.* [5] *regni.* [6] *subdidi.* [7] *quandoque sibi ipsi. quandoque* etc. [8] *superstitione.* [9] *illam.* [10] *partem.* [11] *numquam.*

Harlech [a] omit &. [b] insert *ab.* [c] omit *tantum.* [d] *tyrannis.* [e] *eciam.* [f] insert *quandoque sibi ipsi.* [g] *ingercbant.* [h] *Brittanniam.* [i] *illam.* [j] *partem.* [k] *Britonum.* [l] *numquam.* [m] *autem.*

which had been in their hands, and they were holding them not under one king but under three, with much war between them. But in spite of this the ssaesson did not get the kingdom's crown, and there were many wars among themselves, and with the bryttaniait also. And then came there a bishop from Ryfain to preach to the ssaesson throughout this island, for they were blind to the faith of [G]Christ; for they had been suffered utterly to root out the faith of [G]Christ from their midst. And in spite of this the bryttaniait had kept among them the faith of [G]Christ entire, from the days of Elen teriws, the bishop of Ryfain, the first man who sent the faith of [g]christ to this island. He preached among the ssaesson, and many more mocked him than believed him. And he came to a mountain of the saints, and a
f. 126 vo. great multitude followed him. And there in a great glen they were in want of water, and there he prayed to the Lord for water. And an angel came and told him not to be at all anxious concerning his purpose, for god would give him all rightful things; and there a fountain gushed out of the ground, so that all got plenty of water, and that was cheer to Awstin. And then he went towards [ch]kaint, and there he preached until the king and all his people came to believe in [g]christ. And from there he went to [nn]rerriw* [hill-town] and whilst he was preaching, they sewed many tails of animals to his robe to mock him. And then he prayed that whosoever came from that town should be tailed. And from there he went to llyndain, and

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inuenit in eorum prouincia[1] .vii. episcopatus. & archiepiscopatum religiosissimis presulibus munitos. & abbacias[2] complures.[a] in quibus grex domini rectum ordinem tenebat. Inter ceteras erat in ciuitate bangor[b] quedam nobilissima.[3] in qua tantus fertur fuisse[4] numerus monachorum ut cum in septem[5][c] portiones[d] esset cum prepositis sibi prioribus monasterium diuisum. nulla harum portio[e] minus quam trescentos[6][f] monachos haberet. qui omnes labore manuum suarum uiuebant. Abbas autem eorum dinoot uocabatur. miro modo liberalibus artibus eruditus. qui augustino petenti ab episcopis britonum[g] subiectionem. & suadenti ut secum genti anglorum communem euangelizandi[7][h] laborem susciperent.[i] diuersis monstrauit[i] argumentationibus[j] ipsos ei nullam ei nullam subiectionem debere. nec[k] suam predicationem inimicis suis impendere. cum & suum archipresulem haberent. & gens saxonum patriam propriam[l] eisdem auferre[m] perstarent. Unde eos | summo habebant odio. fidemque & religionem[8] *f. 118 vo.* eorum[n] pro nichilo habebant. nec in aliquo anglis magis quam

[1] *prouintia.* [2] *abatias.* [3] *quedam nobilissima in ciuitate bangor.* [4] *fuisse fertur.* *Bern*
[5] *.vii.* [6] *trecentos.* [7] *ewangelizando.* [8] *relliogionem.*

[a] *quam plures.* [b] *Bangor.* [c] *.vii.* [d] *porciones.* [e] *porcio.* [f] *.ccc.* [g] *Britonum.* *Harlech*
[h] *eWangelizandi.* [i] omit *monstrauit.* [j] *argumentacionibus.* [k] *neque.* [l] *pro patria.*
[m] *anferre.* [n] omit *eorum.*

asked there for the Archbishop's houses, and for the sons of learning, that the ssaesson had scattered. And he heard that the Archbishophouse of Kaer llion, with seven bishops under it, was devoutly worshipping, and also monasteries, and godly choirs in them serving god and the saints. And among these was the Monastery of [V]Bangor the Great, in maelor ssaessnec, and in it, without counting the priors and officials, there were one *f. 127 rec.* hundred twenty monks all living by the labour of their hands. And the abbot of that Monastery was called Dynawd, and he knew more of the arts than any one of his time. And when Awstin heard this, he was glad, and sent to [Dd]Dynawd and urged him to come to preach to the ssaesson, and to seek to bring them to the faith. But Dynawd sent to Awstin to tell him that it was not at all appropriate for him to preach to this cruel people who had come from outland, through treachery and betrayal, and had killed our relatives and tricked them of their rightful heritage. "It belongs not

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xi. xiii canibus communicabant. Edelbertus[1 a] rex cantiorum[b] ut uidit britones[c] dedignantes subiectionem augustino[d] facere. & eiusdem[2 e] predicationem[3 f] spernere hoc grauissime[4] ferens. edelfridum regem norhamhimbrorum.[5 g] & ceteros regulos saxonum instimulauit[h] ut collecto grandi exercitu in ciuitatem bangor[i] abbatem[j] dinoot. & ceteros clericos qui eos despexerant perditum irent. Adquiescentes[6] igitur[k] consilio eius collegerunt mirabilem exercitum. & prouintiam[7 l] britonum[m] petentes. uenerunt legecestriam. ubi brochmail[8 n] consul urbis[o] aduentum eorum expectabat. Venerant autem ad eandem ciuitatem ex diuersis britonum[m] prouinciis innumerabiles monachi[p] & heremite. & maxime de ciuitate bangor.[i] ut pro salute populi sui orarent. Collectis igitur undique exercitibus. edelfridus rex norhamhimbrorum.[5 q] prelium iniuit cum brochmail.[r] qui pauciori numero militum resistens. ad ultimum relicta ciuitate. set prius maxima strage hostibus illata.[s] diffugit. At ethelfridus[9 t] ciuitate capta. cum intellexisset causam aduentus predictorum monachorum. iussit in eos primum arma uerti. & sic mille ducenti[t] eorum in ipsa die

Bern [1] insert *ergo.* [2] *eosdem.* [3] insert *suam.* [4] *graue.* [5] *northamhimbrorum.* [6] *Acquiescentes.* [7] *prouinciam.* [8] *broohmais.* [9] *edhelfridus.*

Harlech [a] *Etelbertus;* insert *ergo.* [b] *canciorum.* [c] *Britones.* [d] *Augustino.* [e] *eosdem.* [f] *predicacionem;* insert *suam.* [g] *northanhymbrorum.* [h] omit *saxonum instimulauit;* insert *rogauit.* [i] *Bangor.* [j] omit *abbatem.* [k] *ergo.* [l] *prouinciam.* [m] *Britonum.* [n] *Brochinail.* [o] omit *consul urbis.* [p] *Monachi.* [q] *northanhimbrorum.* [r] *brochinail.* [s] *edelfridus.* [t] *.cc.*

to us to preach to them, nor to obey them, nor [obey] any one in the island except the archbishop of Kaer llion, for he is primate, and the highest in ynys brydain." And when Edelffled, King of Kaint, knew this, he sent to the other Edelffled, king of the gogledd, and to as many chiefs as there were of the ssaesson, commanding them immediately to fall upon Dynawd and his Monastery, and to punish him for his faithlessness. And then the ssaesson, as many as there were in ynys brydain, came to kaer llion. [V]Brochwel Essgithroc was chieftain of the kymry, and there were
f. 127 vo. present there a great multitude of the religious from every Monastery in the parts held by the bryttaniait, and especially from [V]Bangor the Great, and they fought the ssasson and then [V]Brochwael fled to [m]bangor and summoned to him all the bryttanniait. And when Edelffled saw there so

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martirio decorati. regni celestis adepti [a] sunt sedem.[a] Deinde cum predictus saxonum tirannus [1 b] bangornensium [c] urbem peteret. audito [2 d] ipsius insania. uenerunt undique obuiam illi duces britonum.[e] bledericus [3 f] | uidelicet dux cornubie. & mar- *f. 119 rec.*
gadud [g] rex demetarum caduanus [4 h] uenedotorum. & conserto prelio. ipsum uulneratum in fugam propulerunt. set & tantum numerum exercitus eius peremerunt ut [5 i] decem [6 j] milia circiter & sexaginta sex [j] corruerent. In parte etiam [k] britonum [e] cecidit bledericus [f] dux cornubie. qui ducatum in hisdem [7 l] preliis ceteris prestabat.

Exin [m] conuenerunt omnes [n] principes britonum [e] in ciuitate *XII. 1*
legecestrie.[o] communemque assensum habuerunt. ut caduanum facerent sibi [p] regem. ipsoque duce ethelfridum [8 q] contra [9 r] humbrum sequerentur.[e] Insignitoque illo regni diademate. undique confluentes humbrum [e] preterierunt.[10 t] Cumque id [11] ethelfrido [12 u] nuntiatum [13 v] esset associauit sibi omnes

[1] *tyrannus.* [2] *audita.* [3] *Bledericus.* [4] *Caduanus.* [5] *ita quod.* [6] *x.* [7] *eisdem.* *Bern*
[8] *edhelfridum.* [9] *ultra.* [10] *pretereunt.* [11] omit *id.* [12] *edhelfrido.* [13] *nunciatum.*

[a] *sedem adepti sunt.* [b] *tyrannus.* [c] *bangornensem.* [d] *audita.* [e] *Britonum.* *Harlech*
[f] *Bledericus.* [g] *Margadud.* [h] *Caduanus.* [i] *ita quod.* [j] *x. milia. & lxvi.* [k] *eciam.*
[l] *eisdem.* [m] *Exinde.* [n] omit *omnes.* [o] *legiscestrie.* [p] *sibi facerent.* [q] *edelfridum.*
[r] *ultra.* [s] omit *sequerentur . . . humbrum.* [t] *petierunt.* [u] *edelfrido.* [v] *nunciatum.*

many religious, and knew that because of them there would be a great slaughter, he ordered that a thousand two hundred of the religious in [m]bangor should be killed. Therefore of the princes of Kymry these came to [V]Brochwel's aid to [m]bangor, — namely Bledric, prince of Kerniw; and Mredydd, King of Dyfed; and [Ch]Kanvan, King of *Gw*ynedd. And then there was fierce fighting between them and the ssaesson, and many on both sides were killed; but in the end the Bryttaniait conquered. And *Edel*ffled was wounded, and driven to flight and escaped, and* the *ssa*esson with him. The number of the ssaesson killed there was ten thousand sixty and six. And on the side of the Kymry was lost Kledric, prince of Kerniw, and many with him, for he maintained the fight best of any single man. And all the Kymry came together and went to kaer lleon.

And then in council it was decided to make Kadvan, son of Iago, chief over them. And he chased Edelffled and the ssaesson so that they fled *f. 128 rec.*

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reges saxonum. obuiusque caduano perrexit.[1] Deinde cum cateruas suas in utraque parte statuerent.[f] uenerunt amici eorum. talique pacto pacem inter eos fecerunt. ut ethelfridus[2 e] trans humbrum. caduanus uero[b] citra fluuium britanniam[c] possideret. Cum autem conuentionem[d] suam[e] obsidibus datis[3 f] cum[g] iureiurando confirmassent.[f] orta est tanta amicitia[h] inter illos. ut omnia sua[4] communia habaherent. Interea contigit ut expulsa propria coniuge ethelfridus[2 e] aliam duceret. expulsamque tanto haberet odio. ut eam ex regno norhamhimbrorum[5 i] expelleret. Porro illa puerum in utero habens regem caduanum adiuit. orans ut eius interuentione[j] marito suo[6] resociaretur. Cumque id ab[k] ethelfrido[7 l] nullatenus impetrari potuisset remansit illa in thalamo caduani. donec dies partus filium quem conceperat in mundum
f. 119 vo. produxit. Natus est[m] | etiam[n] paulo post caduano regi[o] filius ex regina sua. nam & illa eodem tempore grauida facta fuerat. Exin[8 p] nutriti sunt pueri ut regium genus decebat. quorum alter uidelicet caduani. caduallo nuncupatur. alius[9] uero eduuinus.[10 q] Interea cum[11 r] progressior[12] etas[13] ipsos in adolescenciam[14]

Bern [1] *percxit.* [2] *edhelfridus.* [3] omit *datis.* [4] omit *sua.* [5] *northamhimbrorum.* [6] omit *suo.* [7] *edhelfrido.* [8] *Exinde.* [9] *alter.* [10] *edwinus.* [11] *dum.* [12] *progssior.* [13] *ætas.* [14] *adolescentiam.*

Harlech [e] *edelfridus.* [b] omit *uero.* [c] *Brittanniam.* [d] *conuencionem.* [e] insert *cum.* [f] omit *datis.* [g] omit *cum.* [h] *amicicia.* [i] *northamhymbrorum.* [j] *interuencione.* [k] *a.* [l] *edfrido.* [m] *fuit.* [n] omit *etiam.* [o] omit *regi.* [p] *Ex;* insert *hinc.* [q] *edWinus.* [r] *est.*

across the hymyr. And there Edelffled gathered a host and fought with [Cb]Kadvan; and after their armies came near each other, peace was made between them on these terms, that Edelffled should be King beyond the hymyr, and [G]Kadvan this side of the hymyr, with the crown of [L]Llyndain to [G]Kadvan. And to this they bound themselves by hostages. Then strife arose between Edelffled and his wedded wife because of a mistress that he had; and Edelffled drove his wife out of the kingdom, though she was with child. And she went to the court of [g]Kadvan and begged him to bring about reconciliation for her. And nothing would Edelffled do, in spite of Kadvan's urging, so the woman stayed in [G]Kadvan's court till a son was born to her. And at the same time a son was born to [g]Kadvan's wife. And the name of [G]Kadvan's son was [G]Kadwallon, and the name of Edelffled's son was Edwin. Both were reared together there until they were well grown

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promouisset miserunt eos parentes ad salomonem regem armoricanorum britonum. ut in domo sua documenta milicie.[1] ceterarumque[2] curialium consuetudinum addiscerent. Excepti itaque diligenter ab eo in familiaritatem ipsius accedere ceperunt. ita ut non esset alter etatis[3] eorum. in curia qui posset[4] cum rege aut esse secretius[a] aut loqui iocundius. Denique frequenter ante illum in preliis congressum cum hostibus faciebant. uirtutemque suam preclaris probitatibus famosam agebant

Succedente tandem tempore defunctis[5 b] utriusque genitoribus[6 c] in britanniam[d] reuersi sunt. susceptoque regni gubernaculo. eam amicitiam[e] quam prius patres eorum[e] inter se[7 f] exercere ceperunt. Emenso deinde biennio rogauit caduallonem edwinus[8 g] ut sibi diadema habere liceret. celebraretque statutas sollempnitates[9] in partibus norhamhimbrorum[10 h] quemadmodum ipse citra humbrum antiquo more consueuerat. Cumque inde iuxta fluuium[11 i] duglas colloquium facere inde incepissent. disponentibus sapientioribus quod[12 j] melius fieri posset.[13 k] iacebat caduallo in alia parte fluminis in gremio cuius- *xii. ii*

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[1] *militiæ.* [2] *cæterarumque.* [3] *ætatis.* [4] *possit.* [5] *defunctis.* [6] omit *utriusque genitore;* insert *parentibus.* [7] omit *inter se.* [8] omit *edwinus.* [9] *solennitates.* [10] *norhamhibrorum.* [11] *flumen.* [12] *ut.* [13] *poterant.* *Bern*

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[a] *secrecius.* [b] *defunctis;* insert *parentibus.* [c] omit *utriusque genitore.* [d] *Britanniam.* [e] *amicicium quam patres eorum prius.* [f] omit *inter se.* [g] *edWinus caduallonem.* [h] *northanhymbrorum.* [i] *flumen.* [j] *sapiencioribus ut.* [k] *poterat.* *Harlech*

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youths, and the two were sent to sselyf, king of llydaw, to learn manners, and courtly ways, and the use of horses, and of arms. And joyful over them was sselyf. And there they grew skilled in all useful feats, so that in either battles or conflicts none was better than they. And after Kadvan and *f. 128 vo.* Edelffled were dead, each one of the young men came into his father's place, and bound themselves in the comradeship that had been between their fathers. But at the end of two years, Edwin asked permission of [G]Kadwallon to make himself a crown, which he could wear when he did reverence on the festivals of the saints beyond the hymyr, according to the right of kings before them. And a conference was appointed for the wise men of the district to meet on the banks of the River named Dylas to consider the

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dam nepotis sui quem brianum appellabant. At[1] dum[a] legati
f. 120 rec. hinc & inde mutua responsa[b] deferrent.[2] fleuit | brianus.[c]
lacrimeque ex oculis eius manantes ita ceciderunt ut faciem regis
& barbam irrorarent. Qui imbrem[d] cecidisse ratus.[e] erexit
uultum suum. uidensque iuuenem in[f] fletum solutum[f] causam
tam subite[3] mesticie[4][g] inquisiuit. Cui ille. Flendum mihi est[5]
gentique britonum[h] perpetue. que[6] a tempore malgonis barbaro-
rum irruptione[i] uexata. nondum talem[j] adepta est principem.
qui eam ad pristinam dignitatem reduceret. Adhuc etiam id tan-
tillum honoris quod ei remanebat te paciente[7] minuitur. cum
aduene saxones qui semper proditores[8] eius extiterunt[k] in uno[9][l]
regno diademate insigniri incipiant.[m] Nonne[10][n] etenim[o] re-
ges[11][p] elati famosiores per patriam ex qua uenerunt efficientur.
ciciusque[12] conciues[q] suos inuitare poterunt[r] qui genus nostrum
exterminare insistent?[s] Consueuerunt namque prodicionem[13]
semper facere. nec[14] ulli firmam fidem[t] tenere.[14] unde a nobis
opprimendos esse non exaltandos etiam[15][u] censerem.[v] Cum
ipsos primo rex uortegirnus[16][w] retinuit. sub umbra pacis re-

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Bern [1] *Ac.* [2] *dedissent uel defferrent.* [3] *subitæ.* [4] *mesticiæ.* [5] *est mihi.* [6] *quæ.* [7] *manente.* [8] *exterminatores.* [9] insert *cum illo.* [10] *Nomine.* [11] *regis.* [12] *citiusque.* [13] *exterminationem;* insert *nobis.* [14] omit *nec . . . tenere;* insert *& a patria nostra nos fugare.* [15] omit *etiam.* [16] *Rex Vortigernus.*

Harlech [a] *ad quem.* [b] *mutuam responsam.* [c] *Brianus.* [d] *ymbrem.* [e] *iratus.* [f] omit *in fletum solutum;* insert *lacrimantem.* [g] *mestice.* [h] *brittannie.* [i] *irrupcione.* [j] omit *talem.* [k] *extiterant.* [l] insert *cum illa.* [m] *incipiant insigniri.* [n] *Nomine.* [o] *eciam.* [p] *regis.* [q] *consciues.* [r] *poterant.* [s] *insistunt.* [t] *fidem firmam.* [u] omit *etiam.* [v] *censerent.* [w] *Vortegirnus.*

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matter. And there Kadwallon put his head on the knee of Braint, son of Nefyn, his nephew. And Braint hir [the tall] wept until the tears fell on Kadwallon's face so that he awoke thinking that there was rain. And then the king asked [v]Braint why he wept. Then said he: "Cause of weeping will the bryttaniait have from this day on; for thou hast given up that which was of highest dignity for thyself and thy nation, that which has been its high adornment from the time of Maelgwn Gwynedd to this day, in giving permission to these ssaesson, deceivers, traitors, faith-breaking
f. 129 rec. pagans, themselves to make a king; and then they will combine together and by their deceit and craft will conquer the whole of ynys brydain. And

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manserunt quasi pro patria pugnaturi. set cum nequitiam suam manifestare[1] quiuerunt. malum[a] pro bono[2] reddentes prodiderunt[3] eum. populumque regni[b] seua clade affecerunt. Prodiderunt[4] deinde aurelium ambrosium.[5c] cui[6] post horribilia sacramenta una cum eo conuiuantes uenenum potare dederunt. Prodiderunt quoque[6d] arturum.[e] quando cum modredo nepote suo postposito iure quo obligati fuerant. contra illum dimicauerunt.[7] Postremo karetico[8f] fregerunt[g] fidem mentientes.[8h] gormundum[i] affricaconorum[9] regem[j] super ipsum[10] conduxerunt cum[11] inquietatione.[k] | & patria ciuibus erepta est & predictus rex[l] indecenter expulsus *f. 120 vo.*

Hec[12] eo dicente[f] penituit caduallonem incepte pactionis. *XII. iii*
mandauitque edwino[m] quod nullatenus a consiliariis suis impetrare[n] poterat. ut permisissent eum peticioni illius adquiescere.[13] Aiebant enim contra ius ueterumque tradicionem[14] esse[f] insulam unius corone.[15] duobus[o] coronatis[p] submitti debere.

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[1] *sed cum impotentiam nostram comperire.* [2] *malo.* [3] *reliquerunt.* [4] *Occiderunt.* *Bern*
[5] *Ambrosium.* [6] omit *cui . . . quoque;* insert *uulneraueruntad mortem quoque arturum.* etc. [7] *dimicuerunt.* [8] omit *karetico . . . mentientes;* insert *Karеticum regem reliquæruntet gormundum* etc. [9] *affricanorum.* [10] *eum.* [11] *cuius.* [12] *Rex.* [13] *acquiescere.* [14] *traditionem.* [15] *coronæ.*

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[a] *malo.* [b] *regnique populum.* [c] *Aurelium Ambrosium.* [d] *eciam.* [e] *Arturum.* *Harlech*
[f] *Karetico;* insert *regi.* [g] omit *fregerunt.* [h] *mencientes.* [i] *Gormundum.* [j] *regem affricanorum.* [k] *cuius inquietacione.* [l] omit *rex.* [m] *edWino.* [n] *implorare.* [o] *duabus.* [p] *coronis.*

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for this reason it had been better for thee to oppress rather than favour them. Why does not the memory come back to thee, Lord, of what they did to Gwrthayrn, the man who first made compact with them rather than honest men? And they paid him evil for good. And after that they betrayed Emrys Wledic and poisoned him, and Ythr ben dragwn also. And after that they broke faith, and swore fealty to [V]Medrod against Arthyr; and most recently they stirred up Gormwnt the king to conquer Karedic's kingdom and banish him disgracefully from his kingship." And when [V]Braint ended speaking, Kadwall*on* sent messengers to Edwin to tell him that the council would not permit that there should be any crown in ynys brydain except the crown of [L]Llvndain. And Edwin said that he would make a crown, however unpleasing to [G]Kadwallon. And [Ch]Kadwallon said

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Iratus igitur eadwinus[1 a] dimisso colloquio recessit.[2 b] norham-himbriam.[3 c] dicens se[4 d] sine licentia caduallonis[e] regali dia-demate iniciandum. Quod cum caduallon indicatum fuisset.[5 f] nunciauit[6] ei per legatos se amputaturum illi capud[7 g] sub dia-demate. si infra regnum britannie[8 h] coronari presumeret.

XII. iv Orta igitur discordia inter eos.[9] cum utrorumque homines sese plurimis decertacionibus[10] inquietauissent.[f 11 i] con-uenerunt ambo[j] ultra humbrum.[f] factoque congressu amisit caduallo multa milia. & in fugam uersus est Arrepto-que[12 k] per albaniam itinere. hiberniam insulam adiuit. At edwinus[1 a] ut triumpho potitus fuit[13] duxit exercitum suum per prouintias britonum.[l] combustisque ciuitatibus ciues & colonos pluribus tormentis affecit. Dum autem seuicie sue[14] indulgeret conabatur caduallo[15] semper in[m] patriam nauigio[16 n] reuerti nec poterat. quia quocumque[o] portu[p] applicare incipiebat.[f] obuiabat[17 q] illi[r] eadwinus[1 a] cum multitudine sua. introitumque auferebat. Uenerat namque ad eum quidam sapientissimus
f. 121 rec. augur.[s] ex hispania[t] uocabulo pellitus. qui uolatus | uolucrum.

Bern [1] *Ædwinus.* [2] *secessit;* insert *in.* [3] *northanhimbriam.* [4] *sese.* [5] *esset.* [6] *nunciauit.* [7] *caput.* [8] *britanniæ.* [9] *inter illos discordia.* [10] *decertationibus.* [11] *inquietassent.* [12] *Arrectoque.* [13] *effuit.* [14] *seuitiæ suæ.* [15] *Caduallo.* [16] *nauigiis.* [17] *obuiauit.*

Harlech [a] *edWinus.* [b] *secessit;* insert *in.* [c] *northhanhimbriam.* [d] *sese.* [e] *Licencia cadWallonis.* [f] *esset.* [g] *caput.* [h] *Brittannie.* [i] *inquietassent.* [j] *ilico.* [k] *Arrepto quoque.* [l] *prouincias Britonum.* [m] omit *in.* [n] *nauigiis.* [o] *quo cum.* [p] omit *portu.* [q] *obuiauit.* [r] *ei.* [s] *Augur.* [t] *hyspania.*

that if he did so, he would have the head beneath the crown chopped off. From that time on there was a dissension between them, and each raised the
f. 129 vo. largest army he could, and there was a great battle between them. And Edwin won and drove Kadwallon in flight to Iwerddon. And then Edwin got the mastery by slaying and burning through all the territory of [G]Kad-wallon. And when he tried to make land, at whatever place he sought to do so there was Edwin and his army to stop him, through the advice of a diviner that he had who was named Pelidys. And by the flight of birds and the stars, he divined everything for the king of the Sais. And when Kadwallon saw this, he deeply despaired, thinking that never would he win

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cursusque stellarum [a] edoctus predicebat ei omnia infortunia que [1] accidebant. Unde reditu caduallonis notificato. obuiabat [2] ei eadwinus. [3 b] nauesque [4] suas illidebat. [c] ita ut submersis sociis eidem omnem portum abnegaret. [d] Nesciens [5 e] igitur caduallo quid [6] faceret cum fere in desperationem [f] reuertendi incidisset tandem apud se deliberat [g] quod salomonem regem armoricanorum britonum adiret. rogaretque illum auxilium & consilium quo in regnum suum reuerti quiuisset Cumque uela uersus armoricam [7] dirigeret. [f] ruunt ex inprouiso tempestates ualide disperguntque naues [8] sociorum suorum. ita ut [h] in breui [i] nulla cum altera remaneret. Inuasit ilico timor nimius rectorem nauis regis. quam relicto remige dispositioni [j] fortune permisit. Vt igitur cum periculo mortis. tota nocte inter obstantes undas nunc huc nunc illuc exagitata [k] fuisset. [9 l] in sequentis [m] diei aurora [n] applicuerunt in quandam insulam que garnareia [o] nuncupatur. ubi [p] maximo labore nacti sunt tellurem. [p] Occupauit [10] continuo caduallonem [q] tantus dolor [r] & ira ob amissionem sociorum suorum. [s] ita ut tribus diebus & noctibus cibo [t] uesci [u] sperneret. [11] [v] ac in lecto infirmatus [w] iaceret. [12] Quarta deinde instante die cepit eum maxima cupiditas edendi ferinam carnem uocatoque briano [x] nepote suo [13 y] indicauit ei [14 z] quod concupiscebat. At ille sumpto arcu cum pharetra cepit ire per insulam. ut si fortuna [15 a'] aliquam

[1] *quæ.* [2] *obuiauit.* [3] *Ædwinus.* [4] *naues.* [5] *Nescius.* [6] *quod.* [7] insert *dericam.* [8] insert *suas.* [9] *expulsa fuit.* [10] *Ocupauit.* [11] *aspernaretur.* [12] *iacebat.* [13] omit *nepote suo.* [14] omit *ei.* [15] *casus.* *Bern*

[a] omit *stellarum.* [b] *edWinus;* insert *cum multitudine sua.* [c] *allidebat.* [d] *abnegarent.* [e] *Nescius.* [f] *despcracionem.* [g] *deliberabat.* [h] insert *submersis nauibus.* [i] *Breui;* insert *hora.* [j] *disposicioni.* [k] *expulsa.* [l] *fuit.* [m] *sequenti.* [n] *aurora diei.* [o] *Garnacia.* [p] *ubi nacti sunt tellurem maximo labore.* [q] omit *caduallonem.* [r] insert *cadWallonem.* [s] omit *suorum.* [t] *cybo.* [u] *uescy.* [v] *aspernabatur.* [w] *firmatus.* [x] *Briano.* [y] omit *nepote suo.* [z] omit *ei.* [a'] *casus.* *Harlech*

back his realm, so that he betook himself to sselyf, king of llydaw, to bewail himself and to beg his aid and counsel to recover his realm. And as he and his fleet were sailing toward llydaw, a contrary wind arose, and separated all the ships from each other. And then Kasswallon sickened with dire disease so that for three days and nights he could take neither food nor drink, until on the fourth day Kadwallon rose up well, and as soon as they

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feram offerret escam illi [a] ex ea adquireret.[1] Cumque [2] eam totam
f. 121 vo. peragrasset nec id quod | querebat reperisset[c] maximis cruciatus est angustiis. quia domini sui [b] subuenre [3] [c] nequiret affectui. Timebat enim ne mors infirmitatem ipsius [d] subsequeretur. si appetitum suum explere non ualuisset Usus igitur arte noua [e] scidit [f] femur suum. & abstraxit inde frustum carnis.[g] [g] paratoque ueru [h] torruit illud. & ad regem pro uenatione [i] portauit. Mox ille ferinam carnem esse existimans. cepit eam [j] uesci [k] & sese reficere. admirans quod tantam dulcedinem in aliis carnibus non reperisset Saciatus [4] tandem hilarior [l] factus est & leuior. ita ut post tres dies totus sanus fieret. Incumbente deinde congruo uento. armamenta nauis parant. erectoque uelo equoreum [5] iter aggrediuntur. & in kidaletam [m] urbem applicant.[n] Deinde uenientes ad regem salomonem [6] suscepti sunt ab illo benigne.[c] & ut [7] decebat uenerati. Et cum causam aduentus eorum didicisset[c] auxilium eis in hunc sermonem [8] promisit.

XII. [9] Dolendum uobis [9] [o] est egregii iuuenes patriam auorum uestrorum a barbara gente oppressam esse & uos [p] ignominiose expulsos. Et cum ceteri homines [10] regna sua tueri queant [11] mirum est populum nostrum [12] [q] tam fecundam insulam amissse.[13] [r] nec genti anglorum quam nostrates pro uili habent. resistere posse. Cum [14] gens huius mee [s] britannie [15] [t] una

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Bern [1] *acquireret.* [2] *Cunque.* [3] *subuenire.* [4] *Satiatus.* [5] *æquoreum.* [6] *Salomonem.* [7] *reut.* [8] *modum.* [9] *nobis.* [10] *homines cæteri.* [11] *queant tueri.* [12] *uestrum.* [13] *amisisse;* the Cambridge MS. is corrupt. [14] *Cumque.* [15] *meæ britanniæ.*

Harlech [a] *ei.* [b] omit *sui.* [c] *subuenire.* [d] *ipsius infirmitatem.* [e] *noua arte.* [f] *cidit.* [g] insert *sue.* [h] *uerti.* [i] *uenacione.* [j] *ea.* [k] *uescȳ.* [l] *hylarior.* [m] *kideletam.* [n] *applicuit.* [o] *nobis.* [p] omit *uos.* [q] *uestrum.* [r] *amisisse.* [s] insert *huius.* [t] *Brittannie.*

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got the first wind they sailed toward llydaw. And joyful was sselyf over them, and graciously promised [G]Kadwallon aid; and bitter grief was it to
f. 130 rec. him that an alien nation could so shamefully oppress them. But also much he marvelled at the feebleness of the men of ynys brydain against the ssaesson, whom every other country but theirs had repelled. "For, since Maxen wledic and [Ch]Kynan Mairiadoc and the nobles of ynys brydain first came to [L]Llydaw, no one there from that day to this has been able to

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cum uestratibus in uestra britannia [a] cohabitaret.[c] dominabatur omnium prouincialium regnorum. nec fuit uspiam populus preter romanos qui eam subiugare quiuisset Romani autem licet eam ad tempus subditam habuissent. amissis rectoribus suis ac interfectis. cum dedecore | expulsi abscesserunt. Set postquam *f. 122 rec.* maximiano & conano [1] ducibus ad hanc uenerunt prouintiam.[2 b] residui qui remanserunt nunquam [c] eam deinceps habuerunt gratiam ut diadema regni continue haberent. Quamquam enim multi principes eorum antiquam patrum dignitatem seruarent. plures tamen debiliores heredes succedebant. qui eam penitus inuadentibus hostibus amittebant.[d] Unde debilitatem populi nostri [3 e] doleo. cum ex eodem genere simus.[f] & sic britones nominemur [g] sicut & gens regni uestri. qui [4 h] patriam quam uidetis omnibus uicinis aduersatam uiriliter tuemur.[5 i]

Postquam his [j] & aliis finem dicendi fecit.[6] aliquantum [7 k] *xii. vi* uerecundans caduallo.[l] in hunc modum respondit. Grates multimodas tibi ago rex regibus attauis [8 m] edite.[f] quia auxilium mihi promittis [9] ut regnum [n] meum recuperem.[o] Hoc autem quod dicebas mirum esse gentem meam non seruare [10 p] auorum dignitatem. postquam britones [q] ad has prouincias [11] uenerunt [12] nequaquam admirandum [13] censeo. Nobiliores nam-

[1] *cunano.* [2] *prouinciam.* [3] *uestri.* [4] *nostri quæ.* [5] *tuetur.* [6] *fecerat.* [7] *aliquantulum.* [8] *atauis.* [9] *permittis.* [10] *seruasse.* [11] *prouintias.* [12] *peruenerunt.* [13] *ammirandum.* *Bern*

[a] *Britannia.* [b] *prouinciam.* [c] *nuncquam.* [d] *ammittebant.* [e] *uestri que.* [f] *sumus.* [g] *nominentur.* [h] *nostri.* [i] *tuetur.* [j] *hiis.* [k] *aliquantulum.* [l] *cadWallo.* [m] *attauorum.* [n] insert *Brittannie.* [o] omit *meum recuperem;* insert *mihi subiugaueris.* [p] *seruasse.* [q] *Britones.* *Harlech*

uphold the dignity of ynys Brydain; and therefore sorry am I that I myself cannot take vengeance on the ssaesson." And when sselyf had finished speaking thus, greatly ashamed was Kadwallon, but thanked sselyf for his kindness to him and said thus: "Lord, hold it not strange that the people were spiritless who were left in ynys Brydain, since there was left there not one nobleman who came not hither with [Ch]Kynan Mariadoc. And when the possession of the island fell into the hands of the ignoble, lazy, and ignorant,

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que tocius [1] [a] regni predictos duces secuti fuerunt. & ignobiles [b] remanserunt. qui ipsorum potiti sunt honoribus Qui cum uicem nobilium optinere cepissent extulerunt se ultra quam eorum [2] [c] dignitas expetebat. & ob [d] affluentiam [e] diuiciarum [3] superbi. [f] ceperunt [4] tali & tante fornicationi [g] indulgere. qualis nec inter gentes audita est. Et ut [5] gildas [h] historicus [6] [i] testatur non solum hoc uicium. [f] [7] set [j] omnia que humane nature accidere solent. Et precipue quod tocius [1] boni euertit statum. [f] odium ueritatis cum
f. 122 vo. assertoribus suis. amorque mendacii [8] cum | fabricatoribus suis. susceptio [k] mali pro bono. ueneratio [9] nequitie [l] pro benegnitate. [10] [m] exceptio satane [11] [n] pro angelo lucis. Vngebantur reges non propter deum. [f] set qui [12] ceteris crudeliores extarent. [13] [o] Et paulo post ab unctoribus [p] non pro ueri examinatione [q] trucidabantur. aliis electis trucioribus. Si quis uero eorum rationi [14] [r] & ueritati propior aliquatenus [15] [s] uideretur. [f] [16] in hunc quasi britannie [t] subuersorem. [17] omnium odia telaque torquebantur. Denique omnia quæ [18] [u] deo [v] placebant [w] & displicebant [19] equali lance inter eos pendebant. [20] [x] si non grauiora essent displicentia. [y] Itaque agebantur cuncta que saluti [z] contraria fuerant. ac si nichil medicine a uero omnium medico largiretur. Et non solum hoc seculares [a'] uiri set & ipse grex domini. eiusque pastores sine discretione [b'] faciebant Non igitur admirandum [21] est degeneres tales deo ob talia

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Bern [1] *totius.* [2] omit *eorum.* [3] *diuitiarum.* [4] *insert &.* [5] *cum.* [6] *gillas hystoricus.* [7] *uitium.* [8] *mendatii.* [9] *ueratio.* [10] *benignitate.* [11] *sathane.* [12] omit *qui.* [13] *exstarent.* [14] *milior.* [15] insert *propior.* [16] *uidetur.* [17] *subuersionem.* [18] *que.* [19] *despisciebant.* [20] omit *inter eos; penderent.* [21] *ammirandum.*

Harlech [a] *totius.* [b] *ignobiliores.* [c] omit *eorum.* [d] omit *ob.* [e] *affluenciam.* [f] *superbire.* [g] *fornicacioni.* [h] *Gildas.* [i] *hystoriacus.* [j] insert *eciam.* [k] *suscepcio.* [l] *ueneracio nequicie.* [m] *benignitate.* [n] *excepcio sathane.* [o] *extiterant.* [p] *uictoribus.* [q] *promoueri examinacione.* [r] *milior.* [s] *aliquatenus propicior.* [t] *brittannie.* [u] *que.* [v] *ideo.* [w] omit *placebant;* insert *displicebant.* [x] *penderent.* [y] *displicencia.* [z] omit *saluti.* [a'] *singulares.* [b'] *discrecione.*

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they could neither rule nor guard it, but gave themselves to gluttony, drunkenness, lust, and pride. According to what Gildas says, 'The habit of sin brings low the nations until retribution is done upon them, and they desire nothing from the physician of the whole truth.' And therefore,
f. 130 vo. Lord, it is not strange that they are hateful to god, and therefore does god

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scelera inuisos. patriam illam amittere. quam predicto modo maculauerant. Uolebat enim deus uindictam ex ipsis sumere. dum externum populum superuenire passus est qui eos patriis agris exterminarent. [1] Dignum tamen esset si deus permitteret ciues pristine dignitati restituere. [1a] ne generi nostro [b] obprobrium [2] sit nos [3] debiles fuisse rectores. qui tempore nostro in id non [4] desudauimus. [5 c] Idem etenim nobis attauus fuit. unde securius auxilium tuum postulo.[6] Malgo namque [7] summus ille rex britannie [d] qui post arturum quartus regnauerat duos generauit filios. quorum unus ennianus. alter uero run [e] uocabatur. Ennianus autem genuit belin. [f] belin.[f 8 f] iagonem. [g] iago.[g h] caduanum [i] patrem meum. Run uero qui [j] post [k] obitum fratris expulsus fuit inquietatione [9] saxonum.[f k] hanc prouintiam [l] adiuit. deditque filiam suam hoelo duci. [m] filio magni hoeli. qui cum arturo [n] patrias subiugauerat.[10 o] Ex illa natus est alanus. ex alano.[f p] hoelus pater tuus. qui dum uixit toti gallie non [q] inferebat minimam [11 r] inquietudinem.[12 s]

f. 123 rec.

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[1] *restituere.* [2] *opprobrium.* [3] omit *nos.* [4] omit *non.* [5] *desudauerimus.* [6] *postulo.* [7] *nanque.* [8] *beli.* [9] *inquietationem.* [10] *subgauerat.* [11] *minimum inferebat.* [12] omit *inquietudinem.* *Bern*

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[a] *restituere.* [b] omit *nostro.* [c] *desuaderimus.* [d] *Britannie.* [e] *Run.* [f] *Belin.* [g] *Iagonem.* [h] *Iago.* [i] *cadWanum.* [j] omit *qui;* insert *frater.* [k] omit *post . . . saxonum;* insert *postquam expulsus inquietacione saxonum.* [l] *prouinciam.* [m] omit *hoelo duci.* [n] *Arturo.* [o] *subiugauit.* [p] *Alano.* [q] *nom.* [r] *minimum inferebat.* [s] omit *inquietudinem.* *Harlech*

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put an alien nation over them, and brings them low in punishment for their sins. And for this cause, Lord, I came hither, to plead for thy friendship. For Maelgwn Gwynedd was the fourth king after Arthyr over the whole of ynys brydain. And he had two sons, Einion and Rvn. Rvn's son was [V]Beli, and [V]Beli's son was Iago, and the son of Iago was [G]Kadvan, my father. Rvn, after the death of Einion, his brother, and his revenge upon the ssaesson, gave his daughter in marriage to Howel Vychan [the younger], son of Howel, son of Emyr Llydaw, — the man who was with Arthyr conquering many lands. And Howel Vychan of that woman had a Son called Alan. And a son to this Alan was your father, and a strong and mighty man was he." And Kadwallon stayed in llydaw that winter and was advised in council to send Braint hi[r] to ynys brydain, to inquire about [b]pelitys, the diviner of

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XII. vii Interea hiemante[a] eo[b] apud salomonem inierunt consilium ut brianus[c] in britanniam[d] transfretaret.[e] magumque edwini[f] regis aliquo modo perimeret. ne solita arte aduentum caduallonis[g] indicaret. Cumque in portu hamonis applicuisset.[f] finxit se infra uestimenta cuiusdam pauperis.[f] pauperem. fecitque sibi baculum ferreum.[h] & acutum quo magum interficeret.[f] si illum casus obtulisset.[i] Deinde perrexit eboracum. nam tunc edwinus[j] in eadem urbe manebat. Ut igitur illam ingressus est.[f] associauit se pauperibus qui ante ianuam regis elemosinam expectabant. Eunte autem eo[b] & redeunte.[f] egressa est soror eius ex aula. habens peluim quandam in manu. ut aquam[1] regine asportaret. Illam enim[2][k] rapuerat edwinus[j] ex urbe wigornensium[3][l] dum post fugam caduallonis[g] per[m] prouintias[4] britonum[m] deseuiret. Cum itaque ante brianum[n] preteriret.[f] agnouit eam continuo. & in fletum solutus.[o] uoce demissa[5][p] uocauit. Ad uocem ergo illius faciem puella uertens. dubitauit primo quis ille[6] esset At ut propius accessit. agnito fratre pene in extasi collapsa est
f. 123 vo. timens ne aliquo | infortunio notificatus. ab hostibus caperetur. Postnţpositis igitur osculis[7] & familiaribus uerbis. indicauit fratri breuiter[q] quasi aliud loquens statum curie.[8] & magum[r] quem querebat.[9] qui forte tunc inter pauperes[10] deambulabat.[f] dum eis[11][s] elemosina[t] distribueretur. Porro brianus[c] ut noticia uiri usus est.[f] precepit sorori nocte sequenti ex thalamis furtim egredi.

Bern [1] *aqua.* [2] omit *enim.* [3] *guigornensium.* [4] *pro prouincias.* [5] *dimissa uoce.* [6] *ipse.* [7] *ergo occulis.* [8] *curiæ.* [9] *quærebat.* [10] *paupes.* [11] *eisdem.*

Harlech [a] *hyemante.* [b] *illo.* [c] *Brianus.* [d] *Brittanniam.* [e] *transfretauit.* [f] *edWini.* [g] *cadWallonis.* [h] *ferreum baculum.* [i] *optulissset.* [j] *edWinus.* [k] omit *enim.* [l] omit *urbe wigornensium;* insert *urgornensium.* [m] omit *per . . . britonum.* [n] *Brianum.* [o] insert *eam.* [p] *dimissa.* [q] omit *breuiter.* [r] *Magum.* [s] omit *eis.* [t] insert *eisdem.*

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the king of the Sais. And then came Braint to ynys brydain in pilgrim's garb, with an iron crutch in his hand. And he came to kaer Efroc where was Edwin's court. And as braint was there among the poor folk, he saw
f. 131 rec. his sister with a dish in her hand going to fetch water for the Queen to wash with. And the maid told [V]Braint the custom of the court, and showed him the diviner. And, when the diviner came out to scatter alms among the poor people, braint stabbed him through with his iron crutch, so that he

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& ad se extra urbem iuxta quoddam uetus templum uenire. ubi ipse [a] aduentum eius in [b] crepidinibus loci [b] expectaret. Deinde intromisit se infra turbam pauperum. in parte illa [c] ubi pellitus ipsos collocabat. Nec mora cum aditum percutiendi [d] habuisset. erexit burdonem [e] quem [1] supra dixi. infixitque magum sub pectore. atque eodem ictu interfecit. Mox proiecto baculo. delituit inter ceteros. nulli astantium [f] suspectus. & prefata latibula fauente deo petiuit. At soror instante iam nocte pluribus modis egredi conata est nec ualuit. quia edwinus [g] ob necem pelliti exterritus uigiles circa curiam posuerat qui abdita queque [2 h] explorantes. egressum ei [i] abnegabant Cumque [3] id comperisset brianus [i] recessit ex [4] loco illo. iuitque exoniam. ubi conuocatis britonibus. [k] ea que fecerat notificauit. Missis postmodum ad caduallonem [l] legatis. muniuit urbem illam. [5] mandauitque uniuersis britonum [6 m] proceribus ut opida sua & ciuitates conseruare insisterent. letique aduentum caduallonis [n] expectarent. qui in breui auxilio salomonis fretus eis presidio ueniret. Hoc itaque per totam | insulam diuulgato. peanda rex merciorum cum *f. 124 rec.* maxima multitudine saxonum. [7] uenit exoniam. brianumque [o] obsedit.

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[1] *quam.* [2] *queque abdita.* [3] *Cunque.* [4] *de.* [5] *suam.* [6] *britonibus.* [7] omit *saxonum.* *Bern*

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[a] *episcopus.* [b] omit *in . . . loci.* [c] *paupertatem illam.* [d] *percuciendi.* [e] *Burtonem.* [f] *astancium.* [g] *edWinus.* [h] *queque abdita.* [i] *eius.* [i] *Brianus.* [k] *Britonibus.* [l] *cadWallonem.* [m] *Britonum.* [n] *cadWallonis aduentum.* [o] *Brianumque.* *Harleck*

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fell dead upon the ground, and no one knew who had killed him. And after this he went to kaer Exon, and called to him many of the bryttaniait, and strengthened the town and citadel, and told every one that he had killed the diviner. And he sent that news to [G]Kadwallon and begged him to come to ynys Brydain as quickly as he could and [said] that he would rally all the bryttaniait against his coming. And when [B]Paynda,* prince of the ssaesson, heard this, he came with a mighty host and laid siege to kaer Exon. And when [G]Kadwallon heard this he came to ynys Brydain with ten thousand Horse [granted him] in succour by Selyf, King of llydaw, and rested not until he reached kaer Exon. And there he divided his host into four armies and attacked the ssaesson, and killed many of them, and caught

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XII. viii Interea applicuit caduallo[a] cum decem[b] milibus militum. quos ei[1 c] salomon[2] commiserat. petiuitque celeriter[3] obsidionem quam predictus dux tenebat. Ut autem[d] cominus prospexit[4] diuisit milites suos in .iiij.[or][5] turmas. hostesque suos adire non distulit. Conserto deinde prelio. captus est peanda rex[6 e] continuo. & exercitus eius peremptus. Cumque ipse[7] alium aditum salutis non haberet. subdidit se caduallonì.[f] deditque obsides. promittens[8] se[9 g] cum illo saxones inquietaturum. Triumphato[h] itaque[i] illo conuocauit caduallo[a] proceres suos multo tempore dilapsos. petiuitque norhamhimbriam[j] super edwinum.[10 k] patriamque uastare non cessauit. Quod cum edwino[11 l] relatum esset.[f] associauit sibi omnes regulos anglorum. & in campo qui hedfeld[m] appellatur obuiam ueniens.[f] bellum cum[12] britonibus[n] commisit. Illato ocius[13] prelio.[f] interficitur edwinus.[14 o] & totus fere populus quem habebat. nec non & filius eius offridus. cum godboldo[15] rege orcadum qui eis[16] in auxilium uenerat.

XII. ix Habita igitur uictoria.[f] caduallo[a] uniuersas anglorum prouincias peragrando[17 p] ita debachatus[q] est in saxones ut ne[r] sexui quidem muliebri. uel paruulorum etati[18] parceret. quin omne genus anglorum ex finibus britannie[s] abradere uolens. quoscumque reperiebat. inauditis

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Bern [1] insert *rex.* [2] *Salomon.* [3] omit *celeriter.* [4] *perspexit.* [5] *quatuor.* [6] omit *rex.* [7] *ille.* [8] *pmittens.* [9] *scse.* [10] *Æduuinum.* [11] *Æduuino.* [12] omit *cum.* [13] *otius.* [14] *Ædwinus.* [15] *gadboldo.* [16] *eos.* [17] *peruagando.* [18] *ætati.*

Harlech [a] *cadWallo.* [b] *.x.* [c] insert *rex.* [d] *dum.* [e] omit *rex.* [f] *cadWalloni.* [g] *sese.* [h] *Triumphatoque.* [i] omit *itaque.* [j] *northanhimbriam.* [k] *edWinum.* [l] *edWino.* [m] *edfeld.* [n] *Britonibus.* [o] omit *edwinus.* [p] *peruagando.* [q] *debacatus.* [r] *nec.* [s] *Britannie.*

Paynda. And, lest he should be killed, Paynda did homage to [G]Kadwallon;
f. 131 vo. and went with him to fight the ssaesson and gave hostages that he would be faithful to the king. And then Kadwallon came through hymyr upon king Edwin. And he came with a host of ssaesson against Kadwallon. And at that place Edwin was killed and gorblod,* King of Ork, and all their hosts. And after [G]Kadwallon had triumphed he began to exterminate the

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tormentis afficiebat. Deinde commisit prelium cum offrico [a] qui edwino [1 b] successerat. | atque interemit illum. & duos ne- *f. 124 vo.*
potes eius qui post ipsum [c] regnare debuerant. Set & eadanum [2 d] regem scottorum qui eis auxiliari aduenerat.[3 e]

His [f] itaque interfectis. successit oswaldus [g] in regnum *XII. x*
norhamhimbrie.[4 h] quem caduallo [i] post ceteros [5] inquietatum. a prouintia [j] in prouinciam.[6] usque ad murum quem seuerus imperator olim inter britanniam [k] scotiamque [7] construxerat fugauit. Postea misit peandam regem merciorum & maximam partem sui exercitus ad eundem locum. ut cum eo bellum consereret.[l] At oswaldus.[g] dum [m] a predicto peanda in loco qui uocatur heuefeld.[8 n] id est celestis [9] campus quadam nocte obsideretur.[f] erexit ibidem crucem domini. & indixit commilitonibus suis ut supprema [10 o] uoce in hec uerba clamarent. Flectamus genua omnes.[p] & deum omnipotentem unum ac uerum in commune deprecemur. ut [q] nos ab [r] exercitu superbo [s] britannici [t] regis. & eiusdem nefandi ducis peande [11] defendat. Scio [12 u] enim [13 v] quia iusta pro salute gentis nostre [14] bella suscepi-

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[1] *Æduuino.* [2] *caduanum.* [3] *uenerat.* [4] *norhamhimbrorum.* [5] *cæteros.* [6] *prouintiam.* [7] *& scotiam.* [8] *heuenfeld.* [9] *cælestis.* [10] *suprema.* [11] *peandæ.* [12] *Scit.* [13] insert *ipse.* [14] *nostræ.* *Bern*

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[a] *osrico.* [b] *edWino.* [c] *illum.* [d] *eaddanum.* [e] *uenerat.* [f] *Hiis.* [g] *osWaldus.* [h] *northanhimbrie.* [i] *cadWallo.* [j] omit *a prouintia.* [k] *in Brittannicam.* [l] *conserret.* [m] *cum.* [n] *heuenefeld.* [o] *suprema.* [p] *omnes genua.* [q] omit *ut.* [r] *a.* [s] *superbo exercitu.* [t] *Britannici.* [u] *Scit.* [v] insert *ipse.* *Harleck*

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ssaesson and to destroy them by killing and burning, and he killed the ssaesson women and pulled the unborn children from their wombs, seeking to exterminate the ssaesson from ynys Brydain. And there King Offric and his two nephews were killed; and [B]Pyanda, King of Yssgottlond who had come to Offric's help, and all his people also were killed. And in his place Osswall became King; and [Ch]Kadwallon chased him from place to place, and Osswallt fled behind the stone wall which sseferys, emperor of Ryfain, had built between Daifr and Brynaich. And then Kadwallon sent [B]Paynda with the larger part of his army to chase him, and Paynda surrounded him in a place called maes nefawl [heavenly field]. And Osswallt set up the image of the cross and said to his comrades, "Let us fall upon our knees with

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mus. Fecerunt ergo omnes ut iusserat. & sic incipiente diluculo in hostes progressi. iuxta meritum fidei sue [1] uictoria potiti sunt. Quod ut cadualloni [a] nunciatum [2] fuit acri ira ignescens. collegit exercitum suum. & sanctum [3] regem oswaldum [4 b] insecutus est & confecto [5 c] prelio in loco qui brune [6 d] uocatur irruit in illum [7] peanda atque interfecit.

XII. xi Perempto igitur oswaldo [e] cum multis milibus suorum. successit ei in regnum norhamhimbrorum [f] frater eius oswi.[8 g] qui multa donaria auri & argenti cadualloni [h]
f. 125 rec. toti | iam britannie [9 i] imperanti donans. pacem eius adeptus est & [10] sese ei [11 j] submisit. Nec mora insurrexerunt in eum alfridus filius eius. & oidwaldus [12 k] filius fratris sui. set cum perstare nequiuissent.[l] diffugerunt [l] ad peandam regem merciorum. ipsum implorantes ut collecto exercitu. cum eis trans humbrum iret regi oswi [g] regnum suum auferre. At peanda timens pacem infringere quam rex caduallo [m] per regnum britannie [9 i] statuerat. distulit sine licentia [n] sua inquietationem [o] incipere donec ipse [13 p] aliquo modo incitaret. ut uel ipse in oswinum [q] regem [14 r] insur-

Bern [1] *suæ fidei.* [2] *nuntiatum.* [3] omit *sanctum.* [4] *Oswaldum.* [5] *collato.* [6] *burne.* [7] *eum.* [8] *Oswi.* [9] *britanniæ.* [10] omit &. [11] *sibi.* [12] *ordwald.* [13] *illum.* [14] *in regem oswinum.*

Harlech [a] *cadWalloni.* [b] *osWaldum regem.* [c] *collecto.* [d] *Burne.* [e] *osWaldo.* [f] *northanhimbrorum.* [g] *osWi.* [h] *cadWalloni.* [i] *Britannie.* [j] *sibi.* [k] *oidWald.* [l] *diffugierunt.* [m] *cadWallo.* [n] *licencia.* [o] *inquietacionem.* [p] *illum.* [q] *osWium.* [r] omit *regem.*

all our hearts and pray to god, the almighty, that he will save us from the cruel prince Paynda, for god knows that we are seeking to set our nation
f. 132 rec. free." And the next day Osswallt, trusting in god, attacked his adversaries, and that day he conquered; and when [G]Kadwallon heard this he pursued him and overcame him at [V]Byrnwy,* and there Paynda killed Osswallt the king. And after Osswallt was killed, Osswyd Aelwynn, his Brother, became king in his place. And he gathered tribute and sent it to [G]Kadwallon, for he was high king of all the island, and Osswyd did homage to him. And then arose his two nephews, his brother's sons, to war on Osswyd. But when it did not prosper them, they made peace with him. And then Osswyd went to [B]Paynda, the king of the march, to beg his help to war upon [G]Kadwallon. But Paynda said that while he lived he would not dare with-

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geret. uel sibi copiam congrediendi cum eo concederet. Quadam igitur sollempnitate[1] pentecostes cum rex caduallo[a] diadema britannie[b] portando festum celebraret lundoniis.[2] & uniuersi anglorum reges preter oswi[c] solum. nec non & britonum[d] duces adessent. adiuit peanda regem. & quesiuit[3] ab eo cur oswi[c] solus[4] aberat. cum ceteri[5] saxonum principes adessent. Cui cum caduallo[a] responderet ipsum infirmitatis causa deesse. adiecit ipse dicens misisse illum[6] [e] propter saxones in germaniam. ut fratrem suum oswaldum[f] in ipsos utrosque uindicaret. Adiecit etiam[g] illum pacem regni infregisse. qui solus guerram inter eos[h] inceperat.[7] cum ethelfridum[8] [i] filium[9] suum. & oidwaldum[10] [j] filium fratris sui[11] [k] bellis inquietatos.[l] a patria propria expulisset Petiuit itaque[m] licenciam[12] ut illum[n] uel interficeret.[f] uel a regno fugaret.

Rex igitur in diuersas meditationes[13] [o] inductus. familiares | suos ad se-uocauit.[14] [p] precepitque conicere[q] quid super tali re autumarent.[r] Conicientibus igitur[15] [s] eis plura.[t] margadud[t] rex demetarum inter ceteros dixit. Domine mi quoniam omne genus anglorum te ex finibus britannie[u] expulsurum *XII. xii f. 125 vo.*

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[1] *solennitate.* [2] *Londoniis.* [3] *quæsiuit.* [4] *solus oswi.* [5] *cæteri.* [6] *illum misisse.* *Bern*
[7] *inciperet.* [8] *edhelfridum.* [9] omit *filium.* [10] *Ordwallum.* [11] *fratris sui filium.*
[12] *quoque licentiam.* [13] *cogitationes.* [14] *seuocauit.* [15] omit *igitur.*

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[a] *cadWallo.* [b] *Britannie.* [c] *osWi.* [d] *Britonum.* [e] *ipsum misisse.* [f] *osWal-* *Harleck*
dum. [g] *eciam.* [h] *inter eos guerram.* [i] *elfridum.* [j] *oidWaldum.* [k] *fratris sui filium.*
[l] *inquietos.* [m] *quoque.* [n] omit *illum.* [o] *meditaciones.* [p] insert *ad; se uocauit.*
[q] *connicere.* [r] *autumauerunt.* [s] omit *igitur.* [t] *Margadud.* [u] *Brittannie.*

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draw his homage to the king without his permission. And at whitsuntide following, Kadwallon held his court at Llyndain, and thither came all the princes, Kymry and ssaesson, to Kadwallon's crown;* all except Osswyd Aelwyn. And Paynda asked why Osswyd had not come there. "Because he is sick," said the king. "Not so in truth," said Paynda, "he sent to me to get me to unite with him to avenge his Brother upon you. And because *f. 132 vo.* I would not agree with him he sent messengers to ssermania to invite the ssaesson to him to take vengeance for his Brother on you and me as well. And it is a sign of these things that he has banished his two nephews from the island, and has sought an agreement with me against you. And therefore he is breaking the peace of ynys brydain. And do you, Lord, give

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proposuisti. cur a proposito tuo diuertens. ipsos inter nos in pace manere [1] pateris? Eia [a] ergo permitte saltem ut ipsi inter semet-ipsos ciuilem habeant discordiam. & mutuis cladibus affecti. a patria nostra exterminentur. Non enim est [2 b] illi fides seruanda qui semper insidiatur. ut [c] eum cui eam debet [d] uersutis laqueis [3] capiat. Saxones enim [4 e] ex quo primum patriam nostram ingressi sunt. [f] semper insidiantes. gentem nostram prodiderunt. Quam itaque fidem eis [f] tenere debemus? Da ocius [5] peande licentiam [g] ut in predictum oswinum [h] insurgat. ut sic ciuili discordia inter illos exorta. alter alterum perimens ab insula nostra
XII. xiii deleantur. His [i] igitur [e] & pluribus aliis dictis. motus caduallo [j] peande licentiam dedit [k] congrediendi cum oswino. [6 l] Qui deinde collecto innumerabili exercitu. preteriuit [7] humbrum. & prouintias [8 m] eiusdem [9] patrie [10] uastando. predictum regem acriter cepit inquietare. At oswi [n] ad ultimum necessitate compulsus [11 o] promisit ei innumera regia ornamenta. & maiora donaria quam credi potest. ut patriam suam uastare desineret. & pretermissa inquietatione [p] quam inceperat domum rediret. Cumque ille precibus eius [q] nullatenus assensum preberet. rex ille ad diuinum
f. 126 rec. respiciens [12] auxilium. licet minorem habuisset exercitum | iniuit

Bern [1] *uiuere.* [2] *Non est enim.* [3] *laquelis.* [4] *ergo.* [5] *otius.* [6] *osuuino.* [7] *preæteriuit.* [8] *prouincias.* [9] *eius.* [10] *patriæ.* [11] *coactus.* [12] omit *respiciens.*

Harlech [a] *Eya.* [b] *est enim.* [c] omit *insidiatur ut;* insert *non.* [d] omit *debet.* [e] *ergo.* [f] omit *eis.* [g] *licenciam.* [h] *osWium.* [i] *Hiis.* [j] *cadWallo.* [k] *dedit licenciam.* [l] *osWio.* [m] *prouinciam.* [n] *osWinus.* [o] *coactus.* [p] *inquietacione.* [q] *suis.*

me permission either to kill him, or drive him out of the island." And then Kadwallon went into council. And Mredydd, King of Dyfed, said to the king, "you should not have given up your first intention, namely to banish all the ssaesson from this island. And therefore give BPeynda permission to go to fight with Osswyd so that each may kill the other. For the faithless deserve not faith keeping, and so they shall be utterly destroyed." And then Kadwallon gave BPeynda permission to make war on Osswyd. And Paynda hunted him beyond the hymyr, and began to kill and to burn up his country. And Osswyd offered BPaynda a great ransom of treasure to get his peace; and he would not take it, but fought him. And Osswyd left it to God to
f. 133 rec. settle between them. And Paynda was killed in the first battle. And then

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tamen[1] prelium cum illo. iuxta flumen wunued[2 a] & peanda nec non & triginta[3 b] ducibus peremptis. uictoriam adeptus[4] est. Interfecto igitur[c] peanda.[c] wulfredus[5 d] filius eiusdem[6] donante caduallo[7 e] successit ei in regnum. Qui consociatis[8 f] sibi eba[9] & edberto[g] merciorum ducibus rebellauit aduersus[10] oswi. set iubente tandem[11] caduallo[7 h] pacem habuit cum illo. Completis tandem .xlviij. annis. nobilissimus ille atque potentissimus caduallo[e] rex britonum[i] senio & infirmitate grauatus .xv. kalendas decembris ab hoc seculo migrauit. Cuius corpus[j] britones[k] balsamo & aromatibus conditum. in quadam enea[12] imagine.[l] ad staturæ[m] sue mensuram[13 n] fusa mira arte posuerunt. Imaginem[o] autem illam super eneum equum mire[14] pulcritudinis armatam. & super occidentalem portam lundoniarum erectam. in signum predicte uictorie.[15] & in terrorem saxonibus statuerunt. Set & ecclesiam[16] subtus in honore sancti martini edificauerunt. in qua pro ipso & fidelibus defunctis diuina celebrantur obsequia.

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[1] *tum.* [2] *uunued.* [3] *.xxx.* [4] *ademptus.* [5] *Wlfert.* [6] *eiusdem filius.* [7] *caduallone.* [8] *consotiatis.* [9] *ebba.* [10] *aduersum.* [11] omit *tandem.* [12] *ænea.* [13] *ad mensuram staturæ suæ.* [14] *miræ.* [15] *predictæ uictoriæ.* [16] *æcclesiam.* *Bern*

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[a] *Wunued.* [b] *.xxx.* [c] omit *igitur.* [d] *Wlfredus.* [e] *cadWallo.* [f] *consocratis.* [g] *ederlberto.* [h] *cadWallone rege tandem.* [i] *Britannie.* [j] omit *corpus.* [k] *Britones.* [l] *ymagine.* [m] omit *staturæ.* [n] *mensuram sue.* [o] *ymaginem.* *Harlech*

Kadwallon gave his kingship to Wlvryd, Paynda's son. And that one made war against Edbart, prince of the March. But in the end Kadwallon reconciled them. And so [G]Kadwallon ruled ynys Brydain forty-eight years as sovereign of Kymry and lloegr; until he fell sick and on the fifteenth day of the month of December he died. And the Kymry anointed his body with precious ointments and put it in an image made of Copper made with infinite artistry, and they put this figure on a Copper horse above the gate of llyndain, to rush out upon the ssaesson. And at this gate also a Church was built, and consecrated in the name of god and Marthin; and there were Masses sung for the soul of Kadwallon, the man of whom Merddin prophesied as the brazen horseman.

And after him Kydwaladr Vendigaid, his Son, became King. The age of Krist [was] then . . . . . * And then [G]Kydwaaladr for eleven years

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XII. xiv Suscepit itaque regni gubernaculum cadualadrus[1 a] filius suus. quem beda[b] clieduallam[2 c] iuuenem uocauit.[3 d] &[4] in initio uiriliter[e] & pacifice regnum[5 f] tractauit. At cum .xii.[g] annos post sumptum diadema preterisset. in infirmitatem[6] cecidit.[7] & ciuile discidium inter britones[h] ortum est. Mater
f. 126 vo. eius fuerat[8] soror peande[i] patre[9] tantum. | matre uero diuersa. que[9 j] ex nobili genere gewisseorum[10 k] edita fuerat. Post ea[11 l] eam memoratus rex caduallo[m] post factam[12] cum fratre concordiam in societatem[13] thori accepit. &[n] cadualadrum[o] ex illa progenuit.

XII. xv Quo igitur ut dicere ceperam[p] languente. discordia affi-ciuntur[14] britones.[h] & opulentam patriam detestabili[q] discidio destituunt.[15 r] Accessit etiam[16 s] aliud[t] infortunium.[17] quia fames dira ac famosissima insipienti populo adhesit. ita[u] ut tocius[18] cibi sustentaculo[19 v] uacaretur[w] prouincia.[20] excepto uenatorie[21] artis solatio.[x] Quam etiam[22 y] famem pestifera mortis lues[23] consecuta est que[24 z] in[a'] breui tantam[25] populi multitudinem strauit. quantam non poterant uiui humare.

Bern [1] *cadualdrus.* [2] *cheduatiam.* [3] *uocat.* [4] *quod &r.* [5] omit *regnum.* [6] *infirmate.* [7] omit *cecidit.* [8] *fuit.* [9] omit *patre . . . que;* insert *regis ex nobili* etc. [10] *Gewiseorum.* [11] omit *Post ea.* [12] insert *pacem.* [13] *sotietatem.* [14] *afficiuntur discordia.* [15] *destruunt.* [16] *aliam.* [17] *infortonium.* [18] *totius.* [19] insert *quæque.* [20] *uacuaretur prouintia.* [21] *uenatoriæ.* [22] *uero.* [23] *lues mortis.* [24] *quæ.* [25] *tanta.*

Harlech [a] *cadWaladrus.* [b] *Beda.* [c] *chelWaldera.* [d] omit *iuuenem uocauit;* insert *uocat.* [e] *inicio mirabiliter.* [f] omit *regnum.* [g] *duodecim.* [h] *Britones.* [i] insert *ex.* [j] omit *que.* [k] *gelWisseorum.* [l] omit *Post ea.* [m] *cadWallo.* [n] omit *&r.* [o] *cadWaladrum.* [p] *ceperam dicere.* [q] omit *detestabili.* [r] *destruunt.* [s] *autem.* [t] *aliut.* [u] omit *ita.* [v] insert *queque.* [w] *uacuarctur.* [x] *solacio.* [y] *uero.* [z] *quem.* [a'] omit *in.*

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f. 133 vo. peacefully held the Crown and ruled the kingdom. And then Kydwaladr sickened of a lingering disease. And discord* grew up amongst the Kymry themselves; for [G]Kydwaladr's mother was sister on her father's side to [f]paynda, and her mother was a Noble lady of the Nobles of Erging and Eyas; for when Kadwallon and [f]paynda had made terms he [Kadwallon] took that woman to wife who was [afterward] the mother of [G]Kydwaladr. And during this disorder, there came Pestilence and Famine upon the Bryttaniait in punishment from god for their sins, for over the whole face of ynys brydain there was not found a mouthful of bread, but flesh of game

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Unde misere reliquie[1] patriam[a] factis agminibus diffugientes. transmarinas petebant regiones cum ululatu magno sub uelorum funibus[2 b] hoc modo cantantes. Dedisti nos deus tanquam oues escarum. & in gentibus dispersisti nos. Ipse etiam[c] rex caduala-drus[d] cum nauigio miserabili armoricam petens. predictum planc-tum hoc modo augebat. Ue[e] nobis peccatoribus ob inmania[3] scelera nostra quibus deum offendere nullatenus diffugimus[f] dum penitentie[4] spacium[5] habebamus.[g] Incumbit ergo illius potes-tatis ultio.[h] que[6] nos ex[i] natali[j] solo[k] extirpat. quos nec olim romani nec deinde scotti.[7] uel picti.[l] uel[8 m] uersute prodi-| tiones[9 n] exterminare nequiuerunt.[10 o] Set in uanum patriam *f. 127 rec.* super illos tociens recuperauimus. cum non fuerit[11 p] dei uolun-tas[12] ut in ea perpetue regnaremus. Ipse uerus iudex cum uidisset nos nullatenus a sceleribus nostris cessare uelle ac neminem genus nostrum a regno expellere posse. uolens corripere stultos. in-dignationem[q] suam direxit qua[r] propriam nationem[s] cateruatim deseruimus.[13 t] Redite ergo romani redite scoti.[u] & picti. redite

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[1] *miseræ reliquiæ.* [2] *finibus.* [3] *nimia.* [4] *penitentiæ.* [5] *spatium.* [6] *quæ.* *Bern*
[7] *scoti.* [8] *nec.* [9] *proditionis;* insert *saxones.* [10] *quiuerunt.* [11] *fuit.* [12] *uoluntas dei.*
[13] *deserimus.*

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[a] omit *patriam.* [b] *finibus.* [c] *eciam.* [d] *cadWaladrus.* [e] *Vt.* [f] *diffugiamus.* *Harlech*
[g] *penitencie spacium habebimus.* [h] *ulcio.* [i] *a.* [j] *tali.* [k] *solacio.* [l] insert *nec*
saxones. [m] omit *uel.* [n] *prodicionis.* [o] *quiuerunt.* [p] *fuit.* [q] *indignacionem.*
[r] insert *propter.* [s] *nacionem.* [t] *deserimus.* [u] *scotti.*

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only; so that the living could not bury those who had died of famine. And those who were able to go to other islands went, saying "Of a truth, god, thou hast given us here to be food for wolves as sheep are." And Kadwaladr ordéred a fleet to be prepared for himself to go to llydaw, saying: "Woe to us sinners because of the multitude of our sins by which we have offended god, for we had a time to cease and to have to do with god, and we did not. And therefore doth God banish us from our lawful heritage for neither the *f. 134 rec.* men of Ryfain nor any, save god himself, could thus disperse us." And then with weeping, Kydwaladr went to Alan, King of llydaw; and joyful was the king over him. And there was left alive in ynys brydain, between famine and pestilence, only those who went into the wilderness seeking to live on flesh taken in the chase. And the pestilence continued for eleven years in ynys Brydain. And then the remnant of the ssaesson sent to sser-

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ambrones. saxones. ecce patet uobis britannia[a] ira[b] dei deserta.[c] quam uos desertam facere nequiuistis. Non nos fortitudo[d] uestra expellit. set summi regis potentia[e] quam nunquam[f] offendere distulimus.[g]

XII. xvi Ut igitur inter hos & alios gemitus in armoricano litore[h] appulsus fuit. uenit cum tota[i] multitudine sua ad regem alanum[j] salomonis[k] nepotem.[l] & ab illo digne susceptus est. Britannia ergo cunctis ciuibus exceptis paucis quibus in galliarum[1 m] partibus mors pepercerat[n] desolata. per undecim[2 o] annos britonibus horrenda fuit.[p] Saxonibus quoque eadem tempestate ingrata qui in illa[q] sine intermissione moriebantur. Quorum residui cum tam feralis lues cessauisset continuum morem seruantes nuntiauerunt[r] conciuibus[3 s] in germania.[4] insulam[t] indigena gente carentem[u] facile illis subdendam. si in illam habitaturi[v] uenirent.[w] Quod cum ipsis indicatum fuisset
f. 127 vo. nefandus populus ille collecta innumerabili | multitudine uirorum & mulierum. applicuit in partibus northamhimbrie.[5 x] & desolatas prouincias[6] ab albania usque ad[7] cornubiam inhabitauit. Non enim aderat habitator qui prohiberet. preter pauperculas britonum[y] reliquias que[8] superfuerant. que[8] infra[z] abdita[a'] nemorum in gualiis commanebant. Ab illo tempore potestas
XII. xvii britonum[y] in insulis[9 b'] cessauit. & angli regnare ceperunt. Deinde[c'] cum aliquantum[d'] temporis emersum esset & predictus

Bern [1] *gualiarum.* [2] *xi.* [3] insert *suis.* [4] *germaniam.* [5] *norhamhim umbriæ.* [6] *prouintias.* [7] omit *ad.* [8] *quæ.* [9] *insula.*

Harlech [a] *Britannia.* [b] *ita.* [c] *deserta dei.* [d] *fortuna.* [e] *potencia.* [f] *nuncquam.* [g] *distulimus offendere.* [h] *littore.* [i] omit *tota.* [j] *Alanum.* [k] *solomonis.* [l] *nepote.* [m] *gualiarum.* [n] *perceperat.* [o] *.xi.* [p] omit *fuit.* [q] *quia nulla.* [r] *nunciauerunt.* [s] insert *suis.* [t] insert *uacuam.* [u] omit *carentem.* [v] *habituri.* [w] *conuenirent.* [x] *northankymbrie.* [y] *Britonum.* [z] *in.* [a'] *abditis.* [b'] *insula.* [c'] *Denique.* [d'] *aliquantulum.*

mania, saying that ynys brydain was empty, and urging them to come and take it cheaply for themselves. Then those people gathered enormous numbers of men and women and landed in the gogledd [north country], and settled it from [L]Llychlyn to [neh]kerniw, because there were no [V]Bryttaniait to oppose them. And from this time the bryttaniait lost the sovereignty

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populus roboratus fuisset recordatus cadualadrus [a] regni sui iam a supradicta[1] contagione purificati.[2] [b] auxilium ab alano petiit.[3] [c] ut pristine potestati[4] restitueretur. At cum id a rege impetrasset.[f] [d] intonuit ei uox angelica dum classem pararet.[f] ut ceptis suis desisteret. Nolebat enim deus britones [e] in insula[5] [f] britannie [g] diutius [h] regnare. &[6] [i] antequam tempus[7] [j] aduenisset[8] quod merlinus arturo [k] prophetauerat. Precepit etiam [l] illi ut romam ad sergium papam iret. ut ibi[9] [m] peracta penitentia [n] inter beatos annumeraretur.[o] Dicebat etiam [p] populum britonum [q] per meritum sue[10] fidei[11] insulam in futuro adepturum. postquam fatale tempus superuenisset[12] [r] Nec id tamen prius futurum quam britonum[13] [s] reliquie[14] [t] que[14] propter paganorum inuasionem abscondite fuerant amissum regnum recuperarent. Quod cum auribus beati uiri intimatum fuisset.[f] accessit ilico [u] ad alanum

[1] *predicta.* [2] insert &. [3] *petiuit.* [4] *dignitati.* [5] *insulam.* [6] omit &. [7] insert *illud.* [8] *uenisset.* [9] omit *ut; ubi.* [10] omit *sue.* [11] insert *ipsius.* [12] *superueniret.* [13] *britones.* [14] insert *reliquiis eius potiti. illas ex roma in britanniam asportarent. Tunc demum reuelatis etiam cæterorum sanctorum reliquiis quæ propter* etc. *Bern*

[a] *cadWaladrus.* [b] insert &. [c] *petiuit.* [d] *impetrauisset.* [e] *Britones.* [f] *insulam.* [g] *Brittannie.* [h] *diucius.* [i] omit &. [j] insert *illud.* [k] *Arturo.* [l] *eciam.* [m] omit *ut; ubi.* [n] *penitencia.* [o] *annumeretur.* [p] *enim.* [q] *Britonum.* [r] *superueniret.* [s] omit *britonum.* [t] *reliquiis;* insert *eius potiti illas ex romana urbe in Brittanniam asportarent. Tunc demum reuelatis eciam sanctorum reliquiis.* [u] *illico.* *Harlech*

of ynys brydain. And some time after this, Kydwaladr begged Alan, King of llydaw, for support to come to win back ynys brydain from the pagan ssaesson who had conquered it. And then the voice of an Angel came to [G]Kydwaladr and told him not to return to ynys brydain, because it was not *f. 134 vo.* God's Will that the bryttaniaid should be there until the time should come foretold by Merddin Emrys before Gwrtheyrn. And the angel told [G]Kydwaladr to go to Ryfain, to submit his body to penance; and there he would be numbered with the blessed ones. And the angel told him that it was by his merits and good works that the Kymry would a second time get the Government of ynys brydain, when the time appointed by god should be fulfilled; "And that," said the angel, "will not be until thy bones shall come from Ryfain to ynys brydain, and that will happen when the bones of all the saints that in former times were hidden in Ryfain for fear of the ssarssiniait,* shall be shown again. And when this happens, the Kymry shall get possession and the lordship of the whole of ynys brydain." And then

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f. 128 rec. XII. xviii

regem.[a] & quod sibi reuela- | tum fuerat indicauit. Tunc alanus[b] sumptis diuersis diuersis[1 c] libris. & de propheciis aquile que[2] sestione[3 d] prophetauit & de carminibus sibille ac merlini cepit scrutari omnia. ut uideret an ṣi reuelatio cadualadri[4 e] inscriptis oraculis concordaret. Et cum nullam discrepantiam reperisset[f] suggessit cadualadro[5 g] ut diuine dispensationi[h] pareret. & britannia[i] postposita. quod angelicus ei[j] preceperat monitus perficeret. Filium autem suum ẏuor.[6 k] ac ẏni[l] nepotem suum ad reliquias britonum[m] regendas in insulam dirigeret. ne gens antiquo genere illorum edita. libertatem barbarica irruptione[n] amitteret. Tunc cadualadrus[o] abiectis mundialibus propter dominum regnumque perpetuum uenit romam. & a sergio papa confirmatus. inopinato[7 p] etiam morbo[8 q] correptus. duodecima[9 r] autem die kalendarum maiarum.[10 s] anno[t] ab incarnatione[u] domini .d.cl.xxxix. a contagione carnis solutus. celestis[11] regni aulam ingressus est.

Bern [1] omit second *diuersis.* [2] *quæ.* [3] *sestonie.* [4] *cadualdri.* [5] *cadualdro.* [6] *Iuor.* [7] *inopino.* [8] *languore.* [9] *.xii.* [10] *maẏarum.* [11] *cælestis.*

Harlech [a] *regem Alanum.* [b] *Alanus.* [c] omit second *diuersis.* [d] *sostome.* [e] *reuelacio cadWaladri.* [f] *descripcionem repperisset.* [g] *cadWaladro.* [h] *dispensacioni.* [i] *Brittannia.* [j] *ei angelus.* [k] *Iuor.* [l] *Ẏni.* [m] *Britonum.* [n] *irrupcione.* [o] *cadWaladrus.* [p] *in opino.* [q] *eciam languore.* [r] *.xii.* [s] *Marciarum.* [t] *Anno.* [u] *incarnacione.*

Kydwaladr went to Alan, King of llydaw and told him everything. And then Alan took all the Books of Merddin Emrys and the songs of the ssïbli, to see whether they agreed with the words of the angel; and when he hit

f. 135 rec. upon them, he found it good, and urged [G]Kydwalad to go to Ryfain. And then Kydwalad sent Ivor his son, and* ynyr his nephew, to try to keep ynys brydain to its just and rightful allegiance, lest the nation of the [G]Kymry should be dispersed. And then Kydwaladr renounced all worldly things for the love of god, and went to Ryfain, and took penance. And on the twelfth day of the month of December he died, and his soul went to heaven, in the six hundred and eighty-eighth year after Krist was born. And then ifor, the son of Kydwaladr, and Ynyr, his nephew, gathered a mighty host, and went to ynys Brydain, and for eight and twenty years they warred against the ssaesson, but to no avail; for that tempest had so killed off the poor Kymry that they could not drive away the alien nation. And from this time they were not called [V]Bryttaniait, but [G]Kymry. And from this

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Cum autem ỳuor & ỳni sibi [a] naues [1 b] collegissent.[c] quos potuerunt associauerunt sibi. & applicuerunt in insulam. atque lxxix [2 c] annis gentem anglorum [3] seuissima inquietatione [d] affecerunt. set non multum eis [4 e] profuit. Supradicta namque mortalitas. & fames. atque consuetudinarium [f] discidium in tantum coegerat populum | superbum [g] degenerare. *XII. xix* *f. 128 vo.* quod hostes longius arcere nequiuerant. Barbarie [5] etiam [h] irrepente [i] iam non uocabantur britones.[j] set gualenses. huiusmodi [6 k] uocabulum siue a gualone duce eorum. siue a galaes [l] regina. siue a barbarie trahentes. At saxones sapientius [m] agentes. pacem & concordiam inter se habentes. agros colentes. ciuitates & opida [n] reedificantes.[7] & sic abiecto dominio britonum.[o] iam toti loegrie [8] imperauerant sub [9 p] duce adelstano qui primus [q] inter eos [r] diadema portauit.

EXPLICIT.[10]

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[1] *naues sibi.* [2] *lxix.* [3] omit *anglorum.* [4] omit *eis.* [5] *Barbariæ.* [6] omit *huiusmodi.* [7] *ædificantes.* [8] *loegriæ.* [9] omit *sub.* [10] omit *explicit;* add without break: *Bern*

Degenerati autem a britannica [s] nobilitate gualenses. numquam postea monarchiam insulæ [t] recuperauerunt. immo nunc sibi. interdum saxonibus ingrati consurgentes externas ac domesticas clades

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[a] omit *sibi.* [b] insert *suas.* [c] *lxix.* [d] *inquietacione.* [e] omit *eis.* [f] *consuetudinarum.* [g] omit *superbum.* [h] *Barbare eciam.* [i] *irrumpente.* [j] *Britones.* [k] omit *huiusmodi.* [l] *gualaes.* [m] *sapiencius.* [n] *oppida.* [o] *Britonum.* [p] omit *sub.* [q] *primo.* [r] *celeros.* *Harlech*

Collated with Bern MS.: [s] *Brittannia.* [t] *insule.*

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time on the ssaesson did wisely in keeping harmony among themselves; and in building towns, and castles; and thus they threw off the Lordship of the bryttaniaid. And they themselves possessed the whole of [L]Lloegr, *f. 135 vo.* under Edelstan, the first man of the ssaesson to wear the crown of the kingdom. And from this time on the native race of the island lost its name, and from that time on could not get it back again, but constantly endured the oppression of the ssaesson. But the princes who were over the [G]Kymry in succession* ~ ~ ~

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Bern XII. xx *incessanter agebant. Reges*[a] *autem eorum qui ab illo tempore in gualiis successerunt. karadoco lancarbanensi contemporaneo meo in materia scribendi permitto.*[a] *Reges uero saxonum. Willelmo malmesberiensi.*[b] *&* *henrico huntendonensi.*[c] *quos*[d] *de regibus britonum*[e] *tacere iubeo.*[f] *cum non habeant librum istum*[g] *britannici*[h] *sermonis. quem Gvalterus*[i] *oxenefordensis*[j] *archidiaconus ex britannia*[k] *aduexit. quem de hystoria*[l] *eorum ueraciter editum in honore predictorum principum hoc modo in latinum sermonem TRANSFERRE CURAUI.*[m]

Harlech [a] omit *Reges . . . permitto.* [b] *malmeberiensi.* [c] *huntendoniensi.* [d] *quam.* [e] omit *britonum.* [f] insert *Britonum.* [g] *illum.* [h] *Brittannici.* [i] *Walterus.* [j] *oxinefordensis.* [k] *brittannia.* [l] *historia.* [m] Harlech MS. rubricator's *Explicit* is followed by *Explicit liber Bruti* with elaborate decoration.

I, Gwallter, Archdeacon of Rydychen, turned this book from [e]kymraec into lladin. And in my old age I have turned it the second time from ladin into [ngh]kymraec.

HERE IS THE END OF THE CHRONICLE OF THE BR[I]TTANNIAIT.

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NOTES

TO THE TRANSLATION FROM THE WELSH

SINCE it did not appear feasible to include in this volume the Welsh text upon which the translation is based, certain features have been incorporated into the latter which would not ordinarily appear in an English rendering. In the use of capital letters the translation follows the usage of MS. Jesus College LXI, meaningless as that sometimes seems to be. No attempt has been made to normalize the spelling of proper names, which are spelled exactly as they are found in MS. LXI; where this manuscript is now defective, missing letters have been supplied, in italics, from the copy made by Hugh Jones in 1695 (MS. Jesus College XXVIII). As for the initial mutations, it would obviously be misleading to print them as they stand in the manuscript, yet the radical form is sometimes uncertain, unless the name appears a number of times in different constructions. The translators have therefore restored what they believe to be the radical form, and have prefixed in superscript to this the initial letters as they stand in the manuscript. Scribal errors, except in proper names, have been corrected in the translation, but the manuscript readings are given in the notes.

1. p. 221, l. 1. The name *y wen ynys* may be due to a misunderstanding of *Ynys Prydain* as *the beautiful island*, with a substitution of *gwyn* in the sense of *fair, beautiful*, for *Prydain*.

2. p. 221, l. 2. The reading *megys y mae* of the manuscript may be a scribal error, as several other texts have in the passage simply *y mae*.

3. p. 222, l. 3. A conjectural rendering of *a themlau saint yndynt y voli duw*.

4. p. 222, l. 5. *Mor rrydd*, now usually written *mor udd*, and explained as *the king's sea*, seems to have meant originally the Sea of the Ruteni. The Latin *Ruteni* would have given in old French, *Rudéin:* this, if borrowed by the Welsh in this form before the *d* softened and vanished, would probably have taken part in the general shifting of the accent, and *Rúden* would normally become *rhudd*, which our manuscript spells *rrydd*. The same word borrowed later gives *Ryttain*.

5. p. 223, l. 11. The context would seem to require for *pwy a vaĭchogassai y vorwyn* the meaning *whom the girl had conceived* which is also the sense of the Latin version, but D. Silvan Evans's dictionary cites this particular passage with the meaning given in the text.

6. p. 225, l. 10. The real meaning of *heb ychwanec* in this passage seems to be: *they said further*, although the punctuation of the manuscript does not seem to bear out this interpretation. Geoffrey, following perhaps a similar text, seems to have taken it to mean "besides others" which he made into *exceptis paruulis et mulieribus*.

7. p. 228, l. 3. The MS. has *bod yn wedd ganto;* the translation substitutes *yn well ganto*.

8. p. 228, l. 10. The word *marchawg*, or *marchog* is variously rendered *man-at-arms*, *horseman*, or *mounted gentleman*, as the context seems to require.

9. p. 229, l. 13. The Latin has first: *sulphureas tedas*, second: *greco igne*. Greek fire was unknown in Europe before the Crusades. The Welsh *tan gwyllt*, *wildfire*, is older and independent.

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10. p. 238, l. 7. The word *anhawgwyr* is known to the translators, aside from the present text, only in a poem of Thomas ap Ievan Rhys printed in *Hen Gwndidau*, p. 12. The Editor of that work explains it as "the elderly," which is clearly the meaning required here.

11. p. 240, l. 5. The *Velystynion* of the MS. is probably a foreign name unmutated, but it may imply an initial B or M.

12. p. 240, l. 9. It is possible that the *gogofav erkwlff* (the caves of Hercules) of the text is a scribal error for *colovnau*, the columns of Hercules.

13. p. 241, l. 10. Possibly *Koffarffichdi* had originally no reference to the Picts, but is an attempt to render some foreign name.

14. p. 244, l. 9. *Brenin Karwed* might have meant either *King Karwed* or *the King of Karwed.*

15. p. 245, l. 9. The reference is ambiguous in *ac ynte oedd yn y haros kwynt yno.*

16. p. 249, l. 2. The name in the MS. may be read either *talnais* or *tatnais.*

17. p. 250, l. 6. Our MS. has *gogmagog;* others have *Goetmagog, Goermagog,* etc. Geoffrey's Latin has *Goemagog.* At first sight, one is inclined to derive this name from the *Gog et Magog* of the Apocalypse, Chapter XX, 8; but the presence in Cambridgeshire of the Gogmagog hills, and the two rocks at Lands End known respectively as Gog and Magog, together with many curious old folk-tales, customs and traditions, suggest a far older tradition, that underlay not only the British story, but the Apocalypse itself. De Jubainville points out that the "various races that have successively inhabited Ireland trace themselves back to common ancestors descended from Magog or Gomer, son of Japhet" (*Ir. Myth. Cycle*, p. 50). Gog and Magog were the "protectors" of London, and their huge images used to figure in civic parades and festivals (cf. Harold Bayley, *Archaic Eng.*, Phila., 1920, pp. 188 ff.). Josephus, *Antiq. of the Jews*, Bk. I, cap. vi, sec. 1, says that the Greek Scythians were called Magogites; and the Scottish myth of the origin of Gog, Magog, Termagol, and other British giants, states that they were born of the thirty-three daughters of a King of Syria, or Tyria. These thirty-three "primeval women . . . drifted in a ship to Britain, then uninhabited, where they lived in solitude, until an order of demons becoming enamoured of them, took them to wife and begot a race of giants" (*Arch. Eng.*, p. 192). The Trojan, Syrian, and Phœnician connections with ancient Britain are referred to throughout Part I, and native Welsh, Irish, and Scotch story has preserved distant echoes whose real significance can only be discovered after careful study and comparison.

18. p. 254, l. 1. Our MS. has *hymyr vrenin hvnawt* which may mean: "Hymyr, king of Hunawt," a district unknown to the translators, or "Hymyr, a notable king"; from this Geoffrey may have obtained his *Rex Hunnorum.*

19. p. 254, l. 11. This is probably one of the earliest appearances in germ of the Essylt (Iseult) cycle.

20. p. 258, l. 5. The translation here is a purely conjectural rendering of *ac ymhoelyd yr anian pryffaith ni wrthwyneb.*

21. p. 258, l. 7. Our MS. here has *ac ai lladdassant ef ac ai llawssant.* The second verb may be a corrupt doublet of the first, or it may be a scribal error for *ac ai llarpiassant, — they tore him to pieces.*

22. p. 260, l. 11. *Caerlleon* here is evidently a scribal error for *Caer luil*, Carlisle. Caerlleon was the name of Chester, city of the Legion (the 20th). Chester is not "far to the north," and a legion was never permanently stationed at Carlisle.

23. p. 261, l. 12. Evidently this word was illegible when Hugh Jones made his copy for in it he has *yr . . . . waith*, it is assumed that the missing letters are *ail* or *eil.*

24. p. 264, l. 4. Our MS. has *o lwyr ewyllys y channol.* The last word is evidently an error for *chalon.*

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25. p. 264, l. 12. This partition by which "Albanacdys got from Humber to Cape Bladon in Caithness," expands Scotland over far more territory than is usually ascribed to it. In our MS. the limits of the several districts of the island vary greatly: for instance, Prydyn, the most ancient name of the whole island, is on p. 441, l. 8 made to cover only the water-shed of which Loch Lomond is the catch-basin. All the geographical names of MS. LXI have at times an elasticity born of ignorance and the use of conflicting sources.

26. p. 268, l. 8. The Latin has *Karitia* which has been identified with *Kaer Itia*, the *portus Itius* of Cæsar, or Calais. But R. A. Law (*Univ. of Texas Studies*, No. 4, pp. 39–48) makes it seem probable that Cordalia was queen of Central Gaul, or *Gallia Celtica*.

27. p. 271, l. 10. *Lun mawr* of the MS. is emended to *lu mawr*.

28. p. 272, l. 10. The name *yssyllt* comes just after a break in the MS., which probably originally had *sayssyllt*.

29. p. 273, l. 3. *Ac yna fforex ai llas ef* and *wrth fforex* of the MS. can hardly imply the radical form *porex* which occurs above; *a fforex* might indicate either form; the scribe has evidently confused two similar names.

30. p. 273, l. 7. *Hunaint* of the MS. is emended to *hunain*.

31. p. 273, l. 13. The MS. has *ymladd a oruc ef ar pymed brenin lloegr*. This may mean *he fought with the fifth king of Lloegr*, although the Latin has *in pinnerem regem loegrie*.

32. p. 275, ll. 7 and 11. After telling of rights of sanctuary given to specified roads, the subject of Dyfnwal's achievements recorded by Gildas is dismissed as too tiresome for further treatment. The next sentence returns to the roads and their immunities. This seems to be evidence of compilation and careless use of two different written sources.

Cape Bladon is probably Dunnet Head in Caithness; cf. W. J. Watson, *History of the Place Names of Celtic Scotland*, p. 355. Hamo's Port, the terminus of the Roman road to *Menevia* (St. Davids), is South Hampton. Cf. note 37, below; also Chapter XI, p. 203.

33. p. 276, l. 9. The prince of the *goglédd*, Kornorilla's husband, on page 264, l. 12 (cf. n. 25, above) is called *Maglawn, the prince of Alban*, thus identifying Gogledd — the north country, with Scotland. *Goglédd*, Alban and Scotland are one and the same. *Goglédd* does not stand for our North Wales, which is in MS. LXI given its proper Welsh name, *Gwynedd*. In later Welsh Chronicles and poems, *Goglédd* usually means Cumberland and Strathclyde.

34. p. 277, l. 1. The translation adopts Hugh Jones's emendation of *un vraid* to *un vraint*.

35. p. 277, l. 5. Where our MS. has *Llychlyn*, Geoffrey's Latin has *Norwegia*, causing great confusion for his readers. Geoffrey rendered Welsh personal and place names in Latin, but left less important names in Welsh, making it still possible to check his narrative by native documents. The survival of Welsh names is one of the most valuable contributions of the Welsh MS. Chronicles, even our late one included. It is universally admitted that after the XII century *Llychlyn* or *Lochlann*, means Norway. The name has, however, a far more ancient pedigree. Sir John Rhys reiterates (in *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 355, and in *Arthurian Legend*, p. 11) that in earlier times *Llychlyn* meant a mystic land beneath the waters of the seas and lakes. Later it was applied to any coastal indentations like those of the Norwegian fiords or the western shore of Scotland, as was held by the late Professor Macbain. In our MS., *Llychlyn* stands for the Scandinavian settlements in Scotland, Argyle and the Isles, occupied by Norwegians, and also for Caithness, with Sutherland and Ross, held by the Danes. Dr. Alexander B. Scott of Helmsdale, Scotland, the author of *St. Ninian*, D. Nutt, London, 1916, and of *The Pictish Nation*, T. N. Foulis, Edinburg, 1917, writes the translators:

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"There was a very inexact use of *Lochlann*, *Lochland*, and *Llychlyn* after the middle of the 11th century. The reason appears to be that both Welsh and Irish writers regard the Scandinavian settlements in Orkney, Caithness, Lewis and the Islands, and Argyle, as part of the realm of Norway, which the Norse claimed them to be politically, though not geographically. Sometimes the inexactness arose from the writer's geographical haziness. These writers also regarded the seas north of Galloway as under the dominion of the Scandinavians, and considered those waters as part of the maritime road to *Lochlann* or Scandinavia proper. In the Latin chronicles, these two regions are called *Norwegia* and *Dacia*." (Sept. 8, 1928.)

British Museum MS. Cotton, Claudius D. 11, (based on a X century original), lists the various parts of Scotland as follows:

Ultra [*Tede flumen*] *usque ad flumen Forthi magni. scilicet. Loonia et Galweya et Albania tota, quæ modo Scotia vocatur, et Morovia et omnes insulæ occidentales oceani usque ad Norwegiam et Daciam, scilicet Kathenessia Orkneya Enchegal et Man. et Ordas et Gurth et ceteræ insulæ occidentales oceani circa Norwegiam et Daciam.*

Beyond [the River Tweed] up to the great river Forth, to wit, Lothian and Galloway and all Alban, sometimes called Scotland, and Moray and all the western isles of the ocean unto Norway and Denmark as follows: Caithness, Orkney, Argyle and Man and Lewis and Skye and other western isles of the ocean fringing (*circa*) Norway and Denmark.

In our MS., *Llychlyn* is contiguous by land with the rest of North Britain. On p. 277, ll. 7 and 11, Beli *marches* through the Humber district on his way to *Llychlyn*. On p. 340, Trahearn compels Eudaf to flee "to Llychlyn to seek support of Gyttbert, king of Prydyn," and *en route* is ambushed "with a hundred horse in a glen." Loch Lomond in our MS. was the centre of *Prydyn*, which therefore was contiguous to the southern part of *Llychlyn*, i.e., Argyle. On p. 532, l. 4, the Germans "landed in the gogledd and settled it from Llychlyn to kerniw." However, a phrase (p. 277, l. 14) seems to furnish an exception to contiguity by land. Bran gathers a great army in *Llychlyn* and joyfully *sails* towards his country, i.e., "all the country north of the hymyr," only to be chased by the king of Dassia. However, it is evident from the other passages just cited that Bran really sailed north from *Llychlyn* intending to circumnavigate Scotland in order to reach the Humber district on the east. The king of Dassia tries to cut him off on this north-easterly course, and is himself forced ashore in the north. The conclusion is obvious, and it is otherwise amply proved, that communication, especially for large bodies of men, was by sea. Circumnavigation was relied upon, roads being non-existent. The authorities quoted in the following note No. 36, also apply here.

36. p. 278, l. 1. *Dassia* is the Welsh equivalent of Geoffrey's *Dacia*, and is usually identified as Denmark. Dr. A. B. Scott kindly contributes the following:

"The earliest chroniclers knew quite well where Dacia [Denmark] proper lay and actually describe its location; but in the 13th and 14th centuries confusions arose which are difficult to explain. It is clear however that the later confusing chronicles did not regard the Dubh-Gall or Black-Foreigners [as the Danes were called in distinction from the Finn-Gall, the White Foreigners, the Norwegians], as Dacians proper."

The translators are concerned chiefly to discover what was the view-point of the writer of MS. LXI. The Welsh Chronicles call the Danish settlements in Ireland and north-west Scotland, Denmarc, as is disclosed by *Hanes Gruffydd ap Kynan*, ed. by Arthur Jones, p. 106, *Haralld eissyoes a wledychus tros wynep ywerdon ac enyssed denmarc, y rei syd ene mor kyuarystlys a thal enys prydein.* "Haralld also reigned throughout Ireland and the islands of Denmarc, which are in the sea side by side with the island of Britain." Both terms *Llychlyn* and *Dassia* or Denmark, were loosely used and were applied at different times to varying tracts of country.

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Wychlan of Dassia was probably king of some Danish settlement on the east coast of Britain, north of the Humber. MS. LXI (p. 278, l. 7) has "in the gogledd it was that the king of Dassia was forced ashore." The Latin runs *Rex igitur dacie . . . cum timore applicuit cum puella in northamhimbriam.* Ward in *Catalogue of Romances* (pp. 471–3) commenting on MS. Harley 3775, *Guy of Warwick*, remarks: "In the various versions of the romances the invading Kings Anelaf (or Hunelaf) and Gunlaf are almost certainly intended for the two Northumbrian cousins Anlaf, though they are dignified with the titles of 'kings of Denmark and Sweden (or Norway),' and in two of the English versions (that printed by Copeland and that in the Percy Folio) Anlaf is called Hanelocke or Havelocke."

37. p. 281, l. 12. Regarding the termini of the two chief roads, "Cape Bladon in the north" is probably Dunnet Head. The Latin has *ad Cathenesium litus. Norddamtwn* is enigmatic. MS. LXI correctly gives the course of the Roman Road from St. Davids to Southampton. The Welsh and the Latin agree in writing *portus Hamonis* and *porth Hamon.* The mistaken *Norddamtwn* occurs only in subordinate explanatory clauses *sef yw hwnw Norddamtwn*, — "that is, Northamton," — suggesting that they all are ignorant glosses upon a correct original text, which in process of recopying crept into the text from the margins. See Chapter XI, page 203.

38. p. 287, l. 15. Hugh Jones seems to have been puzzled by the word *wmro*, since he underlines it in his transcript. The translation is conjectural from *nid oedd hawdd wmro llu.*

39. p. 292, l. 10. In spite of the Latin, it seems that *Barthlome* is the proper form of the name here, since the practice of this text is to retain the radical form of names after *a elwit.*

40. p. 295, l. 8. *a chec oedd ef* of the MS. is copied by Hugh Jones as *a thec.*

41. p. 299, l. 3. Note 33 above, treats of the usual meaning of *gogledd* — the north country = Alban. The repetition here "from the Hymyr to the gogledd and all the gogledd" may be a doublet produced by a scribe's carelessness; but a preferable conjecture is that a Welsh scribe had in mind Northumbria and Strathclyde as the *gogledd*, and then remembering the Scotch application of the name to the whole country, added "and all the gogledd." Obviously this is not a translation of Geoffrey's Latin.

42. p. 301, l. 1. The Latin has *cui samuil, cui penissel.* The second *cui* is an error, due to misreading, or misunderstanding a Welsh original. *Penissel* means "lowly-head," and "samuil lowly-head" is the successor of *rederchius*, not a fictitious *penissel* the successor of *samuil.* The Welsh has *Sawl-benn-Ychel* (uplifted head) successor of Rydderch.

Sawl-benn-Ychel appears in the *Triads*, which are far older than the MSS. in which they survive (cf. Loth, *Mabinogion*, Vol. II, p. 259), as one of "Three Haughty men of the Isle of Britain" and in the story of "Kulhwch and Olwen" as a member of Arthur's Court. (Loth, *Mab.*, Vol. I, p. 282). The XIV century genealogies from Hengwrt MS. 536 (now in the Nat. Libr. of Wales) make him the son of *Pappo Post Priten.*

Samuil penissel first appears in the genealogies attached to the *Historia Britonum* in British Museum MS. Harley 3859, XI–XII century, which also make him the son of *Pappo Post Priten*, who lived in the VI century.

Professor Clark H. Slover makes a valuable contribution proving *Samuil-benn-Issel* to be an historical character. In the *University of Texas Studies in English*, No. 7, (1927) pp. 34, 24, he shows that *Samuil* and *Sawl* are one and the same person. The *Irish Annals* (L. L. 372, d) mention *Samuel Chendisil* (Irish *c* equals Welsh *p*), a Welsh king whose wife *Dechtire* was the daughter of *Muiredach Muinderg*, the first Christian king of Ulster, who died in 479 A.D.

The change of *issel* (lowly) to *uchel* (high, or haughty) is difficult to explain.

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J. Loth suggests that this change may have been made in the *Triads*, the writer thinking that *penn issel* was inappropriate for a king who was one of the "Three haughty men of the Isle of Britain."

43. p. 301, l. 9. The MS. reads *Yn yr holl wnedydd*. Hugh Jones's emendation of *wledydd* has been adopted.

44. p. 301, l. 11. At this point begins the story of Llud and Llevelys, leaving unfinished the story of Llud's reign as given in the Latin, to be resumed, however, at line 14, page 305. Mr. Ifor Williams, *Cyfranc Lludd a Llevelys*, says that his text was taken from the Red Book of Hergest, about 1370, but that it was once a part of the White Book of Rhydderch, a MS. older by a hundred years (1270–1300). In a still older MS., namely Shirburn Castle No. 18 (now Llanstephan I, about 1225–50; cf. Appendix II) our story is found as part of the *Brut y Brenhinnoed*, which resembles Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniæ* but has numerous variants and additions, including the above. It must therefore be asked, is the story in the White and Red Books a fragment taken from the *Brut*, or is it, in the Shirburn MS., an addition to the original form of the work taken from an earlier Welsh source? There are a number of Welsh MSS. of the *Brut*, some of them as old as the Shirburn (notably Dingestow Court, 1200–1220) that do not have it, neither is it found in a single one of the Latin MSS. as part of the *Historia*. It is perhaps possible that some scribe in copying the *Historia* had at hand another story of Llud and Llevelys which he here inserted. But as this story fits very well in this place into the Welsh narrative, it is also possible that it belonged there traditionally. Compare, however, the fragment of the *Vita Merlini* in four copies of the *Polychronicon*.

45. p. 303, l. 11. The MS. has *din dros benn*. In *arsey versey* the translation follows the *Oxford Dictionary*.

46. p. 305, l. 14. At this point the story of Llud's reign is resumed.

47. p. 306, l. 2. The MS. uses *ynysoedd* = islands in a peculiar fashion. The word is made to stand not only for veritable islands, but also for peninsulas and other non-insular districts, as also for provinces, or parts of countries. These different meanings are sometimes confused in the same sentence. That *ffraink* is among the "islands" conquered, is a case in point; the word obviously often stands for countries.

48. p. 306, l. 9. The MS. has *a thh yw genyf*. Hugh Jones copies this as *a thyb yw genyf* which has been adopted in the translation.

49. p. 311, l. 2. Possibly to be identified with the modern *Autun*, which occupies the site of a city of the Aedui; it was re-established by Augustus, who gave it his name *Augustodunum*. This gives normally *Autun*, which is not far from *Odinæ* (since intervocalic "t" becomes "d" in Welsh), especially if there was a time when the first part of the word had worn down, while the final "u" had not dropped. Final "m" dropped very early in vulgar Latin.

50. p. 318, l. 4. The MS. has *panit ryfedd* which according to Sir J. Morris Jones, *A Welsh Grammar*, 1913, pp. 424–5, should be translated "is it not strange," which does not suit the context. To make sense "it is not strange" is required.

51. p. 319, l. 11. The MS. has *y ddaethant y ddaethant*, obviously a scribal doublet.

52. p. 322, l. 8. The MS. has *porth Hamwnt:* the Cambridge MS. has *hantonia*, the old name of Southampton; while the Harlech MS. has *hamtona*, the old name of Northamton; easily confused in copying (cf. note 37, and Chapter XI, *passim*).

53. p. 324, l. 6. If Geoffrey of Monmouth "invented" this sentence, it is strange that a Roman priest of the XII century should thus yield Rome's Petrine primacy to Antioch, unless, being a Welshman, and remembering the oriental pedigree of the Celtic Church, he took this opportunity to make the Welsh nation-

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alist claim. As it stands, an original native view-point is evident, and Geoffrey probably adopted it from his British sources.

54. p. 325, l. 3. The MS. here has *o oloywkassar*.

55. p. 328, l. 9. In *Dyfan affagan* of the MS., there is nothing to indicate whether the second name is *ffagan* or *pagan*.

56. p. 329, l. 6. The MS. has two accounts of the Bishop Houses of Britain, drawn apparently from different sources. In one case (A) the Bishop Houses number sixty-eight, and in (B) p. 330, l. 10 twenty-eight. The first account is separated from the second by a record of the death and burial of King Lles. The Latin has the lesser number of Bishop Houses. The B account ends with "An Archbishop was set in the three chief cities before mentioned," but it has not mentioned them. In A, London, York and Caerleon-on-Usk are mentioned as archiepiscopal cities, therefore the B account seems to depend on A. It is likely however that the archiepiscopal cities were originally mentioned in B and had fallen out in copying, for MS. Havod I, large extracts of which are printed in *Myvyrian Archaiology*, note 294, p. 569, and MS. Dingestow Court, p. 84, l. 14 correspond closely with B and mention London, York and Caerleon-on-Usk as archiepiscopal seats. Compilation seems evident.

Since the pages of the Dingestow Court MS. are already numbered consecutively, the plan of numbering by folios, recto and verso, is not followed.

57. p. 335, l. 12. MS. LXI has *Allan*, which Hugh Jones copied as *Alban*, which the translation adopts.

58. p. 336, l. 5. See discussion of the slaughter of the Romans in Chapter XI, pages 211–214.

59. p. 337, l. 5. The MS. has *o Virolan* which probably represents a name beginning with V, but so far as the construction goes, it might imply a radical initial B or M.

60. p. 341, l. 1. In our MS. *Llychlyn* stands for the western and northern part of Scotland occupied by the Norsemen and the Danes. See note 35 above (page 277), for a treatment of this passage.

61. p. 341, l. 1. The MS. has *ac ervyn Iddiwdion wnaythyr angau Trahayarn;* it is not clear what the word *Iddiwdion* represents.

62. p. 342, l. 4. See note 47.

63. p. 343, l. 7. See note 47.

64. p. 352, l. 5. For another possible meaning of *Gwnwas oedd vrenin hynawd*, see note 18.

65. p. 353, l. 9. The MS. has *lan;* but *ladd* is obviously required.

66. p. 356, l. 1. The MS. has *ai llall*. Hugh Jones changes this to *ai ladd*, which has been followed in the translation.

67. p. 360, l. 3. The MS. has *Archessgod* but *archessgob* is clearly indicated.

68. p. 362, l. 5. For *anhawgwyr* translated *elder nobles*, see note 10.

69. p. 372, l. 1. The scribe has apparently omitted a long passage here, as is obvious from other Welsh MSS., but there is in the MS. no indication of any break or omission.

70. p. 373, l. 8. The MS. has *ar dervyn Avon;* except for the capitalization this might equally well mean *on the river Dervyn*, — which was possibly what stood in some earlier manuscript.

71. p. 374, l. 5. *Wssnaethwr* of the MS. is emended to *wassanaethwr*.

72. p. 376, l. 9. The MS. has *dduw calan mai*. *dduw* is an obsolete form of *dydd*.

73. p. 382, l. 8. *pahann* of the MS. is emended to *paham*.

74. p. 383, l. 8. The story of Gwrtheyrn and Merddin is left unfinished at the end of the sixth book of the Latin (p. 165, 9th line of Latin), and the *Prophecies* are interpolated, becoming Book VII; the story is resumed in section 3 of Book VII (p. 166, line 20, Latin) and is begun all over again in section 1 of Book VIII.

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MS. LXI does not include the *Prophecies*, and its narrative is continuous; but its repetitions, expansions and its disorderly sequence of topics suggest the use of more than one source. The sequence is as follows:

1. The draining of the pool. 2. Explanation of Merddin's name. 3. First prophecy of the king's fate, ending "Beware of the Sons of Cystennin." 4. The fight of the dragons and its import. 5. The second prophecy of the king's fate, beginning "Beware of the two sons of Cystennin," ending with "the boar of Cornwall shall avenge all that."

75. p. 398, l. 2. *dan* of the MS. is emended to *dau*.

76. p. 399, l. 9. It is not clear from the MS. whether the name is *Gronwy* or *Gronwyn*. Hugh Jones wrote a final "n" in his MS. which has since been erased.

77. p. 401, l. 6. There seems to be no way of telling whether *kans yddoeddynt ddaygain mil o wyr arvoc* means: *for they were forty thousand armed men*, or: *for they were not forty thousand men*, or even to which army the statement refers.

78. p. 404, l. 1. MS. LXI has no previous mention of a battle at Kaer Kynan. In Book VIII, section 5 of the Latin (p. 404, l. 1) the battle is mentioned and in section 7 of Book VIII (p. 406, l. 1) we have the final capture of the town with the addition *quam supra memoraveram*. MS. LXI and the Latin seem to be in agreement. The fact that the battle of Kaer Kynan is mentioned twice in the MS. Havod I, *Myvyrian Archaiology*, p. 584, notes 435 and 438, and in the Dingestow Court MS., p. 404, l. 3, and 406, l. 9, suggests that a first mention of Kaer Kynan may have fallen out of MS. LXI in the process of compiling.

79. p. 405, l. 8. A conjectural rendering of *y kalanedd a laddassid yny raid*.

80. p. 407, l. 2. The MS. has *cri*, therefore *cry* has been retained in the translation; but the original word was undoubtedly *cruc* = a barrow, which a number of other texts have here, while others have *bryn* = a mound, and still others have *karnedd* = cairn.

81. p. 407, l. 2. *Sawden* which normally means sultan, may be used here in the general sense of a pagan chief, or it may be an unrecorded word for warrior from the obsolete *sawd* = war.

82. p. 415, l. 6. The MS. has *a ffan a ffan*, — obviously a scribal doublet.

83. p. 416, l. 5. The MS. has *mi a wn veddeginiaeth heb ef wrth emrys am oes y Bryttaniait: am oes* is a scribal error for *a moes*. The editors of the *Myvyrian Archaiology* have emended further, substituting *Pasgen* for *Emrys*, in which they follow MS. Havod I, *Myv. Arch.*, p. 585, note 453; but this emendation has not been adopted in the translation.

64. p. 424, l. 10. The MS. has *ac ai las hayach*, rendered *all but killed him* (Gorlais); further on, p. 427, l. 1 of the translation, we read *then Gorlais was killed*, almost forcing the translators to borrow a Hibernian idiom "this time he was killed entirely." If Gorlais was in the first case left for dead, his speedy recovery to lead a second sortie is quite remarkable. In the Latin version and in the MS. Havod I, *Myv. Arch.*, p. 587, note 480, Gorlais is killed but once. In our MS. both his first casualty and his final death are followed by an identical sentence *and quickly there came a messenger to tell this to Eigr*, a repetition that suggests the careless compilation of two differing sources.

85. p. 427, l. 8. The MS. has *othrwm haint*, but *orthrwm haint* was clearly intended.

86. p. 431, l. 5. *freedmen* is a conjectural rendering of *yn rith rydyssion*.

87. p. 432, l. 2. *cor y kewri* is here given its primary meaning, the *circle of the giants*, referring to the great monoliths of Stonehenge. Cf. the interesting note by Prof. Max Foerster, *Language*, Vol. V, No. 3, Sept., 1928, p. 201.

88. p. 434, l. 8. The MS. has *arestddyn*, which was probably meant for *erestyn* or *erestddyn*, in modern Welsh, strictly, a hurdy-gurdy player, and here possibly a minstrel.

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89. p. 439, l. 8. The MS. has *y elynion, i elynion* a scribe's doublet.

90. p. 441, l. 8. This makes *Prydain* an ancient name for the whole island, to connote only the watershed of which Loch Lomond is the catch-basin. Cf. note 25.

91. p. 445, l. 2. The translation has preserved the literal rendering of *kawr*, viz., *giants;* — but as the idea of high rank was probably meant to be conveyed, as it is in the Latin, the rendering, *Gogvran the Prince*, would not be inaccurate.

92. p. 445, l. 9. It is plain from the context, both in Latin and in Welsh, that the island of Islay is intended. Arthur spends the winter in York, and in the spring he traverses Britain directly westward, crosses to Ireland, subdues some part of it, then sails eastward to Islay which is also subdued, overawing a neighbouring king, Doldav, "king of Scotland," (cf. note 97, below) and also another neighbour, Gwynwas, king of Orkney, so that they do him homage unconstrained. Time and distance make an attack on Iceland impossible and absurd.

Capt. F. W. L. Thomas, "On Islay Place-Names," in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1881–2, pp. 247–49, lists over twenty variations of the name of the island ranging from *Islay, Isla, Isli, Yslay*, to the Gaelic variants, (which drop the "s" as English does in island) yielding *Ila, Ile, Ili.* Any one of these in MS. form might have been misread as an abbreviation for *Islandia*, resulting in an extravagant and "romantic" conquest by Arthur.

Confirmation is furnished by the fact that Islay formed the customary, because most natural, route from Ireland to the mainland of Scotland, as a glance at the map will show. In the Dublin *Book of Ballimote* it is made plain that the Picts used this route in passing from Ireland to Alban:

> "They prepared their expedition,
> They reached Inver Boinne,
> They passed away from us
> With splendor of swiftness,
> To dwell by valour
> In the land of the country beyond Ile;
> From thence they conquered Alba."
>
> Skene, *Chronicle of the Picts and Scots*, I, pp. 42–3; cf. p. 23.

It is quite possible, therefore, that both Geoffrey and the later Welsh Chronicles misinterpreted an early MS. name *Isle* or *Yslay* as meaning Iceland. Geoffrey's references to the "six islands," meaning sometimes non-insular countries (see notes 95, 96, and 97), suggest confusion and possible combination of sources. Geoffrey, of course, might also have deliberately magnified the conquest of an insignificant island into that of a far larger and more important one; but this is less likely in the Welsh.

The old Welsh for Iceland is *Ynys yr ia*, but nevertheless the *Isslont* of the text is translated "Iceland" by Peter Roberts (p. 147) in his interpolated rendering, based on the Welsh text printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, 2nd ed., Denbigh, 1871, cf. pp. 464, 471, etc. However, in a note Roberts surmises "Most probably the Isle of *Isla* off Scotland. The word in the original is *Islont;* Isla was not far out of the course of the voyage if Arthur's return was to Prydyn or the Northern Britain." This note, with many others, was suppressed in Manley Pope's garbled re-edition of 1864, in which Iceland appears unexplained. San-Marte's German translation of Peter Roberts, Halle, 1854 also ignored the note, and we read *Islande* on page 556 and also on page 568. However, in rendering the passage immediately under discussion (p. 549), San-Marte evades the difficulty by the simple expedient of omitting any reference to Iceland. All the English translators of Geoffrey: Thompson (London, 1718), J. A. Giles (*Six Old English*

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Chronicles, 1878), and Sebastian Evans (Everyman's Library, 1912), follow Peter Roberts's lead, and write Iceland for the Latin *Yslandia*.

93. p. 447, l. 3. *Assychlyn*, *Lew*, and *Kynvarch* were members of a Cymric dynasty, which never held sway over Norway proper; therefore the territory involved is Prydyn. Cf. note 25.

94. p. 448, l. 1. The MS. has *Arthyr a raddoedd Rikwlff*. Hugh Jones's emendation to *laddoedd* has been adopted in the translation.

95. p. 448, l. 2. Denmark is here clearly the northern part of Scandinavian Scotland. Cf. notes 35 and 36.

96. p. 454, ll. 3 and 6. "other islands." These passages are conclusive proof that in MS. LXI the word "island" is often a general term meaning "countries," some of them non-insular, as the mention in line 6 of "the islands of Fraink" amply proves. Cf. note 47.

97. p. 466, l. 4. "Six islands." MS. LXI differs from the Latin in naming the third island *Ysgotlont*, whereas the Latin has *Gothlandiæ*. This difference may have arisen from the fact that both in Welsh and in French a vowel was inserted before initial "S" impure, i.e., "S" followed by another consonant, e.g., *Ysgol*, *école*. Whether the original form was *Gothlandia* to which was prefixed a prothetic "y," or whether some Latin scribe dropped the initial "y" from *ysgotlont* through confusion with his own *Gothlandia*, seems impossible to determine.

98. p. 482, l. 10. The MS. has *Aron am Kynvarch;* Hugh Jones wrote in the margin of his transcript "*Rectius ap.*"

99. p. 484, l. 4. The MS. has *ynnynny yn yn ychglewder;* the repetition of *yn* is obviously a copyist's doublet.

100. p. 490, l. 3. The MS. has *Holdins dy Ryttain*, which is either a miscopy, or an erasure, by which a terminal "c," making *dyc* was lost.

101. p. 495, l. 6. The MS. has *gyda y hanwylait y clady;* the translation is necessarily merely approximate.

102. p. 496, l. 2. The MS. has *gair y bronn efenedd Ryfain; efenedd* is probably a copyist's slip for *senedd*.

103. p. 499, l. 5. Cf. for this rendering of *nit ambwylwys Arthyr yno am beri claddy y wyr*, a modern Welsh equivalent: *ac yna ni gymmerodd Arthyr bwyll y beri claddu ei wyr*.

104. p. 500, l. 4. The MS. has *pob*, a slip for *pobl* which is required by the context.

105. p. 501, l. 12. The expectation of Arthur's return was, as is well known, embodied in popular tradition. Therefore, the words "And there is not said here of the death of Arthyr more than this," seem to suggest that some compiler, either of MS. LXI or of one of its sources, noted the absence of any such prophecy from the written source which he, in turn, was following. This suggestion approaches certainty when we find that MS. Dingestow Court, p. 286, ll. 11 and 12, runs as follows: *ac ny dyweit y llyvyr amdanaw a vo diheuach na hyspysiach no hynny: — and the book says about him nothing truer or better known than this.* MS. Havod I is similar. Giraldus, *Spec. Ec.*, *R. Ser.*, iv, 48–9, refers to "fables" of Arthur's cure at Avalon and ultimate return. The Welsh writer knew this or, more probably, native accounts, surviving in several later MSS., e.g., Pen. 163, c. 1543, etc.

106. p. 504, l. 3. The identity of the "six islands" has been previously discussed: *Isslont*, in note 92; *Ysgotlont* vs. *Gothlandia*, in note 97; *Llychlyn*, in note 35, and *Denmark*, in note 36.

107. p. 504, l. 9. The MS. has *anvon cenadau a oruc ev hyt yn Iwerdon at Ormwnt vrenin yr affric: — He* [Karedic] *sent messengers to Gormont, king of Affrica;* but the context requires the correction of "he" to "they," — i.e., the Saxons. Cf. for discussion of Gormwnt as an historic mercenary Vandal chieftain, E. W. B. Nicholson, in *Y Cymmrodor*, XIX (1906), pp. 1–17, and XXII (1910), pp. 150, 159.

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108. p. 505, l. 10. The fire-bearing birds of Caer Vyddau seem to represent a reworking of an old story. Cf. the interesting note in Prof. J. J. Parry's *Vita Merlini*, p. 120; who writes in part: "Gormund, King of the Arabs, captures Cirencester (Kaerceri) by means of swallows to which he has fastened flaming materials, who settled on the roofs of the city. Later he went to France where he was slain by the hand of King Louis himself. (Rudolf Zenker, *Das Epos von Isembard und Gormund.*) Lot (*Romania*, XXVII, 28) expresses the belief that the episode of the sparrows at Cirencester, which is found in Wace, Layamon, the Welsh *Brut Tysilio*, and Geoffrey Gaimar is taken by all of them from a version of Geoffrey's *Historia* that had it, but was not used for editing the printed text. It seems clear from the commentaries of Alanus de Insulis on that work that he had consulted manuscripts which in this passage differ quite materially from anything that we have in print." Cf. also A. H. Krappe, *Modern Philology*, XXIII (1925), p. 216, *et seq.* Obviously, the story is far older than Geoffrey's *Historia*, and the latter had a source, as well as Wace, Layamon, Gaimar, and our original Welsh writer.

109. p. 506, l. 6. The MS. has *cans ni thyciai ydynt dim o achos hendra y rieni*, of which a conjectural rendering has been adopted.

110. p. 506, l. 7. The outburst beginning "And it is not strange, O unhappy race of ynys brydain," is clearly a monkish interpolation in a nationalistic narrative, and the new and less manly tone reminds us of Gildas's lamentations over his degenerate countrymen. This same note is struck again on p. 531, l. 2. "Of a truth, God, thou hast given us here to be food for wolves as sheep are." In Books XI and XII, nationalistic and monastic elements follow each other confusedly. It must be observed, however, that the monkish interpolator of MS. LXI, if there was one, did not keep step with Gildas. Gildas considered the misfortunes of his countrymen as God's punishment for their immorality and contempt of Holy Church.

111. p. 507, l. 2. *Cans*, rendered normally *therefore*, means here *because*.

112. p. 508, l. 18. *rerriw* may be a corruption of *Tre y riw* = hill-town. There are several places in Wales into whose names *riw*, or *rhiw* enters in combination.

113. p. 511, l. 8. The MS. has *ac a ddiengis or ssaesson gidac ef:* Hugh Jones, changes *or* to *ar*, which has been adopted in the translation.

114. p. 523, l. 6. On the evidence of other versions the radical has been restored here as B, rather than as M, which is otherwise equally possible.

115. p. 524, l. 5. The MS. has *y llas Edwin Agorblod vrenin Orc; — Agorblod* seems to be an error for *a Gorblod*.

116. p. 526, l. 5. *Byrnwy* is probably not Bourne in Lincolnshire, but Bede's *Denisesburne*. Cf. *Venerabilis Bædæ Hist. Eccles.*, ed. by Plummer, II, pp. 122–123. Geoffrey's *burne* (or *brune*) is obviously more easily taken over from a Welsh original, than from Bede.

117. p. 527, l. 3. The MS. has *gorom*, but *goron* is obviously intended.

118. p. 529, l. 13. Here an illegibility in the MS. is indicated by dots.

119. p. 530, l. 2. The MS. has a scribal error *tervys* for *tervysc*.

120. p. 533, l. 13. This is a curious native prophecy growing out of an historic event. Geoffrey uses the term *paganorum;* but the Welsh uses *ssarssiniait*, or "saracens." According to the *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne, Paris, 1894, p. 99), in 846, Adelvertus, Count of Tuscany and Protector of Corsica, sent a letter to Pope Sergius II, warning him of an approaching attack by the Saracens, and urging that the treasures accumulated at the Basilicas outside the walls, where the bodies of Sts. Peter and Paul were deposited, be removed to safety within the fortifications. This was not done, the Saracens were victorious, took the Basilicas and immense booty, and directed their fury against the tombs of the Apostles. *Liber Pontificalis*, Bk. VI, cap. 22, p. 145, says of Pope Leo IV, who restored the

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ravaged city, *Nam et in basilica doctoris mundi beati Pauli apostoli argenteis tabulis, sepulchrum quod a Sarracenis destructum fuerat perornavit.* Whether the bodies of the Apostles were destroyed with the sarcophagi or whether the Romans opened the sarcophagi and carried their contents within the walls is much disputed and remains unsettled. (Cf. Lanciani's *Destruction of Ancient Rome*, XI, pp. 127, *et seq.*; London, 1899.) Lanciani holds that the sarcophagus and relics of St. Peter, being in a crypt which was hastily filled up with stones and its entrance disguised, escaped destruction. The sarcophagus of St. Paul still remains, "*destructum*" — which evidently means the stripping off of the silver plates (*argenteis tabulis*) that Pope Leo IV replaced. No records have survived of an universal outcry, that such a calamity as the destruction of the relics of St. Paul would normally have evoked. Filling up a crypt outside the walls in one case, and in the other, concealment inside the fortifications, are merely different methods of hiding. The Welsh, in more precise detail than Geoffrey's Latin, with direct reference to the Saracens, has preserved, apparently, a IX century tradition, that must have had a world wide currency.

The Saracen attack of 846 is mentioned in Gregorovius *History of Rome*, III, p. 89, note, and the *Cambridge Medieval History*, "Rise of the Saracens," II, p. 385.

121. p. 534, l. 5. The MS. has *ac ac ynyr*, obviously a doublet.

122. p. 535, l. 8. The text in MS. LXI (cf. Plate XVI) breaks off in the middle of a sentence: *y tywyssogion a vyant ar gymre pob eilwers*, — and lacks the concluding sentences found in some of the earlier Welsh MSS., e.g., Dingestow Court, Cotton, Cleopatra B. V., etc. Since this incomplete sentence comes in the middle of a page, and is followed by two bold flourishes, it is clear that the manuscript from which the scribe was copying was defective, and probably had lost its last leaf. The colophon which follows in MS. LXI either stood on another page in the prototype, or is an addition from some other source.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

Sithia, Book IV, *xvii*, (pp. 326–7, Latin and Welsh) is obviously a Pictish district across the sea from Britain. This also appears from Book V, *ii*, (p. 331) for Sulien collects an army of insular people, and when hard pressed by the Romans, crosses the sea to seek help from the Picts. Jesus LXI specifically writes that: "He went as far as sseithia to seek support," where Geoffrey only writes: *Conducebat autem in auxilium sibi quoscumque insulanos populos inueniebat.* The Irish Sea and the Irish Picts seem to be indicated, which the Welsh Chronicler knew, and which Geoffrey omitted.

The medieval copyists squeezed Celtic names into any classic mould approximating them — thus *Sithia* became *Scythia*, and Celtic heroes disport themselves north of the Black Sea.

When Leinster was held by the Irish Picts, its northern portion, including the present counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare, south of the Liffey, went by the name of Sciath, of which there are many variants. Cf. "The Rennes Dindsenchas," Sec. 58, *Revue Celtique*, Vol. XV, pp. 454–5, 1894. "Dala Glas of the Greeks of Scythia . . . came . . . out of Scythia to avoid warlike expeditions." The copyists seized their opportunity, and Dala Glas became one of "the Greeks of Scythia." The Irish legends are concerned only with Irish and Pictish people, places, and events.

The customary recasting of Celtic names into classic forms is well treated in a series of articles entitled "Fionn and the Fidga" by W. J. Edmonston Scott, in *The Celtic Monthly*, Vol. XX, 1912.

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APPENDICES

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APPENDIX I

LATIN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIÆ*

THE following lists of manuscripts of the *Historia* are compiled: (1) From printed catalogue descriptions, to which, whenever available, reference is given; (2) From modifications of earlier printed catalogue descriptions, kindly communicated to me by the librarians now in charge of the manuscripts as the result of a reexamination of them; (3) From descriptions of hitherto unrecorded manuscripts, examined and described for me by interested friends, to whom my debt, in each case has been gratefully acknowledged; (4) From personal examination. Hardy's list of 173 manuscripts in volume I of his *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, pages 341–348, was used as the basis, and is referred to throughout. Thirty-one manuscripts of that list had to be rejected either as duplications, or as not manuscripts of the *Historia*, or as no longer identifiable (there are nine of the latter). The full list of all three classes is given in Section E. Forty-three manuscripts have been added to Hardy's net compilation, of which twelve have not hitherto been recorded, and fourteen have been known by name only, and now for the first time receive characterization. These will be found in Sections C and D. The two lost Syon manuscripts of the *Historia* have not been included in the count because they may have been destroyed; but the two recently sold at auction in London have been added, as there is every assurance that they are now safely in private hands. Section B gives a separate list of the XII century manuscripts, for the convenience of students; and for the same reason, Section F gives the names of Libraries and private collections where manuscripts of the *Historia* may be found — forty-nine in all.

Many scholars whose names appear in the footnotes, have contributed most generously to the labour of re-examining and describing these manuscripts, but I desire particularly to avail myself of this opportunity to make special acknowledgment to Mr. J. A. Herbert, late Under-Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum, whose generosity, patience, and tireless labours, offered freely to one he has never seen, cannot be too gratefully acknowledged. Without his advice and assistance I should still be stumbling over many difficulties.

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LATIN MSS. OF THE *HISTORIA REGUM BRITANNIÆ*

Section A

ENGLAND

University Library, Cambridge

1706 (Ii.I.14). XII cent.
Small Quarto; 128 leaves.
Not divided into Books.
Dedication to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Waleran, Count of Mellent
U.L.Camb. Cat. III, 327.
Listed by Hardy.

1801 (Ii.IV.4). XII cent.
Quarto; ff.58–133.
Not divided into Books.
Dedication to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Waleran, Count of Mellent.
U.L.Camb. Cat. III, 440.
Not listed by Hardy.

2295 (Mm.I.34). XII cent.
Quarto; 55 ff.
Not divided into Books.
U.L.Camb.Cat. IV, 124.
Not listed by Hardy.

2434 (Mm.V.29). XII cent.
Folio; ff. 20–106a.
Not divided into Books.
U.L.Camb. Cat. IV, 357.
Listed by Hardy as "MS. olim More Ep. Norwic 91 (9277)."

329 (Dd.VI.12). End XII or beg. XIII cent.
Small quarto; 108 leaves. Slightly incomplete.
The first five books only are distinguished by short rubrics, for which spaces are left before the next three.
U.L.Camb. Cat. I, 295.
Listed by Hardy.

1814 (Ii.IV.17). XIV cent.
Small quarto; 90 ff.
Divided into 10 Books.
U.L.Camb. Cat. III, 454.
Not listed by Hardy.

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2096 (Kk.VI.16). **XIV cent.**
Small volume.
Not divided into Books.
U.L.Camb. Cat. III, 714.
Not listed by Hardy.

1809 (Ii.IV.12). **XIV cent.**
Quarto; pp. 196–421.
Not divided into Books.
U.L.Camb. Cat. III, 451.
Not listed by Hardy.

590 (Dd.X.31). **XIV cent.**
Incomplete.
Not divided into Books.
U.L.Camb. Cat. I, 427.
Not listed by Hardy.

591 (Dd.X.32). **Perhaps XIV cent.**
Octavo; 80 leaves.
Not divided into Books.
U.L.Camb. Cat. I, 428.
Listed by Hardy as "MS. olim More Ep. Norwic 8 (9194)."

17 (Dd.I.17). **End XIV cent.**
Large folio; incomplete; end Bk. VII to end.
Not divided into Books.
U.L.Camb. Cat. I, 15.
Listed by Hardy as "MS. olim More Ep. Norwic 289 (9475)."

1158 (Ff.I.25). **XV cent.**
Folio.
Divided into 4 Books.
U.L.Camb. Cat. II, 317.
Listed by Hardy.

913 (Ee.I.24). **XV cent.**
Octavo; 104 pp.
Not divided into Books.
U.L.Camb. Cat. II, 20.
Listed by Hardy.

324 (Dd.VI.7). **XV cent.**
Divided into 12 Parts.
U.L.Camb. Cat. I, 293.
Listed by Hardy.

209 (Dd.IV.34). **Probably XVI cent.**
Quarto; 270 cols; two on a page. Incomplete at beginning.
Divided into books.
U.L.Camb. Cat. I, 234.
Listed by Hardy.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

281 (D.7–T. James 38). **XII cent.**
10 × 7 inches; ff. 1–77, v.I.
Divided into 9 Books.
Cat. of MSS. in the Lib. of Corpus Christi College, II, 45.
Listed by Hardy as XIV cent.

Digitized by Google

292 (Misc. 21–T. James vac.) XIII cent.
9 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 7 inches; ff. 1–78.
Divided into 4 Books. No Rubrics.
Cat. of MSS. in the Lib. of Corpus Christi College, II, 67.
Listed by Hardy as XII cent.

CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

27 (Kk.5.3). Early XIV cent.
13$\frac{3}{4}$ × 8$\frac{1}{4}$ inches; ff. 24–75.
Cat. of Western MSS. in the Lib. of Clare College, pp. 43–45.
Not listed by Hardy.

GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

103 (55) C.M.A.940. James 1.23. XII cent.
10$\frac{1}{4}$ × 7$\frac{1}{4}$ inches; ff. 78.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of MSS. in the Lib. of Gonville and Caius College, I, 103.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

406 (627) C.M.A. (not 943) 1174. XII-XIII cent.
7$\frac{1}{8}$ × 5$\frac{3}{4}$ inches; ff. 58.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of MSS. in the Lib. of Gonville and Caius College, II, 472.
Listed by Hardy; no date given.

249 (277) C.M.A. 1064. XV cent.
15$\frac{3}{4}$ × 11 inches; ff. 151–177.
Divided into 11 Books.
Cat. of MSS. in the Lib. of Gonville and Caius College, I, 302.
Listed by Hardy.

450 (391) C.M.A. 1069. XVII cent.
12 × 8 inches; ff. 66. Imperfect; ff. 1–8 missing.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of MSS. in the Lib. of Gonville and Caius College, II, 523.
Listed by Hardy as XVI cent.

SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

75 Δ.4.13 C.M.A. 738. Early XIII cent.
10$\frac{3}{4}$ × 7 inches; ff. 113b–176b.
Not divided into Books.
Desc. Cat. of MSS. in the Lib. of Sidney Sussex College, p. 55.
Listed by Hardy; no date given.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

184 (G. 16). XIV cent.
8$\frac{3}{4}$ × 6$\frac{1}{4}$ inches; ff. 43–112.
Divided into 5 Books.
Desc. Cat. of MSS. in the Library of St. John's College, p. 218.
Listed by Hardy as XII cent.

254 (S.6). XV cent.
12 × 8 inches; ff. 1–53.
Divided into Books.
Desc. Cat. of MSS. in the Library of St. John's College, p. 290.
Not listed by Hardy.

Digitized by Google

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

770 (R.7.28.445). XII or early XIII cent.
6⅞ × 4½ inches; ff. 75–193.
Not divided into Books.
The Western MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, II, 240.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

744 (R.7.6.366). XIII cent.
9⅜ × 6 inches; ff. 56.
Divided into 11 Books.
The Western MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, II, 222.
Listed by Hardy as XIV cent.

1125 (O.2.21. ?6180). XIII-XIV cent.
8⅜ × 5⅝ inches; ff. 5–117.
Not divided into Books.
Dedication to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Waleran, Count of Mellent.
The Western MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, III, 113.
Listed by Hardy as XV cent.

1041 (O.1.17). XIV cent.
7⅞ × 5⅛ inches; ff. 110–177.
Not divided into Books.
The Western MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, III, 17.
Listed by Hardy.

725 (R.5.34.268). Late XV cent.
10⅝ × 8⅛ inches; ff. 11–34; incomplete.
Divided into 3 Books.
The Western MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, II, 203.
Listed by Hardy.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD

Rawlinson C. 152. End XII cent.
Small folio; ff. 99r–182v; incomplete; about three pages missing at the end.
Divided into 3 Books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. Bib. Bodleianæ, pars V, fasc. II, col. 63.
Listed by Hardy.

Fairfax 28(3908). Late XII cent.
Quarto.
Divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy.

Lat. Misc. e. 42. Late XII cent.
ff. 51r–52v: imperfect at both ends.
Not divided into Books.
Not listed by Hardy.

Rawlinson D–893. End of XII cent.
Folio, octavo; ff. 27, 28; fragment; two leaves mutilated at the foot; beginning missing.
Not enough to indicate Book divisions.
Cat. Cod. MSS. Bib. Bodleianæ, pars V, fasc. IV, col. 75.
Not listed by Hardy.

977. c. 1300.
ff. 28r–end.
Not divided into Books.
Not listed by Hardy.

Digitized by Google

Laud — Misc. 664 (1048). Beg. XIII cent.
Quarto; ff. 115. Deficit in verbis Bk. XII, cap. 10, "in hec verba clamarent."
Divided into Books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. Bib. Bodleianæ, pars II, col. 481.
Listed by Hardy.

514–(2184). Beg. XIII cent.
Quarto; double columns.
Not divided into Books.
Dedication to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Waleran, Count of Mellent.
A Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, II, pt. I, p. 249.
Listed by Hardy as XII cent.

Rawlinson B–168.[1] Beg. XIII cent.
Quarto; ff. 59.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. Bib. Bodleianæ, pars V, fasc. I, p. 514.
Listed by Hardy as XII cent.

91. Early XIII cent.
ff. 95r–102v. Incomplete.
Not divided into Books.
Not listed by Hardy.

Add. A. 61 (28843). XIII cent.
55 leaves, 7¼ × 5¾ inches; incomplete; parts missing in the middle.
Divided into Books.
Dedication to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Waleran, Count of Mellent.
A Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, V, p. 515.
Not listed by Hardy.

Douce–115 (21689). XIII cent.
ff. 11–66v.
Not divided into Books.
A Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, IV, p. 526.
Listed by Hardy.

622 (2156). Late XIII cent.
Octavo; ff. 12–112.
Divided into 11 Books.
A Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, II, pt. I, p. 234.
Listed by Hardy as XIV cent.

Laud — Misc. 720 (1062). Beg. XIV cent.
Quarto; ff. 3–134b.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. Bib. Bodleianæ, pars II, col. 511.
Listed by Hardy.

233 (2188). Beg. XIV cent.
Folio, double cols.; ff. 1–105.
Divided into Books.
A *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, II, pt. I, p. 251.
Listed by Hardy.

[1] Ends Bk. XI, cap. 13; completed in hand of Thomas Hearne, to whom the MS. belonged; bears his name on fly-leaf, dated May 21. CIↃ. DCC. XXII.

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Jones — 48 (8956). Early XIV cent.
6 × 3½ inches; 142 leaves; imperfect at end; ends abruptly lib. X, sec. 10 "Walwanus quibus meliores pre."
Divided into 10 Books.
A Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, III, p. 41.
Not listed by Hardy.

Tanner — 195 Beg. XIV cent.
Quarto; ff. 1–97, imperfect; beginning missing.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. Bib. Bodleianæ, pars IV, col. 634.
Listed by Hardy.

Rawlinson B — 148. Beg. XIV cent.
Octavo; ff. 88.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. Bib. Bodleianæ, pars V, fasc. 1, p. 499.
Listed by Hardy; no date given.

Laud — Misc. 579 (1496). XV cent.
ff. 1–136.
Divided into Books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. Bib. Bodleianæ, pars II, p. 414.
Listed by Hardy.

Rawlinson B — 189. XV cent.
Quarto; ff. 4–118.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. Bib. Bodleianæ, pars V. fasc. 1, p. 524.
Listed by Hardy.

ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD

XXXV. XIV cent.
Quarto; ff. 153–180. Incomplete; ends Commelin p. 92, l. 2.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. qui in Coll. Aulisque Oxon. hodie adservantur, p. 10, col. 2.
Listed by Hardy.

XXXIX. XIV cent.
Quarto; ff. 1–78.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. qui in Coll. Aulisque Oxon. hodie adservantur, pars II, p. 10.
Listed by Hardy as XV cent.

CHRIST CHURCH COLLEGE, OXFORD

XCIX. XIV cent.
Folio; ff. 1–42.
Divided into 12 Books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. qui in Bib. Ædis Christi apud Oxon. adservantur, p. 44, col. 1.
Not listed by Hardy.

JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD

II. XV cent.
Quarto.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. qui in Coll. Aulisque Oxon. hodie adservantur, pars II, p. 1.
Listed by Hardy.

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MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

CLXX. XII cent.
Small quarto; ff. 111.
Divided into 8 Books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. qui in Coll. Aulisque Oxon. hodie adservantur, pars II, p. 78.
Listed by Hardy.

CLXXI. End XII cent.
Small quarto; ff. 96.
Divided into 8 Books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. qui in Coll. Aulisque Oxon. hodie adservantur, pars II, p. 79.

NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD

CCLXXVI. XV cent.
Small quarto; ff. 136.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. qui in Coll. Aulisque Oxon. hodie adservantur, pars I, p. 97.
Listed by Hardy.

ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD

XVI. XV cent.
Large folio; ff. 9–48vo.
The ends of the 1st, 4th and 5th Books only are marked.
Cat. Cod. MSS. qui in Coll. Aulisque Oxon. hodie adservantur, pars I, p. 6.
Listed by Hardy.

BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

Cotton, Titus C. XVII. XII cent.
Quarto; ff. 46.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 203.
Listed by Hardy.

Harley 225. XII cent.
Small folio; ff. 3–78.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 222.
Listed by Hardy.

Arundel 403. XII cent.
Small folio; ff. 18; imperfect; two fragments.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 225.
Listed by Hardy.

Arundel 10. Late XII cent.
Folio; ff. 121; vellum; 10½ × 7 inches; double columns.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 224.
Listed by Hardy.

Royal 4.C.XI. Late XII cent.
Folio; ff. 27 (f. 222, col. 2, to f. 249, col. 2).
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 227.
Listed by Hardy.

Additional 15,732. Late XII cent.
Quarto; ff. 72.
With numbered headings to Books III, IV, V, VI, VIII, IX, but omitted in the case of the other Books.

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Additional 15,732. **Late XII cent.**
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 234.
Listed by Hardy.

Royal 13. D. II. **Late XII cent.**
Folio; ff. 50.
Divided into 11 Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 228.
Listed by Hardy.

Harley 536. **Late XII cent.**
Octavo; 6 ff. (ff. 56–61); imperfect; two fragments.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 226.
Listed by Hardy.

Cotton, Nero D. VIII. **Late XII or early XIII cent.**
Folio; ff. 61 (ff. 3–63).
Divided into 11 Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 230.
Listed by Hardy as XII cent.

Harley 3773. **End of XII or beg. XIII cent.**
Quarto; 51 ff. (ff. 7–57); imperfect; in seven fragments.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 223.
Listed by Hardy as XII cent.

Stowe 56. **c. 1200.**
Beg. f. 111b.
Divided into 10 Books.
Once Ashburnham; cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Reports*, VIII, Appendix ii, p. 18.
Listed by Hardy as MS. Stowe 42; not in Ward.

Additional 33,371. **c. 1200.**
f. 28b; fragments.
Not listed by Hardy; not in Ward.

Cotton, Titus A. XXVII. **Early XIII cent.**
Small quarto; ff. 1b–87.
Divided into 4 Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 231.
Not listed by Hardy.

Arundel 319. **Early XIII cent.**
Small quarto; ff. 16–97b; imperfect in the middle and at the end, but continued in Arundel 409.
1–4 Books indicated.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 232.
Listed by Hardy.

Arundel 409. **Early XIII cent.**
Small quarto; ff. 54–77.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 233.
Listed by Hardy.

Harley 6358. **Early XIII cent.**
Small quarto; ff. 2–58b.
Divided into 11 Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 235.
Listed by Hardy as XII cent.

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Lansdowne 732. Early XIII cent.
Octavo; ff. 1–68b.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 233.
Listed by Hardy as XII cent.

Royal 13. D.V. XIII cent.
Large folio; ff. 1–37b.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 229.
Listed by Hardy.

Arundel 237. XIII cent.
Folio; ff. 64. Without the general prologue or the introductory chapter, and imperfect at the end.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 241.
Listed by Hardy.

Cotton, Vespasian A. XXIII. XIII or XIV cent.
Quarto; ff. 4–106b.
Divided into 11 Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 241.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

Additional 11,702. Early XIV cent.
Octavo; ff. 11–88. Left unfinished at the end; and with a portion (answering to 5 chapters of the modern printed editions) omitted at f. 20b.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 247.
Not listed by Hardy.

Cotton, Titus A. XXV. Early XIV cent.
Small quarto; ff. 105–116b; imperfect at the beginning and end.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 244.
Not listed by Hardy.

Royal 14. C. I. Early XIV cent.
Folio; ff. 80–137.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 238.
Listed by Hardy.

Royal 13. A. V. Early XIV cent.
Small Quarto; ff. 99–161b; imperfect at the end.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 237.
Listed by Hardy.

Royal 13. A. iii. Early XIV cent.
Octavo; ff. 1–133.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 237.
Listed by Hardy.

Cotton, Galba E. XI. Early XIV cent.
Large quarto; ff. 2–58b; imperfect at the end.
Divided into 4 Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 239.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

Digitized by Google

Cotton, Titus A. XVIII. — Early XIV cent.
Quarto; ff. 13–82.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 243.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

Harley 4003. — Early XIV cent.
Quarto; ff. 81–141b.
Divided into 10 Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 244.
Listed by Hardy.

Arundel 326. — Early XIV cent.
Small quarto; ff. 63–122b.
Divided into 11 Books; imperfect, middle of Book XI.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 246.
Listed by Hardy.

Arundel 220. — Early XIV cent.
9 × 6½ inches; ff. 7–47; abridged; no dedication.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy; not by Ward.

Harley 5115. — XIV cent.
Folio; ff. 87–150.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 245.
Not listed by Hardy.

Cotton, Vespasian E. X. — XIV cent.
Octavo; ff. 271–368b.
Divided into 8 Books; rest not divided.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 242.
Not listed by Hardy.

Royal 15. C. XVI. — XIV cent.
Folio; ff. 146–183b.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 239.
Listed by Hardy.

Harley 4123. — A.D. 1349.
Folio; ff. 2–49b.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 236.
Listed by Hardy as XIV cent.

Cotton, Cleopatra D. VIII. — End XIV. cent.
Small folio; ff. 8–94.
Divided into 11 Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 249.
Listed by Hardy as XV cent.

Royal 13. D. I. — Late XIV cent.
Folio; ff. 175–212b.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 248.
Listed by Hardy.

Digitized by Google

Sloane 289. xv cent.
Quarto; ff. 120–183.
Divided into 10 Sections.
Cat. of Rom., I, p. 250.
Listed by Hardy.

Additional 35,295. xv cent.
f. 136b.
Divided into 8 Books.
Not listed by Hardy; not in Ward.

LAMBETH PALACE, LONDON

379. xii cent.
9½ × 6¾ inches; ff. 1–68d.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Arch. MSS. in the Lib. at Lambeth Palace (Todd), p. 50.
The MSS. in the Lib. at Lambeth Palace (James), p. 40.
Listed by Hardy as xiv cent.

454. (1) xiii cent.
(2) xii cent.
Two imperfect *Historia* MSS. bound together.
(1) Quarto; 7½ × 5¼ inches; ff. 28–123 rec.
Not divided into Books: xiii cent.
Listed by Hardy as xiv cent.
(2) Quarto; 7½ × 5¼ inches.
Imperfect; end wanting: xii cent.
"This volume consists of divers distinct books bound together." Book III is the only one "noted in text." [1]
Cat. of Arch. MSS. in the Lib. at Lambeth Palace (Todd), p. 58.
The MSS. in the Lib. at Lambeth Palace (James), p. 48.
Not listed by Hardy.

401. xiv cent.
9 × 6¾ inches; double cols; ff. 19–98d.
Divided into 11 Books.
Cat. of Arch. MSS. in the Lib. at Lambeth Palace (Todd), p. 52.
The MSS. in the Lib. at Lambeth Palace (James), p. 42.
Listed by Hardy as xv cent.

188. xiv cent.
Folio; 11 × 7½ inches; ff. 170–200b; imperfect; begins Book V, cap. 12.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Arch. MSS. in the Lib. at Lambeth Palace (Todd), p. 23.
The MSS. in the Lib. at Lambeth Palace (James), p. 28.
Listed by Hardy as No. 118.

503. xiv cent.
Quarto; 8¾ × 5¼ inches; ff. 111.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of Arch. MSS. in the Lib. at Lambeth Palace (Todd), p. 65.
The MSS. in the Lib. at Lambeth Palace (James), p. 51.
Listed by Hardy as No. 505.

[1] Statement of Miss L. Drucker, who examined these MSS. for me.

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COLLEGE OF ARMS, LONDON [1]

1. XIV cent.

Folio; ff. 50–91.
Cat. of the Arundel MSS. in the Lib. of the College of Arms, p. 2.
Listed by Hardy.

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL, SALISBURY [2]

121. XII cent.

10¼ × 6¾ inches; ff. 64.
Not divided into Books.
Catalogue of Salisbury Cathedral Library.
Listed by Hardy as Eccl. Sarum No. 1008 (which is Bernard's number); no date given.

PHILLIPPS COLLECTION, Property of T. FitzRoy Fenwick, Esq. Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham [3]

2324. XII cent.

Folio; double columns; ends: "Sub duce Adelstano qui primus inter eos diadema partivit."
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

9162 (Thorpe 414). XII cent.

Quarto; double columns.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as Thorpe 414, XV cent., based on Thorpe's Catalogue for 1836, p. 99. Bought from Thorpe by Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., in 1836.

32. XII or XIII cent.

Folio; double columns.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

26233. Beg. XIII cent.

Folio; double columns, "correcta et abbreviata."
Not divided into Books.
Not listed by Hardy.

[1] My thanks are due to the Honorary Librarian, G. Woods Wollaston, Esq., Richmond Herald, for his great courtesy in examining these and other MSS. in the Library for me, and for writing detailed descriptions in a letter of October 1, 1925.

[2] I am happy to express my indebtedness to The Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, Librarian and Chancellor of Salisbury Cathedral Church, for his five pages of detailed description of this splendid MS. I not only received answers to the questions asked, but also additional and most valuable information about the style of writing, the character and colouring of the initial letters — several of which were sketched for me in the most painstaking fashion, — while the *provenance* of the MS. was given so far as it is recorded, together with cross-references to the printed editions where the text varies. The old number (c. 1715–1720) was CXI, and later, in 1875, Sir (then Mr.) E. Maunde Thompson made an inventory which was privately printed in 1889–90.

The Salisbury Cathedral Library has apparently known the MS. since 1219, and the Rev. Mr. Wordsworth says: "I have no doubt that like other early MSS., Number 121–1008 was brought to Salisbury Town from Old Sarum, c. 1219." If all students met with such whole-hearted and generous response to enquiries about MSS. the delights of scholarship would be manifoldly increased.

[3] I wish to express my indebtedness to T. FitzRoy Fenwick, Esq., for his detailed description of the MSS. in his possession, in a series of letters in 1925–1926; also, for his help at different times.

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ORMSBY-GORE COLLECTION, Property of Lord Harlech, C.B., Brogyntyn, Oswestry, Shropshire [1]

17. XIII cent.
Octavo; double cols.; 6¾ × 4½ inches; ff. 86.
Not divided into Books.
Hist. MSS. Com., *Reports*, II, Appendix, p. 84.
Listed by Hardy as MS. Porkington 17, XIV cent.

WATSON COLLECTION, Property of the Heirs of Sir Thomas Watson, Bart., Beckdale, Clythia Park, Newport, Monmouthshire [2]

?3117 (olim Phillipps 3117). Early XIV cent.
Folio; ff. 44; no number given.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as Phillipps MS. 3117 — Old No. 59.

SCOTLAND

HUNTERIAN MUSEUM LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW, GLASGOW

331 (U.7.25; Q.8.22; Q.8.160). XIII cent.
7¾ × 4¾ inches; ff. 83.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of MSS. in the Lib. of the Hunterian Mus., p. 267.
Listed by Hardy; no date given.

332 (U.7.26; S.6.18; S.6.91). XIV cent.
7½–7⅞ × 5⅛ inches; ff. 127.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of MSS. in the Lib. of the Hunterian Mus., p. 268.
Listed by Hardy; no date given.

WALES

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES, ABERYSTWYTH

Peniarth 42 (Hengwrt 316 (22)). First quarter XIII cent.
7 × 5⅛ inches; ff. 77.
Not divided into Books. Chap. & para. divisions "largely agree" with Giles.
Hist. MSS. Com. *Reports*, II, p. 104.
Listed by Hardy as Hengwrt 231; no date given.

Peniarth 43 (Hengwrt 317 (24)). XIV cent.
5½ × 3⅝ inches; ff. 172.
Not divided into Books.
Hist. MSS. Com. *Reports*, II, p. 104. Listed as XV cent.
Listed by Hardy as Hengwrt 232; no date given.

CARDIFF PUBLIC LIBRARY, CARDIFF [3]

XIII cent.
7 × 6 inches; ff. 10–130b; one leaf missing.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as MS. Lord Clive; no date given.

[1] Lord Harlech was so exceedingly kind and generous as to lend me his MS. for a year, thus enabling me to collate it for the permanent use of scholars. Cf. pp. 34–37.

[2] I am gratefully indebted to Sir Geoffrey Watson for obtaining the description of this MS. for me. It belonged formerly to, and bears the signature of, John Maynard.

[3] Belonged to, and signed by, Ed. James Herbert, third Earl Powis, 1848–91, Powis Castle, Welshpool. Sold at Sotheby's March 20th, 1923, Lot 99, bought by Messrs. Quaritch for Cardiff.

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IRELAND

Trinity College, Dublin[1]

493 (E.2.24). xiii cent.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of MSS. in the Lib. of Trinity College.
Listed by Hardy as No. 313 (453); no date given.

515 (E.5.12). xiii–xiv cent.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of MSS. in the Lib. of Trinity College.
Listed by Hardy as No. 267.5.(407); no date given.

172 (B.2.7). xiii–xiv cent.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of MSS. in the Lib. of Trinity College.
Not listed by Hardy.

496 (E.6.2). xiv cent.
Small quarto; 115 ff.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of MSS. in the Lib. of Trinity College.
Listed by Hardy as No. 314 (454); no date given.

494 (E.5.7). xiv cent.
Quarto; 76 ff.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of MSS. in the Lib. of Trinity College.
Listed by Hardy as No. 312 (452); no date given.

495 (E.4.30). xiv cent.
Imperfect at beginning; prologue and part of description of Britain. Begins: "Saxonibus, Pictis, et Scotis."
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of MSS. in the Lib. of Trinity College.
Not listed by Hardy.

514 (E.5.3). xiv or xv cent.
63 ff.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. of MSS. in the Lib. of Trinity College.
Listed by Hardy as No. 349 (489); no date given.

FRANCE

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris[2]

Fonds latin 6040. xii cent.
ff. 1–59; pages lacking between ff. 24 and 25, the end of Book 4 and almost all of Book 5.
Not divided into Books.
Dedication to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Waleran, Count of Mellent.
Listed by Hardy as "olim Antonii Lancelot," xiv cent.

[1] I wish to express my appreciation of the detailed descriptions given me by Mr. Alfred de Burgh, Assistant Librarian, in a series of letters; also, to his Assistant, Mr. Frank Marsh, for the supplementary information which he gave me.

[2] I am deeply indebted to my friend, Mr. Stanley V. LaDow, M.A., for examining several years ago the *Historia* MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale for me, and, as a result, for the discovery among them of another MS. with the double dedication to

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Fonds latin 17569. XII cent.
ff. 35–102.
Divided into 9 Books; Books 8, 9 and 12 are not indicated.
Not listed by Hardy.

Fonds latin 12943. XII cent.
ff. 97–148; lacks dedication.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as MS. Bibl. Monast. S. Germani, Paris (768); no date given.

Fonds latin 5233. First half XIII cent.
ff. 77vo — 156vo.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as "olim Colbert."

Fonds latin 5234. First half XIII cent.
ff. 95–150; incomplete.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as "olim Faurian."

Fonds latin 6230. First half XIII cent.
ff. 3–194vo; lacks dedication.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as "olim Colbert."

Fonds latin 6231. First half XIII cent.
ff. 2–28; incomplete.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as "olim Bigot."

Fonds latin 6275. First half XIII cent.
f. 104; beginning missing.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as "olim Putean."

Fonds latin 8401.a. First half XIII cent.
ff. 63vo–129vo; dedication missing.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as "olim Putean."

Fonds latin 1001 (Nouvelles acquisitions). XIII cent.
ff. 1–129.
First 6 Books are numbered; Books 7–12 are not numbered.
Not listed by Hardy.

Fonds latin 6041 B. XIII cent.
f. 46.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as "olim Rogerii de Gaignières," XIV cent.

Fonds latin 6432. XIII cent.
ff. 33–37; incomplete; beginning of Books 1 and 2, and the end of Books 7 and 12, of printed editions, are missing.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as XIV cent.

Robert of Gloucester and Waleran of Mellent; also, to M. le Bibliothécaire Philippe Lauer, Conservateur des Manuscrits, for his great kindness in giving me additional details, and in sparing himself no trouble in order to answer my many questions.

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Fonds latin 18271. — XIII cent.
ff. 18–105vo.
Not divided into Books.
Not listed by Hardy.

Fonds latin 6233. — XIII cent.
f. 117; incomplete; beginning missing.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as "olim Colbert," XIV cent.

Fonds latin 5508. — End XIII cent.
ff. 2–5vo; fragment; five pages at the end of Book 12.
Listed by Hardy as "olim Colbert," XIV cent.

Fonds latin 6041. — End XIII cent. or XIV cent.
f. 77.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as "olim Mazarin," XIV cent.

Fonds latin 6232. — End of XIII cent. and XV cent.
f. 117.
Divided into first 6 Books, no divisions after that.
Listed by Hardy as "olim Colbert," XIV cent.

Fonds latin 4126. — XIV cent.
ff. 134vo–211vo.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as "olim Colbert."

Fonds latin 6039. — XIV cent.
f. 58.
Divided into Books, viz., Books 7, 8, 9, 10.
Listed by Hardy as "olim Antonii Lancelot."

Fonds latin 6041–A. — XIV cent.
f. 98.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as "olim Rogerii de Gaignières."

Fonds latin 6041 C. — XIV cent.
f. 71.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as "olim Colbert," XV cent.

Fonds latin 7531. — XIV cent.
ff. 235–250.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy.

Fonds latin 6815. — End XIV cent.
ff. 178vo–213; incomplete; end of Book 12 missing.
Divided into 11 Books. Books 3, 4, 5, and 6 not numbered.
Listed by Hardy.

Fonds latin 5697.2. — XV cent.
ff. 135r–225v.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy.

Fonds latin 11107. — XV cent.
f. 94; dedication missing.
Not divided into Books.
Not listed by Hardy.

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Fonds latin 13710. XV cent.
f. 83–218.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as MS. Coisliniana in Bibl. S. Germani, Paris, 302; no date given.

Fonds latin 15073. XV or XVI cent.
f. 181.
Not divided into Books.
Not listed by Hardy.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE SAINTE-GENEVIÈVE, PARIS[1]

2113 (O.l. in 4°.1). XII or XIII cent.
ff. 66.
Divided into 11 Books.
Cat. des MSS. de la Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, II, pp. 264–5.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, AUXERRE[1]

91 (85). XII cent.
ff. 133–175.
Divided into 7 Books.
Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bib. Pub. de France, VI, p. 39.
Not listed by Hardy.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, ARRAS[2]

583. XIII cent.
Folio; occupies opening folios.
Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bib. Pub. des Depts. IV, p. 233.
Not listed by Hardy.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE LA VILLE, BOULOGNE-SUR-MER[2]

180. XIII cent.
Fclio; ff. 71.
Divided irregularly into books; text interpolated; Merlin's *Prophecies* occupy Book VI.
Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bib. Pub. des Depts., IV, p. 683.
Not listed by Hardy.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, DOUAI[3]

880. End XII cent.
ff. 14v–88.
Divided into 11 Books.
Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bib. Pub. des Depts., VI, p. 635.
Listed by Hardy; no date given.

882. End XII cent.
ff. 143–167r.
Divided into 11 Books.
Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bib. Pub. des Depts., VI, p. 640.
Listed by Hardy; no date given.

[1] The Librarian kindly made a re-examination for me.

[2] For some reason, as yet unknown to me, no reply to my letters of enquiry has been received from this Library.

[3] I wish to thank Monsieur le Bibliothécaire Louis Noël, of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Douai, for the full and valuable descriptions he gave me of his MSS., and especially for sketching the initial letters, character of writing, and so forth, to give me as clear an idea as possible of age and quality.

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BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, DÔLE [1]

348–349. XIV cent.
ff. 68.
Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bib. Pub. de France, XIII, p. 446.
Not listed by Hardy.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE COMMUNALE, LILLE [2]

533. XII cent.
Incomplete.
Divided into 11 Books.
Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bibl. Pub. de France, XXVI, p. 405.
Listed by Hardy as No. D. x.32.

UNIVERSITÉ DE MONTPELLIER, ÉCOLE DE MÉDECINE, MONTPELLIER [2]

92. XII cent.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bibl. Pub. des Depts., I, p. 320.
Listed by Hardy.

378. XII cent.
Quarto.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bibl. Pub. des Depts., I, p. 436.
Listed by Hardy.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE LA VILLE, ROUEN [2]

1177 (U.74 — also U.123). XII cent.
ff. 1–58.
Divided into 6 Books by a hand later than the original, therefore no original divisions.
Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bib. Pub. de France, I, p. 295.
Listed by Hardy as MS. Monast. Gemmeticensis 20; no date given.

3069 (2010). XVIII cent.
ff. 126.
Not divided into Books.
Copy of Cotton, Titus A. XVIII.
Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bib. Pub. de France, II, p. 81.
Listed apparently by Hardy as No. 123.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE LA VILLE, RHEIMS [2]

1450 (0.874). Beg. XIII cent.
ff. 37.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bib. Pub. de France, XXXIX, p. 667.
Not listed by Hardy.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE LA VILLE, TROYES [2]

273 bis. XII–XIII cent.
ff. 40.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bib. Pub. des Depts., II, p. 134.
Not listed by Hardy.

[1] For some reason, as yet unknown to me, no reply to my letter of enquiry has been received from this Library.

[2] The Librarian kindly made a re-examination for me.

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1531. XIV cent.
Divided into 4 Books.
Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bib. Pub. des Depts., II, p. 642.
Not listed by Hardy.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, SAINT OMER[1]

710. End XIII cent.
Folio.
Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bib. Pub. des Depts., III, p. 313.
Not listed by Hardy.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, VALENCIENNES[2]

792 (589). XIV cent.
ff. 54; incomplete; may be an abbreviation, as the usual dedication and ending are present.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bib. Pub. de France, XXV, p. 474.
Not listed by Hardy.

ITALY

BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, ROME[3]

Vatic. Lat. 2005. XII, or early XIII cent.
ff. 1–69.
Not divided into Books.
Dedication to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Waleran, Count of Mellent.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

Vatic. Regin. Lat. 692 (olim 315). End XII, or beg. XIII cent.
Small folio.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as Regin. Christinæ Vatican 962, XII cent.

Vatic. Palat. Lat. 956. Beg. XIII cent.
ff. 1–62.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as XIV cent.

Vatic. Palat. 962. XIII cent.
ff. 118–158.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as XIV cent.

Ottobon Lat. 1472 (olim 1578). XIII cent.
Quarto; ff. 92–127.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as XIV cent.

[1] For some reason, as yet unknown to me, no reply to my letter of enquiry has been received from this Library.

[2] The Librarian kindly made a re-examination for me.

[3] Monsignor Giovanni Mercati, Prefetto della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, was so gracious as himself to examine the Vatican MSS. of the *Historia* for me, and to write most comprehensive and detailed descriptions of them. He also authorized the taking of a photograph of Lat. 2005 with the new double dedication, reproduced in Plate VIII, Page 68. I wish to take this opportunity to express my gratitude for his labours on my behalf.

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Vatic. Regin. Lat. 825. XIV cent.
Quarto; ff. 1–142.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy.

Ottobon Lat. 3025. End of XIV cent. or XV cent.
ff. 13–21; fragments.
Not listed by Hardy.

BIBLIOTECA LAURENZIANA, FLORENCE [1]

XVII dextr., 6 (olim S. Crucis). XII cent.
ff. 56r–137v.
Divided into 11 Books.
Listed by Hardy as MS. Laurentianæ Mediceæ, IV.506.

REALE BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE, FLORENCE

2591–A.4. XIV cent.
Folio; 52 leaves.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as MS. Monast. S. Mariæ.

BELGIUM

BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE, BRUSSELS [2]

II. 1020. XII cent.
ff. 1–38.
Divided into 9 Books.
Listed by Hardy as MS. Phillipps 11603, XII cent.; also, S. Martini Tornacensis. ?bis.[3]

9871–74. XIII cent.
ff. 86–155v. Incomplete: "stops at p. 204 edition of Giles."
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as MS. Bibl. Ducum Burgundiæ, Bruxel. 9874, XII cent.

8536–43. XIII cent.
f. 1–72.
Divided into 11 Books.
Listed by Hardy as MS. Bibl. Ducum Burgundiæ, Bruxel. 8536, XIV cent.

8495–505 — Collectanea Bollandiana. XIII cent.
Very small fragment comprising paragraphs 16, beginning with the 5th line, 17, 18, 19, and 20 of the 12th Book.
From the library of the old Bollandists.
Not listed by Hardy.

[1] My kind friend, Dr. Joseph Martini, undertook to examine, and to describe at great length, both of the MSS. in Florence, copying out with meticulous care all Chapter headings and endings, giving me most scholarly and expert information about the handwriting, place of writing, and so forth. He thinks that the Laurenziano Mediceo, IV 506.6. cannot be dated later than 1175, and that it was probably written about 1160. It is in two hands of the same period, and looks as if it had been executed at Canterbury, England.

[2] M. le Conservateur en Chef Paris was so kind as to have special descriptions made for me of these MSS., which have been of great service in compiling this list.

[3] The signature, "Ego Galfridus Monumetensis" on the last page cannot have been written by Geoffrey, as the writing is probably early XIII century. A rotograph is in my possession.

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BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE LA VILLE, BRUGES

428. XIV cent.

ff.–1–48[70].
Divisions of only three books indicated.
Cat. des MSS. de la Bib. Pub. de Bruges, pp. 372–4.
Listed by Hardy as No. 447; no date given.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

GRISCOM COLLECTION, Property of The Rev. Acton Griscom, New York.[1]

E.17. XII cent.

Quarto, ff. 25; imperfect.
Not divided into Books.
Not listed by Hardy.

THE HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY AND ART GALLERY, SAN MARINO, CALIFORNIA

HM 145. c. 1420–1460.

Folio; 28 leaves; imperfect; wants several leaves at the beginning.
Not divided into Books.
Not listed by Hardy.

HOLLAND

BIBLIOTHEEK DE RIJKS-UNIVERSITEIT, LEYDEN[2]

B.P.L.20. XII cent.

ff. 60–101.
Divided into 11 Books.
Catalogus librorum, tam impressorum quam manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Publicæ Universitatis Lugduno-Batavicæ, p. 325; *Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis; Codices manuscripti, III Codices Bibliothecæ Publicæ Latini.*
Not listed by Hardy.

[1] This hitherto unrecorded MS. was once in the possession, and bears the autograph, of Alexander Boswell, Auchinleck, 1732. It was catalogued by Messrs. J. & J. Leighton in 1907, and came into my possession through the friendly consideration of Colonel Wm. E. Moss. Bound with it are the first three books of William of Malmesbury's *Historia Anglorum*, unfortunately much mutilated because some initial letters, and several leaves, have been cut from the text. Both parts of the MS. are in handwritings of the XII century, and the initials are in red, blue, and green, with ornamental pen work. For a full description, see pp. 37–41.

[2] I am indebted to Dr. V. F. Büchner, Keeper of MSS. of the Rijks-Universiteit, Leyden, for very special and detailed information about these MSS., especially the important XII century one. Leopold Delisle, in his Study of Guillaume de Jumièges in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Vol. 71, 1910, p. 511, says: "Cette copie de l'ouvrage de Geoffroi de Monmouth est, selon toute apparence, celle que cite Henri, archidiacre de Huntington, comme lui ayant été communiqué en 1139 dans l'abbaye du Bec, par Robert de Torigini." However, in important passages, this MS. follows the late or ordinary text of Geoffrey's *Historia*, and not the variations that go with the double dedication to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Waleran, Count of Mellent, or even those in Henry of Huntington's own abstract. The MS. is undoubtedly early, but there is no proof that it was the MS. which Henry of Huntington saw at Bec. As Dr. Büchner pointed out in his letter to me of July 15/24: "of course, there can nothing be demonstrated mathematically. Delisle himself says *selon toute apparence*."

The more one studies Henry's abstract of this History in his letter to Warinus, the more it seems to be based, not upon Geoffrey's *Historia*, but upon some other contemporary history. Cf. Note to page 50.

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77. XIV cent.
ff. 75–121.
Divided into 11 Books; Books IV–VI not distinguishable.
Catalogus librorum, tam impressorum quam manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Publicæ Universitatis Lugduno-Batavæ, p. 373.
Listed by Hardy as "MS. olim Isaaci Vossii 104 (2429)."

SWITZERLAND

STADTBIBLIOTHEK, BERN

568 N 1.8. XII cent.
ff. 18a–79b.
Not divided into Books.
Dedication to King Stephen, and Robert, Earl of Gloucester.
Bibliothecæ Bernensis, Codicum MSS. syllabus, ex majori opere contractus, II, p. 241.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

SWEDEN[1]

KUNGLIGA BIBLIOTEKET, STOCKHOLM

IV. c. 1300.
Folio; ff. 45.
Divided into 9 Books.
Förteckning öfver de förnämsta brittiska och fransyska handskrifterna, uti Kungliga Bibliotheket i Stockholm.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

[1] Herr O. Wieselgren, Keeper of MSS. of the Royal Library, Stockholm, was so kind as to send me, not only a description of this MS., but also a photograph which he had made for me by the Library, of the opening page of the MS.

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Section B

TWELFTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPTS[1]

1. Univ. Lib., Cambridge. 1706 (Ii.I.14). c. 1136.
Small quarto; 128 leaves; not divided into Books.
Bears no title. The MS. is complete without the usual colophon or *envoi*.
Dedication to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Waleran, Count of Mellent.
Desc. Cat. Camb. Univ. Lib., V.III, p. 327.
Listed by Hardy as XII cent.

2. Stadtbibliothek, Bern. 568 NI.8. c. 1136.
ff. 18a–79b; not divided into Books.
Bears no title.
Dedication to King Stephen, and Robert, Earl of Gloucester.
Bib. Bernensis, Cod. MSS., Syllabus ex majori opere contractus, II, p. 241.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

3. Bibliotheek de Rijks-Universiteit, Leyden. B.P.L.20. c. 1138.
ff. 60–101; divided into 11 Books.
Desc. Cat. Bib. Univ. Leidensis.
Not listed by Hardy.

4. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Fonds Lat. 6040. XII cent.
f. 1–59; not divided into Books.
Imperfect.
Dedication to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Waleran, Count of Mellent.
Hardy lists as XIV cent., olim Antonii Lancelot.

5. Univ. Lib., Cambridge. 1801 (Ii.IV.4). XII cent.
Quarto; ff. 58–133; not divided into Books.
Dedication to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Waleran, Count of Mellent.
Desc. Cat. Camb. Univ. Lib., V.III, p. 440.
Not listed by Hardy.

6. British Museum, London. Cotton, Titus C. XVII. XII cent.
Quarto; ff. 46; not divided into Books.
Desc. by Ward, p. 203.
Listed by Hardy as XII cent.

7. Lambeth Palace, London. 454. XII cent.
Quarto; 7¼ × 5½ inches; imperfect, end wanting.
This is the second of two MSS. which have been bound together. (See App. I, Sect. A, p. 561.) "This volume consists of divers distinct books bound together."[2]
Not listed by Hardy.

[1] It is exceedingly difficult to date precisely the earlier group of *Historia* MSS., and without laying them side by side probably no judgment could be final. After the first three, I have set them in order more or less arbitrarily, based only on comparisons of rotographs, or on the written descriptions by the several Librarians involved, who have most kindly re-examined these MSS. for me.

[2] Statement of Miss L. Drucker, who examined this MS. for me.

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8. LAURENTIANÆ MEDICEÆ, FLORENCE. IV.506.6. XII cent.
ff. 56r–137v.
Present shelf No. XVII dextr. 6., olim S. Crucis.
Hardy lists as XII cent.

9. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS. Fonds Lat. 12943. XII cent.
ff. 97–148; not divided into Books.
Lacks dedication.
Listed by Hardy as MS. Bibl. Monast. S. Germani, Paris, (768); no date given.

10. UNIV. LIB., CAMBRIDGE. 2295. (Mm.I.34). XII cent.
Quarto; ff. 55; not divided into Books.
Desc. Cat. Camb. Univ. Lib., V.IV, p. 124.
Not listed by Hardy.

11. UNIV. LIB., CAMBRIDGE. 2434. (Mm.V.29). XII cent.
ff. 20–106a; not divided into Books.
Desc. Cat. Camb. Univ. Lib., IV, p. 357.
Listed by Hardy as MS. olim More Ep. Norwic. 91, (9277).

12. CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE. 281 (Todd, D.7; James, 38). XII cent.
ff. 1–77; divided into 9 Books.
Cat. of MSS. Corpus Christi College, II, p. 45.
Hardy lists as XIV cent.

13. SALISBURY CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, SALISBURY. 121. XII cent.
ff. 64; not divided into Books.
Cat. of Salisbury Cathedral Library.
Listed by Hardy as Eccl. Sarum No. 1008 (which is Bernard's number); no date given.

14. ÉCOLE DE MÉDECINE, MONTPELLIER. 92. XII cent.
Not divided into Books.
Cat. Gén. MSS. Bib. Pub. des Depts., V.I, p. 320.
Listed by Hardy as XII cent.

15. GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE. 103 (55) C.M.A.940. XII cent.
ff. 78; not divided into Books.
Cat. of MSS. Gonv. & Caius Coll., I, p. 103.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

16. MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD. CLXX. XII cent.
Small quarto; ff. 111; divided into 8 books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. Coll. et Aul. Oxon., pars II, p. 78.
Listed by Hardy as XII cent.

17. BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON. Harley 225. XII cent.
Small folio; ff. 3–78; not divided into Books.
Desc. by Ward, p. 222.
Listed by Hardy; no date given.

18. ÉCOLE DE MÉDECINE, MONTPELLIER. 378. XII cent.
Quarto; not divided into Books.
Cat. Gén. MSS. Bib. Pub. des Depts., I, p. 436.
Listed by Hardy as XII cent.

19. BIBLIOTHÈQUE COMMUNALE, LILLE. 533. XII cent.
Divided into 11 Books; incomplete.
Cat. Gén. MSS. Bib. Pub. de France, XXVI, p. 405.
Listed by Hardy as D.X.32, XII cent.

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20. BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, AUXERRE. 91 (85). XII cent.
ff. 133–175; divided into 7 Books.
Cat. Gén. MSS. Bib. Pub. de France, VI, p. 39.
Not listed by Hardy.

21. GRISCOM COLLECTION, NEW YORK. E.17. XII cent.
Quarto; ff. 25; not divided into Books; imperfect.
Not listed by Hardy.

22. BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON. Arundel 10. XII cent.
Folio; ff. 121; not divided into Books.
Desc. by Ward, p. 224.
Listed by Hardy; no date given.

23. PHILLIPPS COLLECTION, CHELTENHAM. 2324. XII cent.
Folio; double columns.
Not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

24. BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS. Fonds Lat. 17569. XII cent.
ff. 35–102; divided into 9 Books; Books 8, 9 and 12 not indicated.
Not listed by Hardy.

25. THE LIBRARY, LAMBETH PALACE, LONDON. 379. XII cent.
ff. 1–68.
Cat. of Arch. MSS. Lib. at Lambeth Palace, (Todd) p. 50.
The MSS. in the Lib. at Lambeth Palace (James) p. 40.
Listed by Hardy as XIV cent.

26. BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE LA VILLE, ROUEN. 1177 (U. 74 — also U. 123). XII cent.
ff. 1–58; divided into 9 Books.
Cat. Gén. MSS. Bib. Pub. de France, I, p. 295.
Listed by Hardy as MS. Monast. Gemmeticensis, 20; no date given.

27. PHILLIPPS COLLECTION, CHELTENHAM. 1926 (Thorpe 414). XII cent.
Quarto.
Described by T. FitzRoy Fenwick, Esq., the present owner, in a letter to me.
Listed by Hardy as Thorpe MS. 414, XV cent., based on Thorpe's Catalogue for 1836, p. 99.

28. BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE, BRUSSELS. II.1020. XII cent.
f.1–38; divided into 9 Books.
Listed by Hardy as MS. Phillipps 11603, XII cent.

29. BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON. Royal 4.C.XI. Late XII cent.
Folio; ff. 27 (f. 222, col. 2, to f. 249, col. 2): not divided into Books.
Desc. by Ward, p. 227.
Listed by Hardy as XII cent.

30. BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON. Additional 15,732. Late XII cent.
Quarto; ff. 72.
With numbered Headings to Books III, IV, V, VI, VIII and IX, but omitted in the case of the other Books.
Desc. by Ward, p. 234.
Listed by Hardy as XII cent.

31. BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD. Lat. Misc. E.42. Late XII cent.
ff. 5–52; not divided into books; imperfect at both ends.
Dedication missing.
Not listed by Hardy.

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32. Bodleian Library, Oxford. Fairfax 28 (3908). **Late xii cent.**
Quarto; divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as xii cent.

33. British Museum, London. Royal 13.D.II. **Late xii cent.**
Folio; ff. 50; divided into 11 Books.
Desc. by Ward, p. 228.
Listed by Hardy as xii cent.

34. British Museum, London. Harley 536. **Late xii cent.**
Octavo; ff. 56–61; not divided into Books; imperfect, two fragments.
Desc. by Ward, p. 226.
Listed by Hardy as xii cent.

35. Bibliothèque Municipale, Douai. 880. **End of xii cent.**
ff. 14v–88; divided into 11 Books.
Cat. Gén. MSS. Bib. Pub. des Depts., VII, p. 635.
Listed by Hardy; no date given.

36. Magdalen College, Oxford. CLXXI. **End of xii cent.**
Small quarto; ff. 96; divided into 8 Books.
Cat. Cod. MSS. Coll. et Aul. Oxon., pars II, p. 79.
Listed by Hardy as xii cent.

37. Bibliothèque Municipale, Douai. 882. **End of xii cent.**
ff. 143–167rec; divided into 11 Books.
Cat. Gén. MSS. Bib. Pub. des Depts., VI, p. 640.
Listed by Hardy; no date given.

38. Bodleian Library, Oxford. Rawlinson C. 152. **End of xii cent.**
Small folio; ff. 99–182; divided into 3 Books; incomplete, about 3 pages missing at the end.
Desc. Cat. Cod. MSS. Bib. Bodl., pars V, fasc. II, col. 63.
Listed by Hardy as xii cent.

39. Univ. Lib., Cambridge. 329 (Dd.VI.12). **End of xii or beg. xiii cent.**
Small quarto; 108 leaves.
First five Books only are distinguished by short rubrics, for which spaces are left before the next three; slightly incomplete.
Desc. Cat. Camb. Univ. Lib., I, p. 295.
Listed by Hardy as xii cent.

40. Gonv. and Caius College, Cambridge. 406(627). **End of xii or beg. xiii cent.**
C.M.A. (not 943) 1174.
ff. 58; not divided into Books.
Cat. MSS. Gonv. & Caius Coll., II, p. 472.
Listed by Hardy; no date given.

41. Trinity College, Cambridge. 770 (R.7.28.445). **End of xii or beg. xiii cent.**
ff. 75–193; not divided into Books.
Cat. Western MSS. Trinity College, II, p. 240.
Listed by Hardy as xiii cent.

42. British Museum, London. Cotton, Nero D. VIII. **End of xii or beg. xiii cent.**
Folio; ff. 61 (ff.3–63); divided into 11 Books.
Desc. by Ward, p. 230.
Listed by Hardy as xii cent.

43. British Museum, London. Harley 3773. **End of xii or beg. xiii cent.**
Quarto; ff. 7–57; imperfect, seven fragments.
Desc. by Ward, p. 223.
Listed by Hardy as xii cent.

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44. PHILLIPPS COLLECTION, CHELTENHAM. 32. End of XII or beg. XIII cent.
Folio; double cols.; not divided into Books.
Desc. by T. FitzRoy Fenwick, Esq., the present owner, in a letter to me.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

45. BIBLIOTHÈQUE STE. GENEVIÈVE, PARIS. 2113. End of XII or beg. XIII cent.
ff. 66; divided into 11 Books.
Cat. des MSS. de la Bib. Ste. Geneviève, II, pp. 264–65.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

46. BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE LA VILLE, TROYES. 273 bis. End of XII or beg. XIII cent.
ff. 40; not divided into Books.
Cat. Gén. MSS. Bib. Pub. des Depts., II, p. 134.
Not listed by Hardy.

47. BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, ROME. Lat. 2005. End of XII or beg. XIII cent.
ff. 1–69; not divided into Books.
Dedication to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Waleran, Count of Mellent.
Listed by Hardy as XIII cent.

48. BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA, ROME. Regin. 692. End of XII or beg. XIII cent.
Small folio; not divided into Books.
Listed by Hardy as Regin. Christinæ 962, XII cent.

FRAGMENTS

BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON. Arundel 403. XII cent.
Small folio; ff. 18; imperfect, two fragments.
Desc. by Ward, p. 225.
Listed by Hardy.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD. Rawlinson D.893. End of XII cent.
Octavo; ff. 27–28. (Pt.5).
Fragment; two leaves mutilated at foot.
Desc. Cat. Cod. MSS. Bib. Bodleianæ, pars. V, fasc. IV, col. 75.
Not listed by Hardy.

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Section C

42 *HISTORIA* MSS. UNKNOWN TO HARDY, AND ADDED TO HIS LIST

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE.

2295 (Mm.I.34.)	XII cent.
1801 (Ii.IV.4.)	XII cent.
1814 (Ii.IV.17.)	XIV cent.
2096 (Kk.VI.16.)	XIV cent.
1809 (Ii.IV.12.)	XIV cent.
590 (Dd.X.31.)	XIV cent.

CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

27 (Kk.5.3.)	Early XIV cent.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

254 (S.6.)	XV cent.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.

Lat. Misc. e.42.	Late XII cent.
Rawlinson D — 893.	End XII cent.
977.	C. 1300.
91.	Early XIII cent.
Add. A 61 (28843)	XIII cent.
Jones 48 (8956)	Early XIV cent.

CHRIST CHURCH COLLEGE, OXFORD.

XCIX.	XIV cent.

BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.

Add. 33371.	C. 1200.
Cotton, Titus A. XXVII	Early XIII cent.
Cotton, Titus A. XXV	Early XIV cent.
Add. 11702.	Early XIV cent.
Cotton, Vespasian E. X	XIV cent.
Harley 5115.	XIV cent.
Add. 35295.	XV cent.

PHILLIPPS COLLECTION, Property of T. FitzRoy Fenwick, Esq., Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham

26233.	Beg. XIII cent.

(Not listed as such by Hardy. He lists one: 18(?58) olim Bibl. Royez, which we have not identified. However, Mr. Fenwick says that 26233 was not bought from Royez.)

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

171 (Press mark B.2.7.)	XIII–XIV cent.
495 (E.4.30.)	XIV cent.

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Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.	
Fonds Lat. 17569.	xii cent.
Fonds Lat. 18271.	xiii cent.
Fonds Lat. 1001.	xiii cent.
Fonds Lat. 11107.	xv cent.
Fonds Lat. 15073.	xv or xvi cent.
Bibliothèque Municipale, Auxerre.	
91 (85).	xii cent.
Bibliotheek de Rijks-Universiteit, Leyden.	
B.P.L. 20.	xii cent.
Griscom Collection, New York.	
E.17.	xii cent.
Bibliothèque de la Ville, Rheims.	
1450 (0.874).	Beg. xiii cent.
Bibliothèque Municipale, Arras.	
583.	xiii cent.
Bibliothèque de la Ville, Boulogne-sur-Mer.	
180.	xiii cent.
Bibliothèque Municipale, Saint Omer.	
710.	End xiii cent.
Bibliothèque de la Ville, Troyes.	
273 bis.	xii-xiii cent.
1531.	xiv cent.
Bibliothèque Municipale, Dôle.	
348–349.	xiv cent.
Bibliothèque Municipale, Valenciennes.	
792 (589).	xiv cent.
Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.	
HM 145.	xv cent.

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Section D

HISTORIA MANUSCRIPTS
WHOSE PRESENT LOCATION IS UNKNOWN

PHILLIPPS 203. XIII cent.

Sold at Sotheby's by auction on May 17th, 1897, Lot No. 330. It was bought by Quaritch and sold to Mr. W. Percy Sladen, whose address in 1898 was 13 Hyde Park Gate, London; since deceased (1900); the whereabouts of his Library, left to his widow, is at present unknown.

It contains the "Vaticinia" of Merlin in Norman-French.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS. Fonds Lat. 4999 a.8. XIV cent.

Barrois Collection.

No longer in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Stolen, and came into the possession of Lord Ashburnham. It was sold at Sotheby's by auction, June 10th–14th, 1901, lot No. 229, and was bought by Messrs. J. and J. Leighton, agents, for Mr. George Dunn, since deceased. Library sold at Sotheby's, by auction, Feb. 11th–14th, 1913, lot No. 493; bought by P. M. Barnard, Bookseller, Tunbridge Wells, for *five pounds*, whose agent immediately resold the manuscript in the auction room without keeping any record of the buyer.

SYON K. 11.

The MSS. of the Syon Monastery at Isleworth, with a few exceptions, have not been identified or located. See Bateson, May, *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery, Isleworth*, Cambridge, 1898, p. 81.

SYON K. 15.

Same as preceding note.

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Section E

HARDY MSS. REJECTED OR UNIDENTIFIED

MISCALLED *HISTORIA* MANUSCRIPTS

1. HARLEY 3899.
   Not an *Historia* MS., an abridgement with continuation by Nicholas Trivet.
2. Harley 4887.
   Not an *Historia* MS., an abridgement with continuation to 1349.
3. Douce 207.4.
   Not an *Historia* MS., a short account of early British history based on Geoffrey.
4. Fonds Latin 6041.d.
   Not an *Historia* MS., an abridgement by Galasius Corrigie, comes.
5. Regin. Christinæ, Vatican 871.
   Not an *Historia* MS., a French translation.

DUPLICATIONS

6. MS. Jesus College, Cambridge, 2.
   Probably a duplication of Jesus College, Oxford, 2. There is no *Historia* MS. at Jesus College, Cambridge.
7. MS. olim Francisci Bernardi, 46 (3615).
   Same as British Museum Sloane 289.
8. MS. olim More Ep. Norwic. 289 (9475).
   Same as Cambridge University Library, 17 (Dd.I.17).
9. MS. olim More Ep. Norwic. 674.
   Same as Cambridge University Library, 209 (Dd.IV.34).
10. MS. Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Paris, O.I.
    Same as MS. Bib. Ste. Geneviève, Paris, O.L.i.4. vell. XIII cent.
11. MS. S. Martini Tornacensis.
    Same as MS. Phillipps 11603. (Now II, 1020, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.)
12. MS. Monast. Gemmeticensis 20.
    Same as Rouen No. 1177.
13. MS. Dunensis.
    Same as Bruges 447; cf. next item.
14. MS. Coll. Brugensis.
    Same as MS. Dunensis, and Bruges 447.
15. Regin. Christinæ Vatican 218.
    Same as Vatican 218.
16. Regin. Christinæ 1578.
    Same as Ottobon 1472.
17. Regin. Christinæ 315.
    Same as Regin. Christinæ 692 (listed by Hardy as "962").
18. Petav. in Vatican 235.
19. Petav. in Vatican 292.
20. Petav. in Vatican 315.
    These three MSS. are the same as Regin. Christinæ Nos. 692, 825, 871 — now in the Vatican Library.
21. MS. olim Sym. d'Ewes 170 (10030).
    The d'Ewes Collection was bought by Harley, and this MS. is now one of the Harleian Collection in the British Museum.

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UNIDENTIFIED

22. Phillipps 18 (?58) olim Bib. Royez.
    Not identified as any of the present or past MSS. of the Phillipps Collection.
23. Thorpe 1393.
    Present identity unknown, nor is any clue available as to its *provenance*.
24. Vatican 218.
    Not identified by Monsignor Mercati as being in the Vatican at the present time.
25. MS. olim Henrici Langley, Armig. 38 (6986).
    Not identified. Mr. J. A. Herbert writes, "I do not know anything of their later history."
26. MS. S. Petri Aldenburgensis.
27. MS. Bib. Villarensis in Brabantia.
28. MS. Monast. Bonæ Spei.
29. MS. Cœnob. Camberonensis in Hannonia.
    No known copy of Geoffrey has been identified as having once belonged to one of the above Abbeys.
30. Fürstliches Bibliothek, Bückeburg, Schaumburg-Lippe.
    This Library makes no reply to letters addressed to it.
31. MS. Dec. & Capit. Westmonast.
    Burned 1694.

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Section F

LIST OF LIBRARIES IN WHICH THERE ARE NOW GEOFFREY *HISTORIA* MSS.

England

University Library, Cambridge.
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
Clare College, Cambridge.
Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.
St. John's College, Cambridge.
Trinity College, Cambridge.
Bodleian Library, Oxford.
All Souls' College, Oxford.
Christ Church College, Oxford.
Jesus College, Oxford.
Magdalen College, Oxford.
New College, Oxford.
Oriel College, Oxford.
British Museum, London.
Lambeth Palace, London.
College of Arms, London.
Salisbury Cathedral, Salisbury.
Phillipps Collection, Property of T. FitzRoy Fenwick, Esq., Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham.
Ormsby-Gore Collection, Property of Lord Harlech, C.B., Brogyntyn, Oswestry, Shropshire.
Watson Collection, Property of the heirs of Sir Thomas Watson, Bart., Beckdale, Clythia Park, Newport, Monmouthshire.

Scotland

Hunterian Museum Library, University of Glasgow, Glasgow.

Wales

National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
Cardiff Public Library, Cardiff.

Ireland

Trinity College, Dublin.

France

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris.
Bibliothèque Municipale, Auxerre.
Bibliothèque Municipale, Arras.
Bibliothèque de la Ville, Boulogne-sur-Mer.

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Bibliothèque Municipale, Douai.
Bibliothèque Municipale, Dôle.
Bibliothèque Communale, Lille.
Université de Montpellier, École de Médecine, Montpellier.
Bibliothèque de la Ville, Rouen.
Bibliothèque de la Ville, Rheims.
Bibliothèque de la Ville, Troyes.
Bibliothèque Municipale, Saint Omer.
Bibliothèque Municipale, Valenciennes.

ITALY

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome.
Reale Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence.
Reale Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence.

BELGIUM

Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels.
Bibliothèque de la Ville, Bruges.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Griscom Collection, Property of the Rev. Acton Griscom, New York.
The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

HOLLAND

Bibliotheek de Rijks-Universiteit, Leyden.

SWITZERLAND

Stadtbibliothek, Bern.

SWEDEN

Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm.

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APPENDIX II

The Welsh Manuscript Chronicles

THE following descriptive list of 58 Welsh manuscript chronicles has been compiled from the descriptions in the latest printed Catalogues, from such rotographs as are in my possession, and from additional information most courteously offered me by Mr. John Ballinger, Librarian of the National Library of Wales, Mr. Harry Farr, Librarian of the Cardiff Public Library, and Mr. J. A. Herbert, late Under-Keeper of MSS. in the British Museum.

No really systematic attempt has before been made to classify this group of Welsh Chronicles. Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans, over a period of almost twenty-five years, at different times and in widely separated places, has examined and described most of the MSS. here listed. Discussion of his work in preceding pages makes abundantly clear, it is hoped, the enormous difficulties under which he laboured in attempting to classify or group these MSS., and he himself has been the first to state that further examination and study of them were essential. As I have not been able to see the MSS. myself, but, as already stated, have merely worked from rotographs or Catalogue descriptions, it is obvious that my own classification must be tentative, and I cannot hope to have done more than eliminate certain errors and offer suggestions for further study. References to the various descriptions of each MS. are given, and quotations may easily be identified by referring to these citations.

To sum up: My opinion is (1), that although some of the Welsh Chronicles are translations of Geoffrey's *Historia* from Latin direct into Welsh, this is by no means true of all of them; (2), that of those not translated direct from the *Historia*, no one known to me is a copy of the actual *vetus liber* claimed by Geoffrey as his chief source; and (3), that certain of these Welsh Chronicles bear evidence of being compilations of Welsh traditional history, largely independent of the influence of the *Historia*, and that these will repay study by the historian of early British history, as well as by the student of literature and romance.

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THE WELSH MANUSCRIPT CHRONICLES

The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth

1. Dingestow Court Manuscript. Early xiii cent.[1]
Small Quarto; Vellum; 7 × 5¼ inches; 160 leaves.
The opening prologue is in Latin; the Welsh text bears evidence of a copyist's work. Dr. J. G. Evans says that the calligraphy of this MS. "is the same as the *oldest* part of Hengwrt 54, which formed at one time a part of it." Dr. Evans also says that "the greater part of the colophon is lost also," but he does not give the surviving part, which is not similar either to that in the Red Book manuscript, or to the Latin of Geoffrey. The MS. should undoubtedly be published.
Cf. *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest*, by John Rhys and J. G. Evans, Oxford, 1890, page xiii.

2. Peniarth MS. 44 Hen. 315. (Numbered 21 previously.) First half xiii cent.
Small Quarto; Vellum; 6⅞ × 5⅜ inches; 74 pages.
This MS. and a part of Llanstephan MS. 1 (q.v.) once formed a complete manuscript, but became separated and were bound separately. Both, however, are now in the National Library. Even so, the chronicle is incomplete, and unfortunately no colophon appears. The text varies considerably from the Red Book and from Geoffrey's Latin *Historia*. Dr. J. G. Evans places this MS. as the first, or type, MS. of his "*B or Llevelys Version*" of Geoffrey's *Historia*, but fails to give his reasons for the assignment. Examination shows that this MS. does not contain the Llud and Llevelys story, and so cannot possibly be considered a type thereof.
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xvi; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language*, Vol. 1, part ii, Peniarth, page 378.

3. Peniarth MS. 45 = Hen. 536 (29). Late xiii cent.
Vellum; 5⅛ × 4 inches. Pages 6 to 285; pages 1 to 5 are missing.
The text of the first half is said to agree with that in the Red Book, but there are verbal differences throughout.
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xiii; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Language*, Vol. 1, part ii; Peniarth, page 379.

4. Peniarth MS. 46 = Hen. 27. Second quarter xiv cent.
Vellum; 6⅜ × 4⅜ inches. 360 pages, with several modern insertions on paper to complete missing vellum leaves. Partly copied from Pen. 45, otherwise, an independent version.
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xiii; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Language*, Vol. 1, part ii, Peniarth, page 380.

5. Peniarth MS. 21 = Hen. 50 (16). c. first half xiv cent.
Vellum; 9⅜ × 6½ inches. Folios 1 to 39b.
Imperfect at the beginning, middle and end.
This version "does not agree verbally with that in any other MS. that is older."

[1] Where the MSS. are not themselves dated, the ages here given are those published in the latest printed catalogues, or supplied by the Librarians who have examined them for me. I have no adequate knowledge to enable me to pass upon such questions of Welsh palæography.

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It contains the *Prophecies of Merlin* and the Llud and Llevelys story. Cf. No. 9, below, Pen. MS. 23.
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xvi; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, part ii, Peniarth, page 347.

6. PENIARTH MS. 19 = Hen. 15. C. 1400.
Vellum; 8 × 5⅝ inches. Double columns.
The Ystoria occupies columns 67 to 441 with columns 157–160, 193–196, 317–356 missing.
"The text of this MS. is apparently a direct transcript of that part of the *Red Book of Hergest* which was printed under the title of *Bruts*."
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xiv, and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, part ii, Peniarth, page 341.

7. PENIARTH MS. 22 = Hen. 318. DATED 1444.
Vellum; 9 × 7⅛ inches. Pages 1 to 133, line 15.
Written in 1444 by David Ap Meredith Glais. This MS. is said to be "a transcript of the same version as Hen. 45." Several leaves missing; 31–50, 65–88, 97–120, 127–130. This MS. marks the transition between the use of *ei* into *ai*; *i* is used indiscriminately for "the preposition, the article, the possessive, personal, and even relative pronoun"; and "the plural termination — *eu* is kept throughout."
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xiii; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, part ii, Peniarth, page 348.

8. PENIARTH MS. 24 = Hen. 175. DATED 1477.
Paper; 7⅞ × 5¾ inches. 21 Folios only. Incomplete. Badly stained so as to be illegible in places, and interleaved throughout. "Copied from an imperfect text, 19th day of November, 1477." Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol.1, part ii, Peniarth, page 350.

9. PENIARTH MS. 23 = Hen. 313. C. Middle XV cent.
Vellum; 8¾ × 6⅛ inches. 218 pages, with large initials and coloured illustrations throughout of the kings mentioned in the text.
The MS. is said to be "evidently a transcript of Pen. MS. 21." It supplies, therefore, the missing opening of the earlier MS., and, like it, does not agree with any of the other versions that are older. In the Hengwrt catalogue this MS. was attributed to the XIV cent. Dr. Evans points out good reasons for not placing it so early.
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xviii; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, part ii, Peniarth, page 349.

10. PENIARTH MS. 25 = Hen. 305. C. 1500.
Paper; 8¾ × 5¾ inches. Pages 14 to 104; imperfect at end; in three different hands, the earliest being about 1500.
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xvii; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, part ii, Peniarth, page 350.

11. PENIARTH MS. 212 = Hen. 319. C. 1565.
Paper; 8¼ × 6 inches. Pages 1 to 248.
An independent version or compilation of Welsh history.
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xviii; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, part iii, Peniarth, page 1034.

12. PENIARTH MS. 168 = Hen. 437. DATED 1589–90.
Paper; 7⅛ × 5¾ inches. Pages 41 to 126b.
A compiled history from Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gutyn Owain, Phabian, John Stowe and others. Such compilations, combining Geoffrey *et al.* with other Welsh sources, are evidence of the Welsh compilers' point of view, and these chronicles

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should be carefully analyzed. It was written in 1589–90, by Roger Morys of Koed y Talwrn, in the parish of Llanvair Dyffryn Klwyd. Being so late, it is, of course, of no great importance except to check other earlier chronicles.
Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, part ii, Peniarth, page 960.

13. PENIARTH MS. 118 = Hen. 518. Last quarter XVI cent.
Paper; 12½ × 8 inches. Pages 301 to 342.
A copy of a portion of the Brut from the Red Book of Hergest, columns 31 to 87, line 7, and left unfinished. One leaf is missing — 334–335. It is known as "the book of Dr. John David Rhys."
Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, part ii, Peniarth, page 718.

14. PENIARTH MS. 261 = Hen. 446. XVI cent.
Paper; about 10½ × 6¾ inches. 70 pages.
Wants beginning, middle and end.
"The text to this MS. is apparently a copy of Pen. MS. 21."
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xix; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, part iii, Peniarth, page 1076.

15. PENIARTH MS. 260 = Hen. 442. XVI cent.
Paper; 11¼ × 7½ inches. Folios 12 to 77, 79 to 115; imperfect, and partly fragmentary.
"The text of this MS. is one of the many compiled versions, and seems to follow no other MS. verbally."
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xix; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, part iii, Peniarth, page 1075.

16. PENIARTH MS. 162 = Hen. 354. Late XVI cent.
Paper; 8 × 5¾ inches. Pages 63 to 152.
The text, which is incomplete, is in verbal agreement with that of Jesus LXI. It was once in the Sebright Collection, and numbered 139. It has the name of Thomas Wilkins on several leaves, which shows that it once belonged to Jesus College Library. The names of several other Welsh scholars, such as Lewis Jones and Christopher Vaughans, appear.
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xvii; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, part ii, page 948.

17. PENIARTH MS. 266 = Hen. 55 (3). DATED 1634.
Paper; 12$\frac{7}{16}$ × 8 inches. Pages 72 to 494.
Written by John Jones in prison in London, second of August, 1634, and seems to be transcripts of MS. 19.
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xiv; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, part iii, Peniarth, page 1077.

18. PENIARTH MS. 314 = Hen. 293 (87 and 21). DATED 1634–41.
Paper; about 12½ × 8 inches. Part iii, pages 1 to 154, 171 to 234.
Written by John Jones — a different version from either the Red Book or Jesus LXI — and unfinished. Parts of it are like Peniarth 265, also by John Jones, but it omits the Llud and Llevelys story. Attention is invited to the fact that on page xix of the *Text of the Bruts*, Dr. J. G. Evans says that this MS. "agrees verbally with Hengwrt 439," viz., Peniarth 265; while, in the next sentence he says, "the two texts in the earlier parts differ considerably. I am not able, at present, to classify this MS." One hardly knows how to reconcile these statements.
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xix; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, part iii, Peniarth, page 1119.

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19. PENIARTH MS. 264 = Hen. 272 (2, 55, and LX). DATED 1635–36.
Paper; 12½ × 8 inches. Pages 76 to 423.
Written by John Jones in prison in London.
Dr. Evans, in both of his descriptions of this MS., suggests that it was "probably a transcript of Cotton Cleopatra B.V." but adds, "though Jesus College 141 was also used by John Jones." In other words he suggests that it is a species of amalgamation between the two. However, comparison of test passages does not seem to bear this out; and, no explanation is given of how John Jones, in prison, as he himself says in the MS., could have transcribed, or compiled, from the Cotton MS., then in the possession of Sir Thomas, and also from the Oxford MS. The colophon is interesting " . . . and from that was made the Latin, and that Latin was turned into Welsh." This does not agree verbally with either of the MSS. cited by Dr. Evans. The Jesus MS. 141 is a compilation made by Gutyn Owain from numerous sources; cf. below, no. 50.
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xvii; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, part iii, Peniarth, page 1076.

20. PENIARTH MS. 265 = Hen. 439 (i, 72, LIV). DATED 1641.
Paper; 12½ × 8 inches. 832 pages.
Welsh on the left hand page and Latin on the right, up to page 309.
Written by John Jones and dated in the prison "14/ "Aust"/1641/." The text of the MS. is said to agree with Llanstephan MS. 1 up to page 101 of that MS., and page 378 of this MS. The Llanstephan breaks off at this point, and the continuation is another version taken from Peniarth MS. 34. This MS. of John Jones, however, has no break at this point, and the continuation does not agree with the Peniarth 44 version, suggesting that John Jones had the complete originals of Llanstephan 1, when he worked. It contains the Llud and Llevelys story and *Prophecies of Merlin*. The Latin text does not agree with Geoffrey's *Historia*.
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xvi; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, part iii, Peniarth, page 1077.

21. PENIARTH MS. 270 = Hen. 530. DATE?
Paper; various sizes, and in many hands. At the end, pp. 511 to 520, the beginning of *Brut Gr. Ap Arthur*.
Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, part iii, Peniarth, page 1093.

22. LLANSTEPHAN MS. 1 = Shirburn Castle MS. 113 C. 18. Second quarter XIII cent.
Vellum; 7⅞ × 5$\frac{15}{16}$; 205 pages.
This MS. is "a composite, imperfect text, made up of parts of two independent MSS., with the early chapters by a third hand; all three hands belong to the same type, or school, of writing, and cannot be separated by many years."
The first hand comprising the first 25 pages, is said by Dr. Evans to be like that in British Museum Caligula A. iii, i.e., the C. MS. of the *Laws*. It would seem that this portion has been specially prefixed to complete the imperfect MS. that follows. Even so, the first two folios are missing. It is important, however, to note that the *version* of this first portion corresponds exactly with that represented by the following pages, so that this scribe, when he wrote in the early part of the XIII century, had available another MS. of this *version*. The version is known as the *Brut Gruffudd Ab Arthur*, but we have no means of knowing when this title was given to it, as it does not appear in the MS., and first occurs in 1801, in *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*. The second hand, commencing on page 26, runs uniformly to page 101, where there is another break. Pages 102–145, form the fourth and fifth quires of Peniarth MS. 44 (*q.v.*). The Peniarth version is markedly dissimilar, and obviously represents a different line of descent. The second hand resumes on page 146, and continues to the end. Dr. Evans gives careful collations, as printed in *The Myv. Arch.*, 2nd

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Edition, pages 476–554, but he does not explain the differences in wording or the omissions. The last leaf, i.e., page 205, is so rubbed as to be partly illegible, and Dr. Evans gives the last decipherable sentence. This sentence, however, does not occur on page 554 of the printed text, as he implies. The colophon is unfortunately lost, as is the case with so many of these early Welsh MSS.; but as it appears in a slightly later copy of this same version, from which the printed text is taken, we may probably assume, with safety, that the earlier copyist was able in his day to decipher what is now obliterated. In that portion of the third hand which belongs to the Peniarth MS., there are two folios missing, between pages 131–132, and 139–140. We have, therefore, in this MS. a third primary source for the study of different *versions* of these Welsh Chronicles — the Peniarth 44, and the Dingestow Court forming the other two. Whether or not the Cotton Cleopatra, Book of Basingwerk and the *Tysilio* group form a fourth and fifth is a question. Dr. Evans places this Llanstephan 1. MS. as the second of his second group of MSS. which he calls "*The B. or Llevelys Version*," but he does not explain why this Llanstephan MS. differs from that of Peniarth 44 (with its dismembered fragment bound in with Llan. 1) which he places as the first MS. of this second group as if it were the type MS. Moreover, Llanstephan 1. has the Llud and Llevelys story, as given in the *Myv., Brut Gruf. Ab Arthur*, but Pen. 44 (with the 4th and 5th quires bound in Llan. 1.) has no Llud and Llevelys story at all. How can Pen. 44, therefore, be the original, or type, for Llanstephan 1?—and what justification is there for making the Peniarth 44 MS. the type for a Llud and Llevelys group of so-called *Historia* MSS.?

Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xvi; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part ii, Llanstephan, page 419.

23. LLANSTEPHAN MS. 5 = Shirburn Castle MS.34. First half XVI cent.

Paper; 6½ × 4½ inches. 292 pages.

Worn at the corners in many places, and wanting the opening, some leaves in the middle, and the end. In two hands.

The fly leaf has a note by Lewis Morris in 1749, calling this MS. a Brut *Tysilio*. It contains the *Prophecies of Merlin*, however, which are not in the other MSS. which go by that name, namely, Jesus LXI, etc.

Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part ii, Llanstephan, page 427.

24. LLANSTEPHAN MS. 188. Mid. XVI cent.

Paper; 8⅜ × 6 inches. 38 pages only.

Wanting the beginning and end. Not in verbal agreement with any other version. Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, Llanstephan, page 776.

25. LLANSTEPHAN MS. 195. C. 1570.

Paper; 11½ × 8 inches. Pages 67 to 203.

Wanting 143–4; pages 138–9 in a later hand which Dr. Evans suggests, with a query, to be that of R. Vaughan. He also suggests the handwriting throughout is probably that of Owen Gwynedd.

This MS. is one of the independent compiled versions of Welsh history, in this case based largely on Geoffrey, and agrees very closely with that of Peniarth MS. 212, of about the same date.

That two independent copies of this version occur gives it a certain interest, late as they are. It contains the Llud and Llevelys story and the Merlin *Prophecies*, but not Geoffrey's introductory epistle, nor the *Prophecies of the Eagle*.

Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xviii, where it is called "Mr. Egerton Phillimore's folio MS."; Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part ii, Llanstephan, page 779.

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26. LLANSTEPHAN MS. 59 = Shirburn Castle C.7. c. late XVI cent.
Paper; 7¾ × 5¼ inches. Pages 45 to 168.
Verbal differences between this and Jesus LXI — the *Tysilio* version, are slight. Wanting beginning and end.
Not in the *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part ii, Llanstephan, page 555.

27. LLANSTEPHAN MS. 129 = Shirburn Castle D. 17. First half XVII cent.
Paper; 12 × 8 inches. 60 Folios.
Ystorie Kymru, neu Cronigl kymraeg, from Brutus ap Sylis (1108 B.C.) to Cadwaladr Vendigaid (638 A.D.), by Ifanllwyd ap Dafydd o Nantmynach o fewn sir ferionedd esguiei. In the end of the preface, Folio 1 B, Ivan Lloyd Ap David writes, "I have sought to bring together from every place I could, books concerning our land, and to present them (i.e., their contents) in better form."
Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part ii, Llanstephan, page 663.

28. LLANSTEPHAN MS. 137 = Shirburn Castle D. 12. c. 1640.
Paper; 14¾ × 8¾ inches.
Dr. Evans says that the whole MS. "is probably in the hand of D. Parry," and that the text is copied "from the *Red Book of Hergest*."
Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part ii, Llanstephan, page 718.

29. LLANSTEPHAN MS. 149 = Shirburn Castle D. 15. c. 1700.
Paper; 12¾ × 7½ inches.
A copy of *Brut Y Brenhined* from British Museum MS., Cotton, Cleopatra B. V., apparently made page for page. There are minor and unimportant copyist's alterations. The colophon reads practically the same.
Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part ii, Llanstephan, page 727.

30. MOSTYN MS. 117. Last quarter XIII cent.
Vellum; 6¾ × 4¼ inches.
According to Dr. Evans, this MS. is written by the same scribe that wrote the *Book of Taliessin*. The pages have been mixed by the binder, pages 155 to 234 being placed after page 266. In one uniform hand.
Dr. Evans's account of this MS. is somewhat confusing, as is pointed out in our discussion (see below, no. 31). The first 154 pages are said to be practically in agreement with the Red Book text, while from there on, the agreement changes to the Dingestow Court version, followed more or less closely by Pen. MSS. 45 and 46 — though these in their turn have variants, showing that they are not copies of each other. The end, with the colophon, is unfortunately wanting.
Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. I, page 63.

31. MOSTYN MS. 116. First half XIV cent.
Vellum; 7¾ × 5¼ inches. Folios 24 to 141b.
Dr. Evans calls this an "interesting and important MS." and says that the penmanship seems to be the same as that in British Museum Additional MS. 19709. He adds: "the Mostyn MS. is certainly earlier than the Red Book of Hergest, and the fact that identical variations in the orthography occur over and over again in certain passages, points to the one being a transcript of the other. The division of the chapters is also the same, and certain slips and omissions are made in the same places." However, having drawn a distinction in the description of the preceding MS. 117 between the Red Book and the Dingestow Court versions, he now states that this Mostyn MS. 116 "seems to be the archetype of the *Vaticinium* version *from the*

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end of the Prophecy to the Colophon" — in other words, by implication it is not the archetype for the forepart through Merlin's *Prophecies;* but, both the Dingestow Court MS. and the Red Book are said to belong to the same version, viz., the *Vaticinium.* As Dr. Evans places both the Dingestow Court and the Red Book MSS. among his "*Vaticinium*" versions — the Dingestow MS. dating as a MS. more than a century earlier than the Red Book — we find it hard to know how to reconcile either the proper classification of all these MSS. as equally representing the same *version*, or their acknowledged differences. How can the Mostyn 116 MS. be the "archetype" of any part of a MS. older than itself by more than a century? It is obvious that a further study of these MSS. is necessary.
Not in *Text of the Bruts.* Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, page 56.

32. MOSTYN MS. 109. XVI cent.
Paper; 7¾ × 5¾ inches. Pages 62–290.
This text agrees very nearly with Jesus LXI, called the Brut *Tysilio*, and is unfortunately incomplete, breaking off at page 474, column 2, line 41, of the *Myv. Arch.* text.
Not in *Text of the Bruts.* Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, page 22.

33. MOSTYN MS. 159. DATED 1586–87.
Paper; 11¾ × 8 inches. Folios 27 to 141.
In practical agreement with Jesus LXI — Brut *Tysilio.* Written by "David ap Jenkins amhredydd e Vachynulleth" for Luw Lewis of Hafodwen. The colophon is intact, but differs, however, from the regular *Tysilio*, and appears to be incomplete. "I, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, have translated this book from Latin into Welsh." Cf. Nat. Lib. Addl. 23b.
Not in *Text of the Bruts.* Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, page 222.

34. MOSTYN MS. 115. XVII cent.
Paper; 7¾ × 5¾ inches.
Imperfect, much injured by damp, and more or less torn. Compiled version said by Dr. Evans to be, "in almost verbal agreement with MS. 109 in some parts, and with The Red Book version in other parts." Many of the last pages are missing.
Not in *Text of the Bruts.* Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, page 56.

35. MOSTYN MS. 211. c. 1685.
Paper; 14¾ × 9¼ inches. Pages 1 to 82.
The wording differs from that in the Red Book and Jesus LXI — Brut *Tysilio*, and it appears to be a translation of Geoffrey's *Historia.*
Not in *Text of the Bruts.* Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. 1, page 277.

36. PANTON MS. 9. c. 1760.
Paper; 8 × 6½ inches.
In the autograph of the Rev. Evan Evans. Dr. J. G. Evans calls this "a compiled version of Brut y Brenhinedd," which, according to a statement of the MS. was "transcribed from a very old copy of the British History on Vellum." Dr. Evans states further: "This MS. was the original of the text of *Brut Grufudd ab Arthur*, printed in the *Myvyrian Arch. of Wales*, Vol. 2. The *u.* and *w.* are mostly underdotted in the MS." This introduces a new confusion into Dr. Evans's attempted classification. The *Brut Grufudd Ab Arthur* version is identified by him with its archetype MS., viz., Llanstephan 1 (q.v.), and this he places in his second group, the "*B. or Llevelys version.*" However, here he calls it a "*Compiled Version*," which is

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the name that he gives to his third grouping rather than to his second. In the *Myv. Arch.* (second edition, page 432) the foreword states that the text of the *Brut G. Ab Arthur* is reproduced from a Panton MS. in the autograph of the Rev. Evan Evans, almost certainly this MS., as stated by Dr. J. G. Evans. The Rev. Evan Evans did not, however, transcribe Llanstephan 1, because of the marked differences, and the fact that he does not follow the Peniarth 44 interpolations of the 4th and 5th quires. Therefore, it would appear that the Rev. Evan Evans had a complete MS., apparently ancient, and now lost, not Llanstephan 1.
Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part iii, page 809.

37. PANTON MS. 68. XVIII cent.
Paper; about 8 × 5¾ to 6 inches.
Pages 49 to 64, 71 to 74, 83 to 94.
Fragments from a Brut *Tysilio*, but the wording is slightly different.
Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part iii, Panton, page 867.

38. *The Book of Basingwerk* MS. known as *The Black Book of Basingwerk Abbey.* XIV and XV cents.
Vellum; 8⅞ × 6½ inches. Rubricated in red and green mostly, with some blue; the initial letter in *Dares Phrygius* in gold, filled in with blue; that in the Brut, gold and other colours; pages 41 to 198.
This MS. has been uniformly attributed to Gutyn Owain, the famous herald bard and historian to the Abbeys of Basingwerk and Strata Florida; and in Humphrey Lloyd's *Historie of Cambria* (first edition, 1584, page 206) this MS. is referred to in the following words: "the successions and acts of the princes of Wales ..... as witnesseth Gutryn Owen, who being in the daies of Edward the Fourth, wrote the best and most perfect copie of the same." However, the first 88 pages of the MS. are not in the handwriting of Gutyn Owain and are certainly XIV century. Gutyn Owain's handwriting begins on page 89 and continues to the end. (See plate XIV.) The catch word at the bottom of page 88 is "ac wedy ryd erch." Gutyn Owain begins the new page, however, "Ac yn ol Rydderch." It is evident therefore, that Gutyn Owain had found an incomplete copy of the Brut, namely, the part which begins in the present MS. on page 41 (the first forty pages are the *Dares Phrygius*) and ends on page 88, and had added to this fragment from another copy. His *version* is more expanded than that of the earlier pages. Pages 1 to 88, therefore, are XIV century and the rest of the MS. is to be dated about 1470. The last dated entry to the *Brut y Saeson* (pages 199 to 308) is 1461.
Dr. Evans suggests that this MS. is a copy of British Museum Cotton, Cleopatra B. V. which he dates approximately 1461, on a guess that the Cotton MS., the end of which is undecipherable, also ended with the same entry dated 1461. However, Dr. Evans entirely overlooked the fact that the Bk. of Basing. is not uniformly in the hand of Gutyn Owain, but that the first 88 pages are in a hand of the XIV century. Comparison shows verbal differences, with similarity of *version;* and both probably derived from a lost original. The Cotton MS. is certainly very early XV, with a probability that it is XIV century. (See below, No. 54 of this list, and pages 136–147.) No printed description of this MS. has yet appeared.

39. ADDITIONAL MS. 13–B = *Williams MS.* 216. Early XVII cent.
Paper; 8 1/16 × 5 11/16 inches. Pages 1 to 298.
Agrees verbatim with Jesus LXI — Brut *Tysilio* in the test passages used.
Cf. *Catalogue of MSS.* of The National Library of Wales, Vol. I, Additional MSS. in the collection of Sir John Williams, Bart., by John Humphreys Davies, Aberystwyth, 1921, page 29.

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40. ADDITIONAL MS. 11–D = Williams MS. 213. DATED 1694.
Paper; $12\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Pages 25 to 158.
Formerly in Mr. Phillimore's collection, and belonged at one time to the Rev. St. George Armstrong Williams. An independent compilation not agreeing with any other version.
Cf. *Cat. of MSS.* of The Nat. Libr. of Wales, Vol. 1, page 26.

41. ADDITIONAL MS. 312 = Williams MS. 514. Early XVIII cent.
Paper; $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{7}{16}$ inches. Pages 1 to 57.
This appears to be an imperfect compilation, based on the usual earlier sources and of no great value. Mr. Davies says: "It appears to correspond to the version in Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 14872, pp. 33 to 257. The Brit. Mus. MS. is supposed to have been written by Thomas Prys of Plas Iolyn, and Addit. MS. 11 in the Nat. Libr. is stated to have been copied in 1694 from a book written by Thomas Prys; but the two versions are quite distinct."
Cf. *Cat. of MSS.*, Nat. Libr. of Wales, Vol. 1, page 206.

42. ADDITIONAL MS. 23–B = Williams MS. 227. C. 1775.
Paper; $8\frac{5}{16} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Pages 46 to 151.
This is one of the more or less independent compiled versions of Welsh history. On page 151, appears the following note: "Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, turned this part of the Chronicle out of Latin into Welsh, and Edward Kiffyn copied it for John Trefor Trefalyn, Esq., when the year of Christ was 1577. And David John of Trefriew was the third writer in the year of our Saviour 1761, June the 9th, and I, John Pritchard of Llanrwst, am the fourth writer in the year of our Saviour 1775, October the 9th day." Skene, in *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, Vol. 1, page 24, quotes the first part only of this colophon as evidence that the MS. could be dated 1577, which is a fair inference, but the original MS. is no longer known. This MS. once belonged to Mr. Egerton Phillimore and was known as: "Mr. Egerton Phillimore's Quarto MS." Dr. J. G. Evans states that: "Edward Kyffin's original was in close agreement with Jesus College MS. 61."
Cf. *Text of the Brut;* page xviii; and *Cat. of MSS.*, Nat. Libr. of Wales, Vol. 1, page 72.

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43. CARDIFF (HAVOD) MS. 1. First half XIV cent.
Vellum; $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Folios 1 to 104b.
The end is wanting, so, unfortunately, the colophon is missing. After Folios 3, 9, 25, 30, 39, one leaf is missing; and after folio 66, at least three leaves are missing. The ẏ is dotted, and the ll is occasionally ligatured. A large part of this MS. is reproduced in the "B" notes to the Brut *Tysilio* and the *Brut G. Ab Arthur* in the *Myv. Arch.*, second edition, pages 555–601. The wording differs throughout from the other versions, so noticeably from the Dingestow Court and Peniarth 44 — Llanstephan 1, etc., as to suggest entirely independent workmanship. However, Dr. J. G. Evans says without qualification that this MS. is "the text of Geoffrey's *Historia*, which belongs to the *Vaticinium version*."
Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.* Vol. II, part i, Havod, page 301.

44. CARDIFF (HAVOD) MS. 2. XV cent. "or earlier."
Vellum; $6 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Folios 1 to 207.
Dr. J. G. Evans, who as usual calls this without qualification, "Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniæ*," points out that this MS. "is in verbal agreement with *Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur* in the *Myvyrian Arch. of Wales* (Denbigh 1870 — pages 476–521 up to reference 411 of last line); then the MS. differs from the printed text up to

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p. 547 (reference 60); from there onwards it agrees with Llanstephan MS. 1 = Shirburn C. 18, which is probably the archetype of the later period in the *Myvyrian* text." The misprints in this paragraph only serve to add to the confusions created by Dr. Evans's conflicting statements. First, the text of the *Brut G. Ab A.* in the *Myv.* is complete from opening to closing colophon. Llan. MS. 1, lacks a leaf at the beginning and is illegible at the end, besides lacking several leaves throughout the text. How then can Llan. MS. 1, be "probably the archetype of the later period in the *Myvyrian* text"? Second, if we may trust the figures (one of which, viz., "reference 411 of last line," is obviously at fault), Dr. Evans equates the text of this MS. not only with the first and second hands of Llan. MS. 1, but also with the opening pages of Peniarth 44, fourth and fifth quires of which are bound in with Llan. MS. 1, (cf. above, page 589), and which represents an entirely different version from that in the first two hands of Llan. MS. 1, proper. Then we find our MS., Havod 2, passing into another independent *version* for several pages and then returning to the Llan. MS. 1, without break or explanation. In other words, here we have a MS. very similar in large parts to three other differing versions, and yet a complete whole in itself from opening to closing. What then are we to think?

Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part i, Havod, p. 304. Mr. Harry Farr, the Cardiff Librarian, writes me: "XVth century, or earlier. The text varies from that given in the *Br. G. ab Arthur* (*Myvyrian Arch.*) from p. 522 onwards. There are minor differences earlier."

45. CARDIFF (HAVOD) MS. 21. DATED 1641.
Paper; $7\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Signed by Edward Hughes. Folios 30 to 124 give an independent compilation of Welsh history, based largely on the so-called Brut *Tysilio* version.
Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part i, Havod, page 328.

46. CARDIFF MS. 21 = Phillipps 13720, part III. DATED 1569.
Paper; $7\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Pages 133 ff. A brief chronological compilation, written by Bedo Havesb, and of no importance.
Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part i, Cardiff, page 202.

47. CARDIFF MS. 61 = (Tonn 21). DATED 1734.
Paper; about $7\frac{1}{4} \times 6$ inches. Pages 86 to 217.
Another late compilation of no special value.
Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, Part i, Cardiff, page 265.

48. CARDIFF MS. 62 = (Tonn 22). DATED 1754.
Paper; $8\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
Written by Benjamin Simon of Abergwili; a copy of MS. 21, above.
Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part i, Cardiff, page 266.

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49. MS. CXI = I, Hist. MSS. Com., *Rep. of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*
Last quarter XIV cent. c. 1380.
Vellum; $13\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Columns 31 to 230.
The Red Book of Hergest, said to be a translation into Welsh of Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britanniæ*. There is much internal evidence to prove that this MS. was translated from a Latin original, presumably the *Historia;* but the Dedicatory Epistle does not appear, and the colophon differs from all others, and is not a translation of

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the one written by Geoffrey. Cf. discussion in Chapter IX. The Brut *Tysilio* text printed in the *Myvyrian* and later translated by Peter Roberts, is said to have been derived from this MS., which is a manifest error, as the two versions differ from start to finish. Dr. Evans states that the *Ystoria Brenhined Y Brytanyeit* is a transcript of Brit. Mus. Addit. MSS. 19709 (q.v.). The text of the Red Book Brut has been splendidly reproduced by him in *Text of the Bruts*, pages 40 to 256.
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xiv; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part i, Jesus College, page 1.

50. MS. CXLI = 6, H. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language.* c. 1471.
Paper; $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Folio 36b to 48b.
An historical compilation probably written by Gutyn Owain, "in whose hand it seems to be." The authorities quoted as sources include not merely Orosius, Pliny, Isidore, Gildas, Bede, but also Walter of Oxford, who gave Geoffrey his Source-Book, as well as Geoffrey himself, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntington, etc. The text follows no other known to me. It contains the Prophecy of the Eagle, stories of Llud and Llevelys, Maxen Wledig, or summaries of them; and the *Brut Y Tywyssogion* follows without a break in the MS. and continues down to 1471 or later — the end being absent. In view of the references to Walter of Oxford, it is not without significance that Dr. Evans says of this MS: "It is apparently a transcript of the Book of Basingwerk, or a condensed copy of Cleopatra B. V." The material, however, differs radically in many particulars.
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xvii; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part i, Jesus College, page xxxv.

51. MS. LXI = 8, Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language.*
Last quarter XV cent.
Paper; 8 × 6 inches. Folios 31 to 135.
This MS. is probably the oldest of the so-called *Tysilio* group. The handwriting of this MS., of Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 15566, and of Pen. MS. 253, "seem to be the work of the same scribe," according to Dr. Evans. However, an actual comparison of rotographs of the first two MSS. does not seem to bear this out; and I sent test rotographs of the Jesus MS. to the British Museum, where the most that Mr. Schofield, who was kind enough to make the comparison for me, would say was that they *might* be in the same hand. Verbal differences certainly preclude the one being a direct transcript of the other. Furthermore, Addit. MS. 15566 is dated by Dr. Evans third quarter of the XVI century, whereas, he dates this MS. in one place c. 1500–25, and in another, more generally XVI century. Henry O. Coxe, however, and Thomas Duffus Hardy and numerous other authorities date the MS. XV century, and I am inclined to think that it was written a little before, or very close to, 1500.
Canon Jones and I have used this MS. as the basis of our translation for reasons set forth at length in Chapter IX. A transcript of this MS. appears in Jesus XXVIII by Hugh Jones, Under-Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in 1695. It is from the transcript that the printed text of the *Myvyrian* was made. Professor Fraser was so very kind as to examine this MS. for me and he wrote the following description. "The Catalogue description of 61 is somewhat misleading. Both margins have been damaged by damp to a depth varying from one to half-a-dozen letters. On the damaged surface absolutely nothing can be read. When copied by Jones the MS. was considerably less damaged than it is now; but Jones had, occasionally, difficulty with some letters, and in such cases he sometimes dots the uncertain letters underneath, as in gwledhoedd on p. 2, l. 7. Elsewhere, where he could not read at all, he leaves a blank as on p. 32, l. 18 yr . . . . waith. Here yr is near the end of one line and waith at the beginning of the next. But apart from the margins the MS. is quite legible in good light, though the script is careless. The vellum is very yellow and the ink brown."

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Dr. Evans lists this MS. among his "*Compiled versions*" and by implication suggests that it is historically worthless and a fabrication. He makes no attempt to explain the colophon, which is entirely dissimilar to those in the Dingestow Court, Red Book, and Cotton, Cleopatra B. V. MSS. The text is certainly corrupted, but it bears evidence of using Welsh source material and of being by no means dependent either upon Geoffrey's Latin *Historia*, or even the other older Welsh MS. Chronicles. Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xvii; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part i, Jesus College, page 39.

52. MS. XXVIII = 19, Hist. MSS. Com., *Rep. on MSS. in the Welsh Language.* DATED 1695.

Paper; $7\frac{11}{16} \times 6$ inches. Pages 45 to 192.
Written by Hugh Jones, Under-Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, in 1695. A careful transcript of Jesus MS. LXI; and this transcript was undoubtedly the original of the text of the Brut *Tysilio* in the *Myvyrian Arch. of Wales*, though, as Dr. Evans points out, "the Editors state that their text is taken from the *Red Book of Hergest* which contains a different version of Geoffrey's *Historia*."
Professor Fraser writes of this MS.: "The pagination of 28 is a little complicated; from p. 1 to p. 13 each leaf is paged at the top right hand corner of the recto, thus, 1, 3, 5. The numbers may be in the same ink as the text. From p. 15 to p. 43 the pagination, as before on alternate pages, is in pencil and recent. At what would have been according to this system, p. 45 the Brut *Tysilio* text begins. At the top right hand corner is the number 23, evidently the folio number (which so far as I can see occurs only here). At the middle of the top margin the pagination (in pencil as are the strokes in the margins) begins anew with 1, and is continued without interruption to the end of the MS. Both sides of the leaf are paged. . . . The older MS., 61, is foliated throughout. . . . . I do not think that Jones 'edited' his original; but he has not copied it with absolute accuracy. There are frequent deviations in spelling (though not, so far as my observation goes, in proper names) and, also, omissions. The latter sometimes make the text grammatically defective." I have had the two MSS. collated throughout, and Canon Jones's translation of the earlier, Jesus LXI, follows the spelling of proper names exactly as found in the earlier original.
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xviii; and Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part i, Jesus College, page 90.

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53. ADDITIONAL MS. 19,709 = MS. 14, Hist. MSS. Com., *Rep. on MSS. in the Welsh Language.* First half XIV cent.

Vellum; $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Folios 7 to 84. Imperfect, leaves missing between folios 17 and 18, 19–20, 21–22, 60–61, 68–69, 76–77 and at beginning and end.
Dr. J. G. Evans says: "the text of this MS. is in the same hand as Mostyn MS. 116, which is the source of the text in the Red Book of Hergest, cols. 230.20–367.8; similarly, this MS. is the source of cols. 1–230.11 of the Red Book. . . . . The text of the above belongs to the *Vaticinium version* of Geoffrey's Brut." However, though it contains in part (only) the *Prophecies of Merlin*, Dr. Evans ignores, once more, the numerous verbal differences, nor does he point out that the text of this MS. "approaches very closely to that marked *B* in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*." (Havod MS. 1, *q.v.* page 594 above.) Cf. Ward, *Cat. of Rom.* Vol. I, page 257.
The MS. is without the Dedicatory Epistle of Geoffrey to any of his patrons, including that to Bishop Alexander of Lincoln, as might be supposed. This MS. and Havod MS. 1, of about an equal age, seem to represent earliest examples of an independent version, though there are noticeable similarities in wording between these and the,

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still more ancient, early XIII century Peniarth MS. 44. The ŷ in both MSS. is occasionally dotted, much more frequently in the Havod MS. and the ll is occasionally ligatured at the top in the Havod, and invariably in Addit. MS. 19,709. Which is the earlier of the two would be hard to determine without laying them side by side. Dr. Evans does not point out the similarity between this MS. and Havod MS. 1, and his statement that this MS., rather than Havod MS. 1., provides the original for part of the Red Book text needs confirmation.

Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xiv, with reproduction facing page 1; Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part iv, British Museum, page 951; *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, by H. L. D. Ward, London, 1883, Vol. I, page 257.

54. COTTON, Cleopatra B. V., = MS. 15, Hist. MSS. Com., *Rep. on MSS. in the Welsh Language.* XIV cent.

Vellum; $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Folios 1 to 108b.

This MS. has been repeatedly described, and, it would seem, in each case faultily, as pointed out by me in section III of *The Book of Basingwerk and MS. Cotton, Cleopatra B. V.* In 1889 Dr. Evans placed this MS. as the first of his third group or "*Compiled versions*"; and a foot-note made it quite clear that he considered the scribe (working as he surmised c. 1455) to be typical of "*the Eistedvodic spirit*," which has been "the bane of Welsh literature, the curse of the Welsh tongue, and the enemy of all that is sane, natural, and progressive. It is scarcely open to doubt that the scribe of Cotton Cleopatra B. V., was the most prominent Eistedvod-wr of his age, and the very first archdruid that Wales unhappily produced." Mr. Egerton Phillimore disagrees with Dr. Evans on the subject of this note; and, as the Brut Y Brenhined portion of this MS. was almost certainly written seventy-five years earlier than Dr. Evans thought, it cannot have been a product of the Eistedvod. For a full discussion of the evidence, cf. my paper cited above, first published in *Y Cymmrodor*, Vols. XXXV–XXXVI; and a brief summary in pages 136–147 above.

Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xvi; Hist. MSS. Com., *Report of MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part iv, British Museum, page 952; *Cat. of Rom.*, page 255. *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Relating to Wales in the British Museum*, by Edward Owen, part i, page 35 [96].

55. ADDITIONAL MS. 14,903 = MS. 17, Hist. MSS. Com., *Rep. on MSS. in the Welsh Language.*

First quarter XVI cent.

Paper; $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Folio 20 (page 45) to 178 (page 464).

This MS. was said by the editors to be the basis for their *A.* notes in the *Myvyrian* text, pages 555–601 (cf. second edition, page 432); but either they were mistaken in this reference, as they were in their ascription of the *Tysilio* text to the Red Book, or they supplied archaic spellings editorially, which do not appear in the MS. On page 462 of the MS. it is stated that this text is compiled from five different MSS., "two on parchment, and three other old copies." At first the text runs closely to Jesus LXI, the so-called *Tysilio* version, but later with Peniarth 44, or Llanstephan 1 proper. It would be interesting to compare this MS. with the surviving earlier copies, to see how the work was done. Lewis Morris has interleaved the MS. throughout, and has "written extensive notes and commentaries on these interleaves." The author of the description in the *Cat. of Rom.* is certainly mistaken when he says of the supposed 500-year-old vellum sources of this MS. that "one of these was probably in the Red Book of Hergest, where the earliest known copy is found." The Red Book is, of course, not the earliest known copy, and is dissimilar to the version appearing in Additional MS. 14,903.

Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xviii; Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part iv, Brit. Mus., page 955; *Cat. of Rom.*, Vol. I, page 258.

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56. ADDITIONAL MS. 15,566 = MS. 16, Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language.* Third quarter XVI cent.
Paper; 7½ × 5½ inches. 143 Folios.
Said in the *Catalogue of Romances* to be "Brut *Tysilio*, an abridged translation of the *Historia Regum Britanniæ* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, without either of the prologues or the Prophecies of Merlin and the Eagle." Said by Dr. J. G. Evans to be, "one of the compiled versions" which "follow" the Cotton, Cleopatra B. V. MS. Dr. Evans further states: "Jesus College MS. 8. [= MS. LXI] and Pen. MS. 253, seem to be the work of the same scribe, who probably used Cleopatra B. V. as his original." As we have seen above, under Jesus LXI, no. 51, the handwritings of these two MSS. are probably not the same, are divided in time by from fifty to one hundred years, and seem, furthermore, from internal evidence, to be independent compilations. The text, however, follows the Jesus LXI or Brut *Tysilio* version more closely than any other, and these two seem to be in no way dependent upon the Cotton, Cleopatra B. V. MS. I have a series of test photographs of Add'l. 15,566, and it is possible that the compiler worked with another text of the *Tysilio* version, now lost. In certain places the wording practically agrees with the Book of Basingwerk MS., but the version as a whole is not the same. The last leaf is wanting, and is supplied from the Brut *Tysilio* version in a later hand, including, therefore, the characteristic colophon.
Cf. *Text of the Bruts*, page xviii; Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part iv, Brit. Mus., page 955; *Cat. of Romances*, Vol. I, page 254.

57. ADDITIONAL MS. 14,872 = MS. 41, Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language.* Shortly after 1632.
Paper; 7½ × 5½ inches. Folios 15 to 91. This is a typical late compilation of Welsh history, of no importance: what Dr. J. G. Evans calls, "a modernized version of the *Historia* of Geoffrey of Monmouth."
Not in *Text of the Bruts*. Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part iv, Brit. Mus., page 1091.

58. ADDITIONAL MS. 15,003. XVIII cent.
Paper; Quarto; 13 Folios.
This is said in the *Cat. of Rom.* to be extracts from the *Book of Basingwerk*, and an "abridged account of the kings from Brutus to Cadwalader, the dates alone being given in many cases." However, Iolo Morganwg wrote on a leaf at the end that those extracts were copied from Cotton, Cleopatra, B. V.
Not in *Text of the Bruts*, nor in Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.* Cf. *Cat. of Rom.*, Vol. I, page 259.

UNIMPORTANT FRAGMENTS

1. BRIT. MUS. ADDITIONAL MS. 14,967 = MS. 23, Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language.* Late XV cent.
A compilation apparently by a pupil of Gutyn Owain. Pages 236 to 244.
This is a chronology from Adam to the Flood, etc., and a summary of *Dares Phrygius* and of Geoffrey of Monmouth.
Cf. Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part iv, Brit. Mus., page 996.

2. PANTON MS. 55. XVIII cent.
Paper; 9½ × 7½ inches. Pages 19 to 21.
A fragment copied by Evan Evans from Lewis Morris's MSS.
Hist. MSS. Com., *Report on MSS. in the Welsh Lang.*, Vol. II, part iii, Panton, page 881.

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NOV 19 1988 REC'D
JUL 19 '90
JAN 21 1992 REC'D
NOV 29 1998
NOV 29 1998 REC'D

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A 62 x 87
B 36 x 50
C 41 x 72
D 29 x 41.5
E 26 x 40
F 7 x 9
G 39 x 76
H 96 x 36
I 20 x 28
J 1 x 2
K 19 x 39
L 30 x 42
M 50 x 61
N 14 x 15
O 12 x 18
P 26 x 34
Q 8 x 3
R 35 x 40
S
T
U 15 x 19
V 1 x 1
W 12 x 12
Y 5 x 6
Z 2 x 2

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